142867

SE 2 '55

THE *Nation*

America's Leading Liberal Weekly Since 1865

BURLINGAME PUBLIC LIBRARY Burlingame, Calif.

INDEX TO VOLUME 180

142867

JANUARY 1, 1955 to JUNE 25, 1955

The following letters are used to indicate the type of article:

A	Art
C	Correspondence
Ct	Cartoon
D	Drama
E	Editorial Article
M	Music
MP	Moving Pictures
P	Poetry
S	Signed Article

Book reviews and reviewers are indexed separately in the Book Review Section.

1- 20	Jan. 1	277-296	Apr. 2
21- 40	Jan. 8	297-316	Apr. 9
41- 60	Jan. 15	317-336	Apr. 16
61- 88	Jan. 22	337-356	Apr. 23
89-108	Jan. 29	357-384	Apr. 30
109-128	Feb. 5	385-412	May 7
129-148	Feb. 12	413-432	May 14
149-168	Feb. 19	433-452	May 21
169-188	Feb. 26	453-472	May 28
189-208	Mar. 5	473-492	June 4
209-228	Mar. 12	493-512	June 11
229-248	Mar. 19	513-572	June 18
249-276	Mar. 26	573-593	June 25

A

PAGE

A-bomb. See Atomic bomb
A. F. of L. See American federation of labor; Labor—union
Abortion racket. E. M. Schur; S ...... 199; see also C, 356
Adenauer, Konrad. See Germany, western
Advertising; cigarette; bunk in. J. J. Seldin; S 136
  Selling to the id; J. Seldin; S 442
Africa; colonialism in. G. W. Shepherd, Jr.; C 40
  Colonialism; last stronghold; M. O. M. Maduagwu; S 13
Africa, South. See Union of South Africa
Afro-Asian conference at Bandung. K. M. Pennikar and C. P. FitzGerald; S.... 286, 288
  Achievement at Bandung. C. P. FitzGerald; S 502
  Arabs at Bandung; E 357
  Chou En-lai at Bandung. S. A. Jaffe; S 359
  Nehru and Chou En-lai at Bandung. S. A. Jaffe; S, issue of May 28
  Powell mission to Bandung. A. C. Powell; S 455
Agriculture. See Faming; Labor—union
Aid for foreign countries; economic aid for Asia; E 388
Air, freedom of. See Freedom of the air
Alaska; politics in statehood issue; E 433
All in one. Reviewed by R. Hatch; D .. 410
Alsops and Oppenheimer. W. Frank; S . 193
Alvarez del Vayo, Julio
  China, nationalist; Formosa problem; military appraisals; S 172
  Conferences, international; agenda, 1955; S 112
    Big four talk; pressure for; S 389
  Costa Rica; crisis in; S 63
  France:
    Assembly vote for German rearmament; S 21
    Politics; the 'new left"; S 233
    Poujade, aspiring "fuehrer"; S ... 238

PAGE

  Middle east; maneuvers; S 92
  Peace policy, American; backfire; S . 135
  Soviet Russia; shake-up in the kremlin; issue, consumer goods versus heavy industry; S 153
  Trade sessions; east-west; S 300
Amalgamated clothing workers of America; anniversary; E 91
American federation of labor; merger with Congress of industrial organizations; E 149
Anastasia. Reviewed by H. Clurman; D . 84
Animal farm. Reviewed by R. Hatch; MP 85
Annual wages. See Labor—wages
Arabs
  At Bandung conference. E 357
  Clash with Israelis at Gaza; E 209
  Prestige loss by Egypt in Arab world; E 151
Around the U. S. A.; issues of January 8, January 22, February 5, March 5, March 26, April 2, April 9, April 16, April 23, May 21, June 11
Art; and science. Mrs. M. F. Seymour; C ...... 188; see also 102
  For man's sake. W. Saroyan; S 364
    For reviews, see Faison, S. L., Jr.
Asia
  Contest for—Quemoy or Asia. O. E. Clubb; S 321
  Economic aid for; E 388
  Peace in; price for. D. F. Dowd; S .. 132
  Which way, India or China? T. Balogh S 237
    See also Southeast Asia treaty organization
Asian-African conference at Bandung. See Afro-Asian conference
Associated authors. G. Lerner; C ...... 336; see also 102; C, 188
Astor, Eleanor G.
  Right-to-work laws; S 285
Atomic bomb
  American and Russian policies. M. Freedman; S 171
  Biology and the bomb. P. G. 'Espinasse; S 579
  Chronology; from Hiroshima to now. R. W. Frase; S 559
  Coexistence or no existence; atomic war threat. B. Russell; S 515
  Dangers; move for commission on. M. Freedman; S 211
  Defense against; no place to hide. G. Marine; S 116
  Effects, biological. P. G. 'Espinasse; S. 579
  Evacuation of Los Angeles in case of atomic war; E 230
  Hiroshima; memories of 423
  Hydrogen bombs; perils unknown. C. McWilliams; S 302
  In the United nations, V. H. Bernstein; S 564
  Peril from explosion dust, C. H. Waddington; S ...... 155; see also E, 149; H. J. Muller; S, 304
  Testing; and effects; E 239
Atomic, chemical, and oil workers. See Labor—union
Atomic energy
  And others; mainspring of civilization. F. Daniels; S 517
  At Peace forum; E 453
  Australia's need for power and people. M. L. Oliphant; S 529
  British program for development. Sir J. Cockcroft; S 527
  Control of; struggle for power. L. Olds; S 551
  Cost of, in Great Britain 539
  Costs versus needs. G. Randers; S .. 540

PAGE

  Development pattern for America. W. Isard and V. Whitney; S 542
  Fissionable materials; problem of controls. J. G. Beckerly; S 549
  For weapons or welfare? D. Cavers; S. 556
  Forums, pioneer; held by Nation Associates 518
  Israel; need for atomic energy. A. de Shalit; S 531
  Medicine; atom in. J. Sacks; S 536
  Profit in. G. Marine; S ...... 391; correction, 453
  "Proletariazation" of; extract from address by J. Mook 544
  Sooner than we think; from *New York Herald Tribune* 545
  South Africa's need for a new fuel. J. Bronowski; S 520
  Surveying the field. D. O. Woodbury; S 533
Atoms for Peace forum. See *Nation, The*
Australia; industrializing; need for power and people; S 529
Austria; freeing; soviet terms; E 249
  Treaty with Soviet Russia; E 339
Authors. See Books
Automobile workers. See United automobile workers

B

Bad day at Black Rock. Reviewed by R. Hatch; MP 165
Balanchine. B. H. Haggin; S 274
Balch, Emily Greene, crusader for peace; letter to China. D. Gillmor; S ...... 417; see also C, 491
Baldwin, Roger, and S. Rodman
  More on Haiti; C, issue of June 4
Ballet theater. B. H. Haggin; S 490
Ball, W. Macmahon
  Japanese elections; S 239
  India's five-year plan; S 215
Ballet, reviews of. See Haggin B. H.
Balogh, T.
  Asia; which way? S 237
Bandung conference. See Afro-Asian conference
Baum, Richard W.
  Price for Formosa peace; C ...... 412; see also E, 129
Baxter, Leone, and C. Whitaker
  California politics; C, issue of January 1
Beckerly, James G.
  Control of fissionable materials; problem of; S 549
Bed, the. Reviewed by R. Hatch; D 590
Belfrage, Cedric
  War on the press; C, issue of March 19; see also 113, 138
Bell, Thomas
  Man with the load; S, issue of January 8
Bells of Saint Trinians, the. Reviewed by R. Hatch; MP 38
Bennington college symposium on music and art. S. L. Faison, Jr.; A 589
Benson, Ezra T.; reputation, sick. M. Freedman; S 91
Bernstein, Victor H.
  Atom in the United nations; S 564
  Containment of freedom; United States foreign policy; S 1
Bevan, Aneurin. See Great Britain—Politics
Big four conferences. See Conferences
Bill of rights. See United States—Constitution
Biology and the bomb. Paul G. 'Espinasse; S 579
Blackboard jungle, the. Reviewed by R. Hatch; MP 294

PAGE

- Blanshard, Paul
  - **Foundations**; report on; S 51
- Bomb, atomic. See Atomic bomb
- Books
  - Associated authors. G. Lerner; C ...... 336; see also 102; C, 188
  - Censorship by United States information agency; E 453
  - Classic moderns; decline of. M. Geismar; S 402
  - Reporting, not criticism. D. Chambers; C ...... 412; see also 162
  - University press books. V. Reynolds; S 366
  - Writers; a declaration for 1955. K. Boyle; S ...... 102; see also C, 188; C, 336
- Boothby, Sir Robert
  - Big-four talks; S 390
- Boston; labor probe, J. Hill; S ...... 32; see also C, 248
- Bourne, Howard J.
  - Education and roads; cost of; C 248
- Boyle, Kay
  - A puzzled race; S 481
  - Dylan Thomas in a London "pub"; a declaration for 1955; S ...... 102; see also C, 188; C, 336
- Braden, Carl; sedition conviction. J. Perry; by W. Millis, S ...... 50; see also E, 43; C, 128; C, issue of February 26
- Bradley, David; on revolution against starvation 532
- Bridges of Toki-Ri, the. Reviewed by R. Hatch; MP 85
- British broadcasting corporation. B. H. Haggin; M 127
- Brockway, Fenner
  - United nations and colonialism; S ..6, 7
- Bronowski, J.
  - Man against society; S 93
  - South Africa's needs for a new fuel; atomic energy; S 520
- Bryson, Hugh; acquittal in communist party membership case; E 575
- Budget, federal. See United States—Finances
- Burma; conditions, political and other.
  - M. Maung; S 443
  - Un; talk with. S. A. Jaffe; S 444
- Bus stop. Reviewed by R. Hatch; D .. 245
- Business. See United States—Economics

C

- C. I. O. See Congress of industrial organizations; Labor—Union
- Cain, Harry P.; views on security program; E 298
- California
  - Farm labor; attempt to unionize. W. Carpenter; S, issue of April 9
  - Los Angeles; evacuation in case of atomic war; E 230
  - Loyalty oath for churches. M. Hall; S, issue of June 1
  - Politics. C. Whitaker and L. Baxter; C, issue of January 1
    - Democratic council meeting. N. Reeves; S, issue of April 19
  - San Diego; light in; E............. 389
- Cambodia; situation in. Muchi; S.... 254
- Camille. Reviewed by R. Hatch; MP.... 167
- Canada; labor union merger in United States; repercussions in Canada. S. Wiseman; S 328
  - Way with polio. M. Gayn; S....476; see also E 473
- Carolus
  - Germany, western; drive for neutralism; S 479
  - Revolt against rearmament; S....74; see also C 148
  - Rift between Adenauer and people; S 213
- Carpenter, William
  - Attempt to unionize California farm labor; S, issue of April 9
- Case, Senator Francis; reversal of opinion of McCarthy. G. McGovern; C, issue of January 29
- Castillo Armas. See Guatemala
- Cat on a hot tin roof. Reviewed by R. Hatch; D ...... 314; correction 355
- Catholic church. See Roman catholic church
- Cavers, David
  - Atomic energy for war or peace; S... 556
- Cenerentola, la. Reviewed by B. H. Haggin; M 383
- Censorship, book. See Books
- Censorship, press. See Newspapers
- Cervi, Gene; Denver *Cervi's Journal*. H. Waring; S, issue of March 26
- Chambers, Dana
  - Books; reporting, not criticism; C .... 412; see also 162

PAGE

- Champagne complex. Reviewed by R. Hatch; D 381
- Chance meeting. Reviewed by R. Hatch; MP 411
- Chase, R. K.
  - Racial and other issues in South Africa; 100-year plan; S 306
- Chauvet, Ernest Georges
  - Haiti; situation in; C, issue of April 30; see also 255
- Chemical, oil and atomic workers. See Labor—Union
- Chicago; election, and the presidential election of 1956. E. Gertz; S 287
  - Hyde Park-Kenwood area; work on housing problem. A. Probst; S, issue of March 5
- China
  - American policy. M. Freedman; S 91
    - Praise for Peffer article in issue of December 11, 1954. A. E. Sessions; C, issue of January 29
  - Flood victims. A. Hassler; C 40
  - Letter to, by E. G. Balch; article by D. Gillmor; S ...... 417; see also C, 491
  - Peace prospects. E. Kefauver; S 317
  - Relations with. M. Freedman; S 27
- China, communist
  - Relations with. M. Freedman; S...... 91, 131, 279, 340
  - Chou En-lai at Bandung; S. A. Jaffe; S 359
  - Chou En-lai offer to negotiate; E ... 357
  - Chou En-lai talks to the west. S. A. Jaffe; S ...... 385; E, 387
  - Hammerskjold mission to, in behalf of American fliers; E 61
  - Or India; and Asia. T. Balogh; S .. 237
  - Orthodoxy in. K. Martin; S 456
  - Price for peace; E ...... 129; see also C, 412
  - Report on. K. Martin; S 415
  - Truce with; talk of; E 387
- China, nationalist
  - Formosa:
    - American protectorate; E 89
    - Eisenhower message, and congressional resolution; E 109
    - Fuse of World War III; E 277
    - Policy, American. M. Freedman; S 91, 111
      - Eisenhower message and congressional resolution; E 109
      - Praise for Peffer article in issue of December 11, 1954. A. E. Sessions; C, issue of January 29
      - Stevenson's views. M. Freedman; S 340
      - Vagueness; E 169
    - Press secrecy; E 190
    - Quemoy—or Asia. O. E. Clubb; S .. 321
    - Treaty; ratification; E 149
    - Resolution. F. W. James; C 148
    - Senate debate. M. Freedman; S . 152
    - Relations with. M. Freedman; S ... 131
    - Trouble in; E 230
- Chinese in Thailand. Muchi; S 30
- Choctaw Indians in Mississippi; finances. B. W. Posey; S.................... 361
- Chou En-lai. See Afro-Asian conference; China, communist
- Churches; loyalty oath for, in California. M. Hall; S, issue of June 11
- Churchill, Sir Winston S.; retirement. H. K. Smith; S 319
- Cigarette advertising; bunk in. J. J. Seldin; S 136
- Cinerama holiday. Reviewed by R. Hatch; MP 186
- Civil defense; unsatisfactory arrangements. M. Freedman; S 299
- Civil liberty. See Freedom; Loyalty
- Clarke, Fred
  - French press under fire; S 360
  - International labor organization; conference; S ...... 195; correction, 247
  - Mendes-France; E ......25; see also C, 148
- Clubb, O. Edmund
  - Disunity in SEATO; S 217
  - Quemoy—or Asia; S 321
- Clurman, Harold
  - On S. O'Casey. S. Sterkel; C 20
  - Reviews of plays:
    - Anastasia 84
    - Doctor's dilemma, the 107
    - Flowering peach, the 57
    - House of flowers 106
    - Lunatics and lovers 18
    - Portrait of a lady 36
    - Saint of Bleecker street, the 83
    - Time of your life, the 124
    - Troublemakers, the 84
    - What every woman knows 37
- Cobalt bomb. See Atomic bomb ?
- Cockcroft, Sir John
  - British program for development of atomic energy; S 527

PAGE

- Coexistence, competitive; E 62
  - Steps toward; E 493
- Cold war. See War, cold
- Cole, G. D. H.
  - New British socialist program; why old has failed; S ...... 344; see also C, 491
- Colier, John
  - Book on Kenya; C, issue of May 14
- Colonialism
  - Issue of January 1

  - And the cold war. R. Emerson; S 3
  - In Africa. G. W. Shepherd, Jr.; C .. 40
    - Last stronghold; S 13
  - Trusteeship system. J. V. Murra; S.. 10
  - United nations and nationalism. F. Brockway; S 6, 7
  - United States foreign policy. V. H. Bernstein; S 1
- Communist party; Bryson acquittal in membership case; E 575
- Condoide, M. V.
  - Soviet Russia; industrialization and production of consumer goods; S.... 197; see also C, 412; C, 491
- Conference with Soviet Russia, proposed. M. Freedman; S 279
- Conferences, international
  - Big four. A. Werth; S 464
    - Pressure for. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S 389
  - Disarmament and rearmament; E 229
  - Four-power, high-level talks; plans for. F. L. Schuman; S ......435; see also E, 433
  - Three views on. Sir R. Boothby; M. Foot; G. W. Heinemann; S 390
- Congress of industrial organizations; merges with American federation of labor; E 149
  - Name, new, suggested; Council of industrial organizations; E 149
  - See also Labor—Union
- Congressional committees; investigations by. See United States—Congress
- Conscription; opposition to. J. M. Swomley, Jr.; S ...... 326; see also C, issue of June 25
- Conservatives; depression as aid for. P. A. Klein; S, issue of May 7
- Constitution, United States. See United States
- Contempt. See United States—Congress
- Conviction. C. de Leeuw; P 102
- Conway, Ralph E.
  - Propaganda by United States information agency; C, issue of January 29
- Cooley, Hazel
  - Education by television; S 461
  - Pay-as-you-see television; S 498
  - Television monopoly; S ...... 159; see also E, 150
- Corsi, Edward; and J. F. Dulles. M. Freedman; S 340
- Cost of living. See United States—Economics
- Costa Rica; crisis. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S 63
- Council of industrial organizations. See Congress of industrial organizations
- Criminals; man against society. J. Bronowski; S 93
- Cross word puzzles. F. W. Lewis. See back pages
- Customs, tariff. See United States—Foreign trade
- Cutler, Robert; resignation of. By M. Freedman; S 231

D

- Damn Yankees. Reviewed by R. Hatch; D 449
- Dance, reviews of. See Haggin, B. H.
- Daniels, Farrington
  - Energy; mainspring of civilization; S 517
- Dark is light enough, the. Reviewed by R. Hatch; D 226
- Defense, civil. See Civil defense
- Del Vayo, Julio. See Alvarez del Vayo, J.
- Deportation; case of Mrs. A. Orans. By L. B. Frantz; S 258
- Depression. See United States—Economics
- Desegregation. See Negroes
- Desert, the; salvaging. P. Meigs; S ... 577
- de Shalit, Amos
  - Irrigating the Negev; need for atomic energy in Israel; S 531
- Desperate hours, the. Reviewed by R. Hatch; MP 186
- Disarmament and rearmament; conferences; E 229
- Disloyalty. See Loyalty
- Dobbs. Mattiwilda. Reviewed by B. H. Haggin; M 296
- Doctor in the house. Reviewed by R. Hatch; MP 206
- Doctor's dilemma, the. Reviewed by H. Clurman; D 107

142867

PAGE

Donner, Frank
  McCarthyism in Miami; S ... 65
Douglas, Paul H.; controversy with Humphrey over economic situation. M. Freedman; S ... 231
Dowd, Douglas F.
  Price for Asian peace; S ... 132
Drama. See Plays
Dulles, John Foster, and E. Corsi. M. Freedman; S ... 340
Dusenberry, Verne
  Indians, Montana; S, issue of April 23

E

East, middle. See Middle east; also names of countries
East of Eden. Reviewed by R. Hatch; MP 294
East-west trade. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S 300
Eden, Sir Anthony. See Great Britain—Politics
Editors, newspaper. See Newspapers
Education
  Little red schoolhouse; objection to representation of; E ... 453
  Schools, New York City; informing as test of teachers' good faith; E ... 210
  Television; education by. H. Cooley; S 461
Egypt; loss of prestige in Arab world; E 152
Eight o'clock walk. Reviewed by R. Hatch; MP ... 450
Einstein, Albert; death; E ... 339
Eisenhower, President Dwight D.
  Administration:
    Message on public health; E ... 150
    "New deal" president? E ... 170
    Policies. M. Freedman; S ... 64
    Reactionary. V. S. Yarros; C ... 20
    State of the union message. M. Freedman; S ... 44
Election, presidential, of 1956. See Presidential election of 1956
Elections, federal; proposed code on contributions; E ... 476
Ellis, James R.; and freedom of speech case; E ... 23
Emerson, Rupert
  Colonialism and the cold war; S ... 3
Energy; mainspring of civilization. F. Daniels; S ... 517
    See also Atomic energy
Epstein, Elizabeth
  Soviet consumers; C ...... 491; see also 197; C, 412
Escudero. Reviewed by B. H. Haggin; M 186
'Espinasse, Paul G.
  Biology and the bomb; S ... 579
Europe; 'hardening" in; E ... 297
  Unity; search for. K. Loewenstein; S 98

F

Faison, S. Lane, Jr.
  Reply to criticism of article on Matisse, in issue of December 4, 1954; C ... 108
  Reviews of art:
    Bennington college symposium on music and art ... 589
    Pennsylvania academy of the fine ars; susquicentennial ... 224
    Sculpture in America ... 56
Farming; prices. See United States—Economics
    See also Labor—Union
Faure, Edgar. See France—Politics
Fifth amendment, invocation of; E ... 475
  See also Loyalty
Films. See Motion pictures
Fisher, Carl H.
  Commends Schuman article on Toynbee in issue of November 6, 1954; C .. 20
Fissionable materials. See Atomic energy
Fitzell, Lincoln
  O'clock; P ... 497
FitzGerald, C. P.
  Afro-Asian conference at Bandung; S ......288; see also 286
    Achievement at Bandung; S ... 502
Flagstad, Kirsten. B. H. Haggin; M .. 335
Flowering peach, the. Reviewed by H. Clurman; D ... 57
Food; starvation; revolution against; extract from address by D. Bradley .. 532
Foot, Michael
  Bevan remains; S ... 323
  Big-four talks; S ... 391
Ford, Ford Madox; material on, sought. F. Macshane; C ... 86
Foreign countries; aid for. See Aid for foreign countries
Foreman, Clark
  Louisville witch hunt of Negroes; C ......128; see also 50
Formosa. See China, nationalist
Foundations, report on. P. Blanshard; S 51

PAGE

France
  Assembly vote for German rearmament. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S ... 21
  Foreign policy:
    Tunis; agreement with; E ... 357
  Politics:
    Action upon German rearmament; E 189
    Call to youth. F. Mauriac; S ... 325
    Elections, cantonal; drift to left; E 388
    Faure, E.; premier. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S ... 233
    Left, new; E ... 434
    Mendes-France; attacks on. F. Clarke; S ......25; see also C, 148
    Poujade, P.; aspiring "fuehrer." J. Alvarez del Vayo; S ... 283
  Press under fire. F. Clarke; S ... 360
Franco, Francisco. See Spain
Frank, Waldo
  Oppenheimer's "folly"; S ... 193
Franklin, Benjamin; security risk. E. S. Newman; C ... 148
Frantz, Laurent B.
  Deportation; case of Mrs. A. Orans; S 258
Frase, Robert W.
  Atomic bomb chronology; S ... 559
Freedman, Max
  Career ... 55
  Letters from Washington:
    Atomic bomb dangers; move for commission on ... 211
    Atomic bomb; American and Russian policies ... 171
    Benson, Secretary; sick reputation .. 91
    China; relations with, and policy 91, 131, 279, 340
    Civil defense ... 299
    Conference with soviet Russia, proposed ... 79
    Corsi-Dulles dispute ... 340
    Cutter, R.; resignation of ... 231
    Economics; situation; controversy over ... 231
    Loyalty; Peters case ... 231
    Matusow, H.; testimony of ... 192
    Matusow used by justice department and Republican party ......152; see also C, issue of March 19
    National security council; changes in ... 231
    Rice; report on ... 211
    Security regulations, new ... 231
    Segregation, and the Supreme court . 320
    Segregation; southern arguments before the court ... 340
    Soviet Russia; fall of Malenkov . 152
    State of the union message ... 44
    Stevenson, A. E., on Formosan policy 340
    Stock market inquiry ... 211
    Trade program, reciprocal ... 211
    Yalta papers; publication of 253
Freedom; containment of; United States foreign policy. V. H. Bernstein; S .. 1
  Surrender, planned; E ... 573
Freedom of speech; Ellis case, Yonkers, New York; E ... 23
Freedom of the air; Lamb case. E. Kemler; S ...... 120; see also E, 190
Freedom of the press; critics of the press. G. Seldes; S ...... 138; see also S, 113; C, issue of March 19
  War on, from the right. G. Seldes; S ......113; see also 138; C, issue of March 19
Front page story. Reviewed by R. Hatch; MP ... 383

G

Garbo, Greta. R. Hatch; S ... 167
Gardner, Mrs. Edna
  Informers; C, issue of March 19; see also 152
Garfield, Edwin
  Labor and the probes; C ......248; see also 32
Gayn, Mark
  Canada's way with polio; S ...... 476; see also E, 473
Gaza. See Israel
Geismar, Maxwell
  Decline of the classic moderns; S .. 402
George, Senator, and the adminstration's foreign policy. M. Freedman; S 279
Germany; future of. M. Freedman; S .. 279
Germany, western
  Adenauer invitation to Moscow. T. Prittie; S ... 575
  Liberation; E ... 414
  Neutralism; drive for. Carolus; S .. 479
  Rearmament; Adenauer victory in bundestag; E ... 189
    Dependence upon French action; E 189
    Fight against, by people; E ... 191
    Revolt against. Carolus; S ...... 74; see also C, 148
    Vote for, in French assembly. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S ... 21

PAGE

  Rift between Adenauer and people. Carolus; S ... 213
Gertz, Elmer
  Chicago election; and the presidential election of 1956; S ... 281
  McCormick, Robert R.; S ... 362
Ghosh, S. A. K.
  Atom in India; S ... 532
Gillmor, Dan
  Emily Balch, crusader for peace and her letter to China; S ...... 417; see also 491
Gitt, J. W., of the York, Pennsylvania, *Gazette and Daily*. G. Rudisill, Jr.; S 484
Gold, Herbert
  Magloire of Haiti; S ... 118
Graham, David
  Castillo's Guatemala; S ... 440
Gran varieta. Reviewed by R. Hatch; MP 383
Great adventure, the. Reviewed by R. Hatch; MP ... 510
Great Britain
  Atomic energy. See Atomic energy
  Economics; tax policies; E ... 209
  Politics
    Bevan ousting from parliamentary labor group; E ... 249
    Election, general; Tory victory; E ......473; E, 495
    Labor party; Bevan remains. M. Foot; S ... 323
    Without Churchill; Eden succession. H. K. Smith; S ... 319
  Socialism, new; why the old has failed. G. D. H. Cole; S ... 344
Green magic. Reviewed by R. Hatch; MP 510
Green scarf, the. Reviewed by R. Hatch; MP ... 85
Gregory, Horace; on S. O'Casey. By S. Terkel; C ... 20
Gregory, L. H.
  Propaganda, United States and Soviet; C, issue of January 1
Guatemala; Castillo Armas regime. D. Graham; S ... 440
  United States policy; visit by Nixon; E ... 169
Gumpert, Doctor Martin; death; E 387

H

H-bomb. See Atomic bomb
Haggin, B. H.
  Dance reviews:
    Balanchine ... 274
    Ballet theater ... 490
    Lazovsky ... 296
    Nutcracker ... 38
  Music reviews:
    British broadcasting corporation .. 127
    Cenerentola, la ... 383
    Dobbs, Mattiwilda ... 296
    Escudero ... 186
    Flagstad, K. ... 335
    Merry wives of Windsor, the ... 384
    New York concert choir ... 187
    Orfeo ed Euridice ... 383
    Otello ... 246, 275
    Steber, Eleanor ... 147
    Symphony of the air ... 167
  Recorded music ...... 19, 59, 86, 107 (correction, 128); 147, 168, 187 (correction, 218); 207, 227, 247, 295, 315, 335, 355, 411, 431, 450, 470, 511, 591
Haiti
  Magloire, president. H. Gold; S 118
  More on. S. Rodman and R. Baldwin; C, issue of June 4
  Situation in. B. D. Nossiter; S ...... 255; see also C, issue of April 30
Hall, Martin
  Loyalty oath for churches, in California; S, issue of June 11
Hammerskjold, Dag; mission to Peking; E ... 61
Hart, Hornell
  Power to kill; S ... 499
Hassler, Alfred
  China flood victims; C ... 40
Hatch, Robert
  Garbo, Greta; S ... 167
  Reviews of motion pictures:
    Animal farm ... 85
    Bad day at Black Rock ... 165
    Bells of St. Trinians, the ... 38
    Blackboard jungle, the ... 294
    Bridges of Toki-Ri, the ... 85
    Camille ... 167
    Chance meeting ... 411
    Cinerama holiday ... 186
    Desperate hours, the ... 186
    Doctor in the house ... 206
    East of Eden ... 294
    Eight o'clock walk ... 450
    Front page story ... 382
    Gran varieta ... 383
    Great adventure, the ... 510

Index

PAGE

    Green magic 510
    Green scarf, the 85
    Heartreak ridge 450
    Hiroshima 449
    Holiday for Henrietta 166
    Inherit the wind 410
    Intruder, the 207
    Man without a star 333
    Marty 3
    Naked heart, the 207
    Not as a stranger 591
    One summer of happiness 334
    Prince of players 84
    Purple plain, the 382
    Romeo and Juliet 37
    Six bridges to cross 126
    Stranger's hand, the 206
    Strategic air command 410
    Three cases of murder 335
    Tiger and the flame, the 127
    To Paris with love 333
    Tonight's the night 38
    Wages of fear, the 126
  Reviews of plays:
    All in one 410
    Bed, the 590
    Bus stop 245
    Cat on a hot tin roof .... 314; correction, 355
    Champagne complex 381
    Damn Yankees 449
    Dark is light enough, the 226
    Honeys, the 430
    King and the duke, the 590
    Maid, the 469
    Master builder, the 246
    Merchant of Cenice, the 246
    Once over lightly 294
    Once upon a tailor 510
    Phoenix '55 430
    Seven year itch, the 590
    Seventh heaven 510
    Shoestring review 294
    Silk stockings 226
    Teach me how to cry 354
    Three for tonight 354
    Three sisters, the 293
    Wayward saint, the 226
Hawaii; politics in statehood issue E .. 433
Health, public; inadequate provisions; president's message; E 150
Hearst, William Randolph, Jr.; report on Soviet union; E 210
Heartbreak ridge. Reviewed by R. Hatch; MP 450
Heinemann, Gustave W.
  Big-four talks; S 391
Henri Matisse. J. Langland; P 369
Herald Tribune, New York. See *New York Herald Tribune*
Heslin, Larry
  Criticism of Faison article on Matisse, in issue of December 4, 1954; C .. 108
Hill, Joe
  Boston labor probe; S ...... 32; see also C, 248
Hilton, Alice
  Socialism and human beings; C ...... 491; see also 344
Hiroshima. Reviewed by R. Hatch; MP . 499
Hiroshima; memories of 423
Holiday for Henrietta. Reviewed by R. Hatch; MP 166
Honeys, the. Reviewed by R. Hatch; D . 430
Hopkins, John J.; extract from address on 100-year program for development of atomic energy 526
Hotel room. M. Kaplan; P 76
House of flowers. Reviewed by H. Clurman; D 106
Housing. See Chicago; New York City
Humphrey, Secretary George; Douglas-Humphrey controversy over economic situation. M. Freedman; S 231
Hutchins, Robert M.; talk to newspaper editors 388
Hydrogen bombs. See Atomic bomb

I

Immigration; Corsi-Dulles dispute. M. Freedman; S 340
India
  Atomic energy; search for sources. S. A. K. Ghosh; S 532
  Economics; five-year plan. T. Balogh; S 215
  Land reform. S. Lens; S 400
  Lohars go home, the. E. Partridge; S 483
  Or China; and Asia. T. Balogh; S .. 237
  Steel plants; competitive coexistence; E 62
Indians, American; finances of Mississippi Choctaws. B. W. Posey; S 361
Information agency. See United States information agency
Informers. See Loyalty

PAGE

Inherit the wind. Reviewed by R. Hatch; MP 410
Insurance, health. See Health, public
International labor organization; conference. F. Clarke; S ...... 195; correction, 247
Intruder, the. Reviewed by R. Hatch; MP 207
Iraq; pact with Turkey; failure of United States policy; E 240
Irrigation; salvaging the desert. P. Meigs; S 575
Isard, Walter, and V. Whitney
  Atomic energy development pattern for America; S 542
Isaacs, Stanley M.
  Housing problem, New York City; C, issue of May 14; see also 219
Israel; clash with Arabs at Gaza; E 209
  Negev; irrigating. A. de Shalit; S .. 531
Italy; politics; presidential election; E .. 358

J

Jaffe, Sam A.
  Chou En-lai at Bandung; S 359
  Chou En-lai talks to the west; S ...... 385; E, 387
  Nehru and Chou En-lai at Bandung; S, issue of May 28
  Talk with U Nu; S 444
  Vietnam; dilemma in Saigon; S 581
James, F. W.
  Formosa resolution; C 148
Japan; economic aid for. H. Mears; S 157
  Elections. W. M. Ball; S 239
Jarrico, Paul
  Fifth amendment in Los Angeles; S, issue of April 2
Jun-ke Choy
  Singapore experiment; C, issue of May 14

K

Kahn, Doctor Bernhard; death; E 387
Kaplan, Milton
  Hotel room; P 76
Kefauver, Estes
  Peace prospects; S 317
Kemler, Edgar
  Lamb case; test of freedom of the air; S ...... 120; see also E, 190
  Lawrence, D.; riddle of; S 234
Kenya; book on. J. Collier; C, issue of May 14
King and the duke, the. Reviewed by R. Hatch; D 590
Kirchwey, Freda
  Ninetieth birthday of *The Nation;* S . 513
Klein, Philip A.
  Depression; help for left or right; S, issue of May 7
Kling, Merle
  United nations charter revision; no debate now; S 46
Ku klux klan; testimony of J. S. Wood; E 473

L

Labor
  And politics; Quill activities; E 24
  And production; E 90
  International organization. See International labor organization
  Right-to-work laws. E. G. Astor; S .. 285
  Unemployment and taxes; E 251
  Union:
    Boston probe. J. Hill; S ...... 32; see also C, 248
    Farm labor; attempts to organize. W. Carpenter; S, issue of April 9
    Merger of A. F. of L. and C. I. O.; repercussions in Canada. S. Wiseman; S 328
    Oil, chemical, and atomic workers; merger of unions. H O'Connor; S 257
    Textile, and slump in industry. B. Nossiter; S ...... 72; see also E, 61
    Victory in the south. A. Maund; S ...... 582; see also E, 573
    Wages. See Labor-Wages
    See also American federation of labor; Congress of industrial organizations
  Wages:
    Auto workers' agreements with companies. See United automobile workers
    Guaranteed annual wages; E ...... 337; see also E, 574
Labour party. See Great Britain—Politics
Ladejinsky affair. H. Mears; S 157
Lamb, Edward; case of; freedom of the air. E. Kemler; S 120
Land, Myrick E.
  On universal military training; C, issue of June 25; see also 327

PAGE

Langland, Joseph
  Henri Matisse; P 369
Lattimore, Owen; ordeal. M. Freedman; S 91
Lawrence, David; riddle of. E. Kemler; S 234
Lawyers and the fifth amendment plea, in Los Angeles. P. Jarrico; S, issue of April 2
Lazovsky; dancing; reviewed by B. H. Haggin 296
Leader, Governor George. See Pennsylvania
Leeuw, Cateau de
  Conviction; P 102
Left, the. See Liberals
Lens, Sidney
  India; land reforms; S 400
Lewis, Frank W.; cross word puzzles. See back pages
Liberals; depression as aid for. S. H. Reesor; S, issue of May 7
  Forum for; issue of May 7
  Forum for. H. M. Orrell and J. Livermore; S, issue of March 12
Liberties, civil. See Freedom; Loyalty
Lightfoot defense committee; guilt by association; case of C. Lightfoot; C 20
Livermore, Jonathan
  Liberalism; S, issue of March 12
Living, cost of. See United States—Economics
Lloyd, J. Henry
  Puzzled Briton; on United States foreign policy; C, 356
Lloyd, William Bross, Jr.
  Colonialism; American foreign policy; S 6
Loewenstein, Karl
  Europe's search for unity; S 98
Lohars. See India
Lonsdale, Kathleen
  War and peace; morality must rule; S 554
Los Angeles. See California
Los Angeles *Daily News;* death of; E .. 23
Louisville, Kentucky; Braden conviction of sedition. J. Perry; S ...... 50; see also E, 43; C, 128; C, issue of February 26
Loyalty
  Advances in defense of civil liberties; E 475
  Anti-subversion legislation. E 42
  Braden case, in Louisville. See Braden, C
  Fifth amendment plea:
    In Los Angeles. P. Jarrico; S, issue of April 2
    Safeguards for witnesses; E 494
  Informers; E 210
  Informers. Mrs. E. Gardner; C, issue of March 19; see also 152
  Ladejinsky case. H. Mears; S 157
  Lightfoot case; guilt by association. Lightfoot defense committee; C 20
  Miami, Florida; McCarthyism in. F. Donner; S 65
  Oath for churches, in California. M. Hall; S, issue of June 11
  Peters, John P.; case. M. Freedman; S 231
  Peters case. P. Sirotkin; S 438
  Peterson, J.; ousting of; E 22
  Propaganda, United States and soviet. L. H. Gregory; C 20
  Schudakopf case, Tacoma. J. G. Sykes; S, issue of January 22
  Scientists; security for. G. Marine; S 140
  Security, creeping. H. O'Connor; S .. 347
  Security program, government; Cain views; E 298
  Security regulations, new. M. Freedman; S 231
  Smith act score. A. L. Wirin and S. Rosenwein; S 177
  Sobell case. M. I. Symington; C 40
    See also Freedom of the air
  Lunatics and lovers. Reviewed by H. Clurman; D 18

M

Macshane, Frank
  Seeks material on F. M. Ford; C 86
Maduagwu, M. O. M.
  Africa; last stronghold of colonialism; S 13
Magloire, Paul Eugene. See Haiti
Maids, the. Reviewed by R. Hatch; D . 469
Malenkov, Georgi; See Union of soviet socialist republics
Man against society. J. Bronowski; S . 93
Man with the load. See United States—Economics
Man without a star. Reviewed by R. Hatch; MP 333
Mandel, William M.
  More on "Ivan"; C ...... 412; see also 129; C, 491
Mann, Thomas; at eighty. F. Morton; S 504
Marine, Gene
  Defense against A-bombs; no place to hide; S 116
  Profit in atoms; S ......391; correction, 453
  Science; question of security; S 140

Index

PAGE

  United nations; death rattle in San Francisco; S 419
  United nations; hearings, San Francisco; S, issue of May 11
Martin, Kingsley
  Brain-washing in red China; S 456
  Communist China; report on; S 415
Marty. Reviewed by R. Hatch; MP 381
Master builder, the. Reviewed by R. Hatch; D 246
Materials, fissionable. See Atomic energy
Matisse, Henri; article on, by S. L. Faison, Jr.; in issue of December 4, 1954. L. Heslin; C, with reply by Faison 108
Matisse, Henri. J. Langland; P 369
Matusow, Harvey; testimony. M. Freedman; S 192
  Used by justice department and Republican party. M. Freedman; S ...... 152; see also C, issue of March 19
Maund, Alfred
  Labor victory in Dixie; S ...... 582; see also E, 573
Maung, Maung
  Burma; political and other conditions; S 443
Mauriac, Francois
  France; politics; call to youth; S 325
Mayper, Stuart A.
  Probability versus certainty; C 20
McCarthy and McCarthyism
  Catholic opposition to McCarthy. N. Thimmesch; S, issue of Feruary 5
  Final appearance of McCarthy as chairman; E 43
  McCarthyism in Miami. F. Donner; S . 65
  Reversal by Case of opinion on McCarthy. G. McGovern; C, issue of January 29
McCormick, Robert R. By E. Gertz; S .. 362
McGaw, Howard F.
  On article on abortion; C ...... 365; see also 199
McGovern, George
  Reversal by Case of opinion on McCarthy. C, issue of January 29
McWilliams, Carey
  H-bomb perils; S 300
  Stock market; margin requirements; S 41
Mears, Helen
  Ladejinsky affair; S 157
Medicine; atom in. J. Sacks; S 536
Meigs, Peveril
  Salvaging the desert; S 577
Mendes-France, Pierre. See France—Politics
Merchant of Venice, the. Reviewed by R. Hatch; D 246
Merry wives of Windsor, the. Reviewed by B. H. Haggin; M 384
Merryman, John Henry
  United nations charter revision; case for; S 27
Messages, presidential. See Eisenhower, President D. D.—Administration
Miami, Florida; McCarthyism in. F. Donner; S 65
  Tension over desegregation; E ...... 43; see also 50; C, 128; C, issue of February 26
Middle east; Iraqui-Turkish pact; failure of United States policy; E 340
  Maneuvers. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S .. 92
Military training, universal. See Conscription
Millis, Walter
  Braden case, Louisville; C, with reply by J. Perry, issue of February 26; see also 50; C, 128; 393
Mississippi; finances of Choctaw Indians. B. W. Posey; S 361
Monopolies. See Trusts
Montana Indians; V. Dusenberry; S, issue of April 23
Montes, Lisandro
  Ten years of Peron; S 495
Mook, Jules; extract from address on "proletariazation" of power 544
Moon, Henry Lee
  Tribute to W. White; S 343
Morton, Frederic
  Thomas Mann at eighty; S 504
Motion pictures. For reviews, see Hatch, R.
Muchi
  Cambodia; situation in; S 254
  Chinese in Thailand; S 30
Muller, H. J.
  Perils from A-bomb radiation; S 304
Murphy, R. C., Jr.
  Teachings of the Reverend N. V. Peale; S 398
Murra, John W.
  Trusteeship system; S 8
Music. For reviews, see Haggin, B. H.
Music, recorded. See Haggin, B. H.

PAGE

N

Naked heart, the. Reviewed by R. Hatch; MP 207
Nation, The
  Anniversary issue; ninetieth birthday, June 18
  Atoms for peace forum; special issue, June 18
  Forum for liberals; issue of May 7
  Ninetieth birthday. F. Kirchwey; S.. 513
  Ninety years of. K. N. Stewart; S .. 569
Nation Associates
  Forums, pioneer, on atomic energy .. 518
National security council; changes in. M. Freedman; S 231
Negev, the. See Israel
Negroes
  Desegregation decision:
    Arguments before the supreme court. M. Freedman; S 320, 340
    Moves for delay in application; E . 573
    Time for compliance with supreme court decree; E 493
  Discrimination against:
    Louisville; Braden conviction of "sedition". J. Perry; S ...... 50; see also E, 43; C, 128; C, issue of February 26
    See also Negroes—Desegregation
  Housing; work on problem, Hyde Park-Kenwood area, Chicago. A. Probst; S, issue of March 5
Nehru, Jawaharlal. See Afro-Asian conference
Netherlands; default in West New Guinea; E 62
New Guinea. See West New Guinea
New York City
  And New York state; relations. P. L. Ross; S ...... 219; see also C, issue C, issue of May 14
  Housing problem. S. M. Isaacs; C, issue of May 14; see also 219
  Schools. See Education
New York Herald Tribune; extract from, on atomic energy 545
New York State. See New York City
Newman, Elmer S.
  Benjamin Franklin; C 148
Newspapers
  Censorship; French press under fire. F. Clarke; S 360
  Cervi's Journal, Denver. H. Waring; S, issue of March 26
  Gitt of the York, Pennsylvania, *Gazette and Daily.* G. Rudisill, Jr.; S 484
  Hutchins, R. M.; advice to editors .. 388
  Secrecy on Formosa; E 190
    See also Freedom of the press
Nixon, Vice-President Richard M.; visit to Guatemala; E 169
Nossiter, Bernard D.
  Haiti; situation in; S ...... 255; see also C, issue of April 30
  Slump in textiles; S .... 74; see also E, 61
Not as a stranger. Reviewed by R. Hatch; MP 591
Nuclear energy. See Atomic energy
Nutcracker, the; ballet. Reviewed by B. H. Haggin 38

O

O'Casey, Sean; views of H. Clurman and H. Gregory. S. Terkel; C 20
O'clock. L. Fitzell; P 497
O'Connor, Harvey
  Merger of oil and chemical workers' unions; S 257
  Security, creeping; S 347
  Texas oil; depletion allowance, and millionaires; S 175
Oil. See Texas
Oil, chemical and atomic workers. See Labor-Union
Olds, Leland
  Struggle for control of atomic energy; S 551
Oliphant, M. L.
  Australia; industrialization of; need for power and people; S 529
Once over lightly. Reviewed by R. Hatch; D 294
Once upon a tailor. Reviewed by R. Hatch; D 510
One summer of happiness. Reviewed by R. Hatch; MP 334
Oppenheimer, J. Robert; "folly." W. Frank; S 139
Orans, Mrs. Alice; deportation case. L. B. Frantz; S 258
Orfeo ed Euridice. Reviewed by B. H. Haggin; M 383
Orrell, Herbert M.
  Liberalism; S, issue of March 12

PAGE

Otello. Reviewed by B. H. Haggin; M 247, 275

P

Pannikar, K. M.
  Afro-Asian conference; S ...... 287; see also 288
Partridge, Elizabeth
  The Lohars go home; S 483
Pauling, Linus; and Voice of America; correction of article in issue of November 13, 1954; see issue of February 19
Peace
  Conferences, big-four. A. Werth; S ...... 464; correction, 493
  Forum; Atoms for Peace dinner; E .. 453
  Or war; atomic energy for weapons or welfare. D. Cavers; S 556
    Morality must rule. K. Lonsdale; S 554
  Outlook. E. Kefauver; S 317
  Outlook. F. L. Schuman; S ...... 435; see also E, 433
Peale, Reverend Norman Vincent; teachings. R. C. Murphy, Jr.; S 398
Peffer, Nathaniel; his article on Asia, in issue of December 11, 1954, praised. A. E. Sessions; C, issue of January 29
Pennsylvania; government; investigation by Governor Leader; E 151
Pennsylvania academy of the fine arts; sesquicentennial. S. L. Faison, Jr.; A 224
Peron, Juan D. See Argentina
Perry, Jennings
  Braden conviction of sedition, Louisville; S ...... 50; see also E, 43; C, 128; C, issue of February 26
Peters, John Punnett; loyalty case. M. Freedman; S 231
  Case. P. Sirotkin; S 438
Peterson, Joseph, Jr.; ousting on disloyalty charge; E 22
Phoenix '55. Reviewed by R. Hatch; D 430
Picgering, John M.
  Praise for two articles in *The Nation;* C ...... 148; see also 25, 74
Plastic, strong, promise of; views of E. M. Zuckert 548
Plays. For reviews, see Clurman, H. Hatch, R.
Poems
  Conviction. C. de Leeuw 102
  Henri Matisse. J. Langland 369
  Hotel room. M. Kaplan 76
  O'clock. L. Fitzell 495
Poliomyelitis; Canada's way with. M. Gayn; S ...... 476; see also E, 473
Portrait of a lady. Reviewed by H. Clurman; D 36
Posey, Buford W.
  Choctaw Indians, Mississippi; finances; S 361
Poujade, Pierre. See France—Politics
Powell, Adam Clayton
  Mission to Bandung; S 455
Power, atomic. See Atomic energy
Power to kill. H. Hart; S 499
Presidential election of 1956; Chicago election, and 1956. E. Gertz; S 281
  Republican maneuvers; E 61
Press. See Books; Newspapers
Press, freedom of. See Freedom of the press
Prince of players. Reviewed by R. Hatch; MP 84
Prittie, Terence
  Adenauer invitation to Moscow; S .. 575
Probability versus certainty. S. A. Mayper; C 20
Probst, Audrey
  Work on housing problem, Chicago area; S, issue of March 5
Production. See United States—Economics
Propaganda; by United States information agency. R. E. Conway; C, issue of January 29
  United States and Soviet. L. H. Gregory; C, issue of January 1
Protectionism. See United States—Foreign trade
Public health. See Health, public
Purple plain, the. Reviewed by R. Hatch; MP 382
Puzzled race, a. K. Boyle; S 481

Q

Quemoy. See China, nationalist
Quill, Michael J.; labor and politics; E 24

R

Radiation; perils from. See Atomic bomb
Radio. See Freedom of the air
Randers, Gunnar
  Costs of atomic energy, versus needs; S 540

PAGE
Rearmament; and disarmament; conferences; E 239
Reciprocity, trade. See United States—Foreign trade
Recorded music. See Haggin, B. H.
Reesor, S. H.
  Depression; help for left or right; S, issue of May 7
Reeves, Nancy
  California; Democratic council meeting; S, issue of April 19
Refugees; Corsi-Dulles dispute. M. Freedman; S 340
Republican party; right wing, decline of; E 474
  War party in; E 297
    See also Presidential election of 1956
Reynolds, Victor
  The university press; S 366
Rice; report on trade. M. Freedman; S. 211
Right, the. See Conservatives
Right-to-work laws. E G. Astor; S 285
Rights, civil. See Freedom
Roads; and education; cost of. H. J. Bourne; C 248
Rodman, Selden, and R. Baldwin
  More on Haiti; C, issue of June 4
Roman catholic church; Catholic opposition to McCarthy. N. Thimmesch; S, issue of February 5
Romeo and Juliet. Reviewed by R. Hatch; MP 37
Rosenwein, Samuel, and A. L. Wirin
  Smith act score; S........ 175
Ross, Paul L.
  New York City and State; relations; housing problem; S....219; see also C, issue of May 14
Roth, Andrew
  Fall of Malenkov; S........ 174
Rudisill, George, Jr.
  Gitt of the York, Pennsylvania, *Gazette and Daily*; S........ 484
Russell, Bertrand
  Coexistence or no existence; atomic war threat; S 515
Russia, Soviet. See Union of soviet socialist republics

S

SEATO. See Southeast Asia Treaty Organization
Sacks, Jacob
  Atom in medicine; S........ 536
Saigon. See Vietnam
Saint of Bleecker street, the. Reviewed by H. Clurman; D........ 83
San Diego, California. See California
Saroyan, William
  Art for man's sake; S........ 364
Schoolhouse, little red. See Education
Schools. See Education
Schudakopf, Margaret Jean; loyalty case, Tacoma. J. G. Sykes; S, issue of January 22
Schuman, Frederick L.
  Article on Toynbee, in issue of November 6, 1954, commended. C. H. Fisher; C 20
  Four-power, high-level talks; plans for; S....435; see also E........ 433
Schur, Edwin M.
  Abortion racket; S....199; see also C 356
Science; and art. Mrs. M. F. Seymour; C....188; see also 102
Sculpture in America. S. L. Faison, Jr.; A 56
Security, national. See Loyalty
Security for scientists. G. Marine; S.... 140
Sedition. See Loyalty
Segregation. See Negroes
Seldes, George
  Critics of the press; S....138; see also 113; C, issue of March 19
Seldin, Joseph J.
  Cigarette advertising; bunk in; S .. 136
  Selling to the id; S........ 442
Sessions, Alanson E.
  Praise for Peffer article on Asia, in issue of December 11, 1954; C, issue of January 29
Seven year itch. Reviewed by R. Hatch; D 590
Seventh heaven. Reviewed by R. Hatch; D 510
Seymour, Mrs. M. F.
  Art and science; C....188; see also 102
Shepherd, George W., Jr.
  Colonialism in Africa; C........ 40
Shoestring revue. Reviewed by R. Hatch; D 294
Silk stockings. Revewed by R. Hatch; D 226
Singapore experiment. J. Choy; C, issue of May 14
Sirotkin, Phillip
  Peters loyalty case; S........ 438

PAGE
Six bridges to cross. Reviewed by R. Hatch; MP 126
Smith, Howard K.
  Great Britain without Churchill; S.... 319
Smith act. See Loyalty
Sobel, Martin; loyalty case. M. I. Symington; C 40
Socialism; program, new; why the old has failed. G. D. H. Cole; S .. 344; see also C, ... 491
Souchere, Elena de la
  Franco's "monarchist' trick; S...... 341
South; labor victory in, A. Maund; S 582; see also E, ... 573
South Africa. See Union of South Africa
Southeast Asia treaty organization; disunity in. O. E. Clubb; S........ 217
Southwest; salvaging the desert. P. Meigs; S 577
Soviet Russia. See Union of soviet socialist republics
Spain; Franco's "monarchist" trick. E. de la Souchere; S........ 341
  Succession to Franco discussed; E.... 23
Speech, freedom of. See Freedom of speech
Starvation. See Food
Steber, Eleanor. B. H. Haggin; M 147
Stevenson, Adlai E.; on Formosa policy. M. Freedman; S 340
Stewart, Kenneth N.
  Ninety years of *The Nation;* S 569
Stocks; buying; decision to raise margin requirements. C. McWilliams; S 41
  Market; inquiry into. M. Freedman; S 211
Stranger's hand, the. Reviewed by R. Hatch; MP 206
Strategic air command. Reviewed by R. Hatch; MP 410
Subversion. See Loyalty
Supreme court, United States. See United States supreme court
Swezey, Alan
  Business cycle; out? S 96
Swomley, John M., Jr.
  Conscription; opposition to; S ...... 327; see also letter, issue of June 25
Sykes, Jay G.
  Schudakopf loyalty case, Tacoma; S, issue of January 22
Symington, Muriel
  Sobell case; C 40
Symphony of the air. Reviewed by B. . Haggin; M 167

T

Tariff, United States. See United States —Foreign trade
  See also General agreement on tariffs and trade
Taxation, federal See United States—Finances
Teach me how to cry. Reviewed by R. Hatch; D 354
Teachers. See Education
Telephones. See Wiretapping
Television
  Education by. H. Cooley; S 461
  Monopoly. H. Cooley; S ......159; See also E, 150
  Pay-as-you-see. H. Cooley; S 498
    See also Freedom of the air
Texas; oil; depletion allowance, and millionaires. H. O'Connor; S 175
Textiles; slump in, and labor. B. Nossitor; S ...... 72; see also E, 61
Thailand; Chinese in. Muchi; S 30
Theater, the. See Plays
Thimmesch, Nick
  Catholic opposition to McCarthy; S, issue of February 5
Thomas, Dylan, in a London "pub." K. Boyle; S ...... 102; see also C, 188; C, 336
Three cases of murder. Reviewed by R. Hatch; MP 335
Three for tonight. Reviewed by R. Hatch; D 354
Three sisters, the. Reviewed by R. Hatch; D 293
Tiger and the flame, the. Reviewed by R. Hatch; MP 127
Time of your life, the. Reviewed by H. Clurman; D 124
To Paris with love. Reviewed by R. Hatch; MP 334
Tonight's the night. Reviewed by R. Hatch; MP 38
Toynbee, Arnold J.; article on, by Schuman, in issue of November 6, 1954, commended. C. H. Fisher; C 20
Trade. See General agreement on tariffs and trade; United States—Foreign trade
Trade session, east-west. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S 300

PAGE
Travel restrictions on Russians in United States and on Americans in soviet Russia; E 43
Traywick, Leland A.
  Anti-trust drive; S 308
Troublemakers, the. Reviewed by H. Clurman; D 84
Trusteeships. See Colonialism
Trusts; anti-trust drive. L. A. Traywick; S 308
Truth; probability versus certainty; S. A. Mayper; C 20
Tunis; agreement with France; E 357
Turkel, Studs
  Sean O'Casey; C 20
Turkey; Iraqi-Turkish pact; failure of United States policy; E 340

U

U Nu. See Burma
Unemployment. See Labor
Union labor. See Labor
Union of South Africa; racial and other issues; 100-year plan. R. K.| Chase; S 306
Union of soviet socialist republics
  And Yugoslavia. See Yugoslavia
  Commission, agricultural, to Iowa; proposed; E ......249; E, 454
  Commission, journalistic, to United States; proposed; E 250
  Consumer goods versus heavy industry; shake-up in the kremlin. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S 153
  Industrialization and production of consumer goods. V. Condoide; S ...... 197; see also C, 412; C, 491
  Foreign policy; E 169
  Hearst report on conditions; E 210
  Malenkov, G.; fall of. M. Freedman; S 152
  Malenko, G.; fall of. A. Roth; S 174
  Politics and premiers. A. Werth; S .. 173
  Visit of farmers and students to United States; way cleared; E ...... 454; see also E, 249
United automobile workers; agreements with Ford and General motors; E 574
United nations
  And colonialism. F. Brockway; S ..6, 7
  Atom in. V. H. Bernstein; S 564
  Attack on, in San Francisco; death rattle. G. Marine; S 419
  Charter revision; case for. J. H. Merryman; S 27
    No debate now. M. Kling; S 46
  Hearings, San Francisco. G. Marine; S, issue of May 21
United States
  Congress; committee investigations; supreme court decision on contempt; E 475
  Constitution; bill of rights; inquiry into; E 454
  Economics:
    Business cycles; out? A. Swezey; S 96
    Business depression as aid for left or right. S. H. Reesor and P. A. Klein; S, issue of May 7
    Cost of living; the man with the load. T. Bell; S, issue of January 8
    Farm prices; squeeze on farmers. J. M. Youngdale; C 336
    Production and labor; E 90
    Situation; Humphrey-Douglas controversy. M. Freedman; S 231
    See also Stocks; Trusts
  Finances; budget and politics; E 89
    Taxes and employment; E 251
  Foreign policy:
    And colonialism. W. B. Lloyd, Jr.; S 7
    And colonialism; containment of freedom. V. H. Bernstein; S 1
    Faiure seen in Iraqi-Turkish pact; E 340
    Formosa. See China, nationalist
    George, senator, and the administration policy. M. Freedman; S 279
    On China. See China
    Peace policy backfire J. Alvarez del Vayo; S 135
    Puzled Briton, a. J. H. Lloyd; C .. 356
    "Situation, new"; E 250
  Foreign trade:
    Administration victory in tariff debate; E 171
    Protectionism in reciprocal trade agreement bill; E 433
    Reciprocal trade program, Eisenhower's. M. Freedman; S 211
  Government; an old complaint 161
United States information agency; propaganda by R. E. Conway; C, issue of January 29
United States supreme court; desegregation decision and decree. See Negroes
Universal military training. See Conscription
University press, the. V. Reynolds; S . 366
Uranium; curtain. J. G. Beckerly; S .. 549

Index

PAGE

V

- Veltz, Claudio
  - Peron and the Catholic church; struggle for power; S 100
- Vietnam; dilemma in Saigon. S. A. Jaffe; S 581
  - Dilemma, American; E 413
- Voice of America; and L. Pauling; correction of article in issue of November 13, 1954; see issue of February 19

W

- Waddington, C. H
  - Peril from A-dust; S ...... 155; see also E, 149
- Wages. See Labor
- Wages of fear, the. Reviewed by R. Hatch; MP 126
- War; cold; and colonialism. R. Emerson; S 3
- War and peace; morality must rule. K. Lonsdale; S 554
  - Or peace; atomic energy for weapons or welfare. D. Cavers; S 556
  - Perspectives. W. A. Williams; S 458
  - Talk; E 297
- Waring, Houston
  - Denver *Cervi's Journal;* S, issue of March 26
- Washington, letters from. See Freedman, M.
- Wayward saint, the. Reviewed by R. Hatch; D 226
- Weapons. See Armament
- Werth, Alexander
  - Four-power talks; S ......464; correction, 493
  - Soviet Russia; policies and premiers; S 173
- West New Guinea; default by Netherlands; E 62
- West-east trade. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S 300
- What every woman knows. Reviewed by H. Clurman; D 37
- Wheat market, weird. L. Hale; S 421
- Whitaker, Clem, and L. Baxter
  - California politics; C, issue of January 1
- White, Walter; death and tribute. H. L. Moon; S 343
- Whitney, Vincent, and W. Isard
  - Atomic energy; development pattern for America; S 542
- Williams, William A.
  - Cold war perspectives; S 458
- Wiretapping; New York disclosures; E .. 189
- Wirin, A. L., and S. Rosenwein
  - Smith act score; S 177
- Wiseman, Sylvia
  - Labor union merger in the United States; repercussions in Canada; S 328
- Wood, John S.; testimony on Ku klux klan; E 473
- Woodbury, David O.
  - Surveying the field of atomic energy; S 533
- World war III
  - Fuse of; E 277
  - Peace prospects. E. Kefauver; S 317
  - Threat of; E 297
- Writers. See Books

Y

- Yalta papers; publication of. M. Freedman; S 253
- Yarros, Victor S.
  - Reactionary Eisenhower administration; C 20
- Yonkers, New York; Ellis freedom of speech case; E 23
- York, Pennsylvania; Gitt of the *Gazette and Daily*. G. Rudisill, Jr.; S 484
- Youngdale, James M.
  - Squeeze on farmers; C 336
- Yugoslavia; visit of soviet leaders to Belgrade; E 493

Z

- Zuckert, Eugene M., on development of plastics 548

BOOK REVIEWS

Books are indexed under author and title and in some cases under subject.

The following explanatory letters are used in the index:

B Book review
AN Brief annotation
R Reviewer

A

PAGE

- Abse, Dannie
  - Ash on a young man's sleeve; AN .. 243
- Acquainted with the night. H. Boll. Translated by R. Graves; AN 55
- Africa; five books on; AN 106
- Africa drums. R. St. B. Baker; AN 106
- Africa, land of my fathers. E. B. Thompson; AN 106
- African-American cooperation. G. U. Meniru; AN 106
- African mind in health and disease, the: A study in ethno-psychiatry. J. C. Carothers. World health organization publication; AN 79
- Aldridge, John W.
  - Article on "Gray new world"; comment on books by D. Riesman and others 585
- Aldridge, John W.; R ...... 162 (see also letter, 412); 290
- Alexander Dumas. A. Maurois; AN 468
- All men are mortal. S. de Beauvoir; AN 389
- Allen, Gay Wilson
  - The solitary singer: A critical biography of Walt Whitman; B 426
- American science and invention. M. Wilson; B 507
- American tradition in foreign policy, the. F. Tannenbaum; AN 510
- American security and freedom. M. J. Goldbloom; AN 81
- American in Russia. H. E. Salisbury; B 291
- American thought: A critical sketch. M. R. Cohen. Edited and with a foreword by F. S. Cohen; AN 273
- America's rise to world power, 1898-1954. F. R. Dulles; AN 509
- Andersen, Hans Christian. R. Godden; AN 468
- Angoff, Charles
  - The sun at noon; AN 243
- Apes, angels and Victorians. The story of Darwin, Huxley, and evolution. W. Irvine; AN 380
- Approaches to God. J. Maritain. Edited by R. N. Anshen. Translated by P. O'Reilly; AN 79
- Around India. J. Seymour; AN 82
- Art and architecture of Russia, the G. H. Hamilton; B 409
- Art books; five; AN 313
- Art news annual, 1955 edition. By the editors of *Art News;* AN 313
- Art of making sense, the. A guide to logical thinking. L. Ruby; B 270
- Art treasures of the prado museum. Text by H. B. Wehle; AN 313
- Ash on a young man's sleeve. D. Abse; AN 243
- Asia; five books on; AN 353
- Ataturk; biography of. R. Brock; B 352
- Atom spy hoax, the. W. A. Reuben; B .. 466
- Auden, W. H.
  - The shield of Achilles; B 378
- Auntie Mame. P. Dennis; AN 468
- Autobiography, an. E. Muir; B 372

B

- Back of history. W. Howells; AN 106
- Baker, Carlos; R 123, 372
- Baker, Richard St. Barke
  - Africa drums; AN 106
- Barth, Alan
  - Government by investigation; B 374
- Bartlett, Vernon
  - Report from Malaya; AN 354
- Barton, Donald R.
  - Once in Aleppo; AN 469
- Basso, Hamilton
  - The view from Pompey's head; AN . 82
- Beals, Carleton; R 184
- Beauvoir, Simone de
  - All men are mortal; AN 489
- Beech, Keyes
  - Tokyo and points east; B 15
- Beethoven and his nephews; E. and R. Sterba; B 144
- Beggars in the sun, the. P. D. Boles; AN 56
  - Wilderness stair; B 508
- Belfrage, Cedric
  - Seeds of destruction; AN 509
- Belitt, Ben
  - Wilderness stair; B 508

PAGE

- Benton's row. F. Yerby; AN 55
- Berle, A. A. Jr.
  - The 20th century capitalist revolution (reviewed December 18, 1954). Letter by V. Perlo 86
- Bhave, Vinoba; "India's walking saint." H. Tennyson; B 408
- Big dam foolishness. E. T. Peterson; AN 381
- Birthdays from the ocean. I. Gardner; AN 508
- Blackmuir, R. P.
  - The lion and the honeycomb; B 407
- Boles, Paul Darcy
  - Beggars in the sun; AN 56
- Boll, Heinrich
  - Acquainted with the night. Translated by R. Graves; AN 55
- Borel, Petrus. By E. Starkie; AN 468
- Boswell and Johnson. The highland jaunt. M. McLaren; AN 488
- Boulle, Pierre
  - The bridge over the river Kwai. Translated by X. Fielding; AN 55
- Bowen, Elizabeth
  - A world of love; B 123
- Boyle, Kay
  - Writers; a declaration for 1955...... 102; see also letters, 188, 236
- Boyle, Kay; R 506
- Brandt, Richard W.
  - Hopi ethics; AN 314
- Brewster, Dorothy
  - East-west passage. A study in literary relationships; AN 468
- Bridge over the river Kwai, the. P. Boulle. Translated by X. Fielding; AN 55
- British in India, the. G. Wint; AN 82
- Brock, Ray
  - Ghost on horseback. The invisible Ataturk; B 352
- Bronowski, J.
  - The face of violence. An essay with a play; B 310
- Brooks, Van Wyck
  - John Sloan: A painter's life; B 242
- Brown gold. The amazing story of coffee. A. Uribe; B 184
- Burckhardt, Jacob; letters of. Edited and translated by A. Dru; AN 509
- Burlingame, Roger
  - Henry Ford; AN 468
- Burma under the Japanese. T. Nu. Edited and translated by J. S. Furnival; AN .. 146
- Burning fountain, the. A study in the language of symbolism. P. Wheelwright; AN 244
- Byrd, Sigman
  - Sig Byrd's Houston; B 447
- Byron, Lord; conversation of. Edited with an introduction and notes by E. J. Lovell; AN 244

C

- Carrier, Constance
  - The middle voice; AN 508
- Carroll, Lewis; biography. D. Hudson; AN 244
- Carter, Everett
  - Howells and the age of realism; AN .. 244
- Casanova. H. Kesten. Translated by J. Stern and R. Pick; AN 293
- Charles Darwin. R. Moore; AN 468
- Chase, Richard
  - Walt Whitman reconsidered; B 426
- Children of the black-haired people. E. King; B 486
- Churchill, Peter
  - Duel of wits; AN 273
- Ciardi, John; R........ 77, 142, 378, 508
- Civilization and foreign policy. L. J. Halle; B 241
- Clark, Harry H., and others
  - The development of American literary criticism; AN 380
- Classic moderns; decline of. M. Geismar 402
- Clear channels. M. Wylie; B 312
- Close contact. Brigadier C. H. Dewhurst; AN 146
- Clubb, O. Edmund; R 15, 82, 353, 408
- Coates, Aussin
  - Invitation to an eastern feast; AN 354
- Cohen, Morris R.
  - American thought: A critical sketch. Edited and with an introduction by F. S. Cohen; AN 374
- Colette
  - The vagabond. Translated by E. McLeod; B 268
- Collected poems. E. Sitwell; AN 508
- Collected poems, 1928-1953. S. Spender; B 378
- Coming of the revolution, the.: 1763-1775. L. H. Gipson; AN 145
- Common sense and world affairs. D. Fosdick; B 241
- Compton-Burnett, I.
  - Mother and son; AN 380
- Confidence-man, the. H. Melville. Edited by E. S. Foster; AN 468
- Contemporary French novel, the. H. Peyre; B 446

Index

PAGE

- Cook, Thomas I., and M. Moos
  - Power through purpose; B ... 241
- Cooke, Dwight
  - There is no Asia; B ... 15
- Cooke, Morris Llewellyn; biography; K. E. Trombley; B ... 35
- Cooley, Hazel; R ... 312
- Cooperman, Stanley; R ... 55, 80, 204, 243, 468 (see page 510)
- Corbett, Jim
  - The temple tiger and more man-eaters of Kumaon; AN ... 333
- Coromandel. J. Masters; AN ... 381
- Coudert, Frederic
  - A half century of international problems; AN ... 353
- Cowley, Malcolm
  - The literary situation; B ... 162; see also letter, 412
- Crocker, Lester G.
  - The embattled philosopher. A biography of D. Diderot; AN ... 314
- Cross and the sword, the. M. de J. Galvan. Translated by R. Graves; AN ... 55
- Crusade in Asia. C. P. Romulo; B ... 408
- Cummings, E. E.
  - Poems, 1923-1954; B ... 142
- Curlew's cry, the. M. Walker; AN ... 244
- Cypresses believe in God, the. J. M. Gironella; B ... 506

D

- Danger in Kashmir. J. Korbel; AN ... 82
- Dark child, the. C. Laye. Translated by J. Kirkup, E. Jones, E. Gottlieb; B ... 16
- Darwin, Charles. R. Moore; AN ... 468
- Darwin, Charles; story of. ("In Apes, angels and Victorians," by W. Irvine); AN ... 380
- Davidson, Basil; R ... 449
- Dealey of the *Dallas News*. E. Sharpe; B 447
- Democratic manifesto, a. By S. E. Stumpf; AN ... 314
- Dennis, Patrick
  - Auntie Mame; AN ... 468
- Development of American literary criticism, the. H. H. Clark, and others; AN 380
- Development of personality, the. C. G. Jung; AN ... 79
- Devil, the. G. Papini; AN ... 79
- Devil's diary. The record of nazi conspiracy and aggression Edited by J. L. Stipp; AN ... 510
- Democracy and Marxism. H. B. Mayo. Foreword by W. B. Smith; AN ... 509
- De Vries, Robert
  - Gala day; AN ... 55
- Dewhurst, Brigadier C. H.
  - Close contact; AN ... 146
- Diderot, Denis; biography. L. G. Crocker; AN ... 314
- Douglass, Elisha P.
  - Rebels and democrats. The struggle for equal political rights and majority rule during the American revolution; B ... 487
- Dowd, Douglas F.; R ... 268
- Diplomatic conclusions. R. Peyrefitte. Translated by E. Hyams; AN ... 469
- Dream of success, the. A study of the modern American imagination. K. S. Lynn; B ... 404
- Duel of wits. P. Churchill; AN ... 273
- Duffey, Bernard
  - The Chicago renaissance in American letters. A critical history; AN ... 274
- Dulles, Foster Rhea
  - America's rise to world power, 1898-1954; AN ... 509
- Dumas, Alexander. A. Maurois; AN ... 468
- Dylan, Thomas. By D. Stanford; AN ... 245

E

- East-west passage. A study in literary relationships. D. Brewster; AN ... 468
- Eastman, Max
  - Poems of five decades; AN ... 77
- Economics and the art of controversy. J. K. Gailbraith; AN ... 332
- Ecstacy of Owen Muir, the. R. Lardner, Jr.; B ... 204
- Eddy, Sherwood
  - Eighty adventurous years. An autobiography; AN ... 292
- Education of an American liberal. L. Milner; AN ... 293
- Edel, Abraham
  - Ethical judgment. The use of science in ethics; B ... 428
- Edel, Abraham; R ... 220,270, 314
- Eighty adventurous years. An autobiography. S. Eddy; AN ... 292
- Elias, Robert H.; R ... 404
- Eliot, T. S., and E. Pound. By R. Aldington; AN ... 77

PAGE

- Embattled philosopher, the. A biography of Denis Diderot. L. G. Crocker; AN ... 314
- End to innocence, an: Essays on culture and politics. L. Fiedler; B ... 588
- Enlargement of the exchange economy in tropical Africa. A United nations publication; AN ... 79
- Era of the oath: Northern loyalty tests during the civil war and reconstruction. H. M. Hyman; B ... 271
- Erwin, Charles W.
  - Homegrown liberal; autobiography; B. 122
- Eska, Karl
  - The five seasons. Translated by R. Kee; AN ... 82
- Ethical judgment. The use of science in ethics. A. Edel; B ... 428
- European politics; six books on; AN ... 353
- Evans, Roger
  - The spoor of spooks; AN ... 81
- Evolution of diplomatic method, the. H. Nicolson; AN ... 353
- Experts, the. M. Mayer; AN ... 243

F

- Face of violence, the. An essay with a play. J. Bronowski; B ... 310
- Face value. R. Standish; AN ... 469
- Fairchild, Henry Pratt; R ... 406
- Faison, S. Lane, Jr.; R ... 77, 242, 313, 409
- Fate of the French noncommunist left, the. E. D. Godfrey, Jr.; AN ... 509
- Fiction roundup ... 55
- Fiedler, Lewis
  - An end to innocence: Essays on culture and politics; B ... 588
- First-prize stories, 1919-1954. From O. Henry memorial awards; AN ... 104
- Farrell, James T.
  - Reflections at fifty; B ... 290
- Fifth amendment today. E. N. Griswold; AN ... 271
- Firbank, Ronald
  - Santal; AN ... 468
- Five seasons, the. K. Eska. Translated by R. Kee; AN ... 82
- Flamingo feather. L. van der Post; AN ... 468
- Fletcher, Joseph
  - Morals and medicine; AN ... 79
- Ford, Henry. By R. Burlingame; AN ... 468
- Fosdick, Dorothy
  - Common sense and world affairs; B ... 241
- Foster, Charles H.
  - The rungless ladder. Harriet Beecher Stowe and New England puritanism; AN ... 244
- Fragebogen. By E. von Salomon. Translated by C. Fitz-Gibbon; B ... 34
- Fragments of an analysis with Freud. By J. Wortis; B ... 310
- France: The tragic years, 1939-1947. S. Huddleston; AN ... 509
- Frank, Waldo; R ... 79, 144, 310
- Freedman, Max; R ... 202
- French labor movement, the. V. R. Lorwin; AN ... 353

G

- G. B. Dealey of the *Dallas News*. E. Sharpe; B ... 447
- Gaddis, William
  - The recognitions; B ... 376
- Gaisseau, Pierre Dominique
  - The sacred forest; AN ... 79
- Gala day. R. de Vries; AN ... 55
- Galbraith, John K.
  - Economics and the art of controversy; AN ... 332
- Galvan, Manuel de Jesus
  - The cross and the sword. Translated by R. Graves; AN ... 55
- Gandhi, Mahatma. V. Sheean; AN ... 468
- Gardner, Isabella
  - Birthdays from the ocean; AN ... 508
- Gayn, Mark; R ... 146, 291, 352
- Geismar, Maxwell
  - Decline of the classic moderns ... 402
  - The world of W. Whitman (essay) ... 265
- Geismar, Maxwell; R ...-164
- Ghost on horseback. The invisible Ataturk. R. Brock; B ... 352
- Giedion, Siegfried
  - Walter Gropius, work and teamwork; AN ... 313
- Gilson, Etienne
  - History of Christian philosophy in the middle ages; AN ... 314
- Gipson, Lawrence Henry
  - The coming of the revolution: 1763-1775; AN ... 145
- Gironella, Jose Maria
  - The cypresses believe in God; B ... 506
- Godden, Rumer
  - Hans Christian Andersen; AN ... 468

PAGE

- Godfrey, E. Drexel, Jr.
  - The fate of the noncommunist left; AN 509
- Goheen, J. D.; R ... 428
- Goldbloom, Maurice J.
  - American security and freedom; AN 81
- Goodfriend, Arthur
  - Something is missing; AN ... 354
- Government by investigation. A. Barth; B 374
- Grand inquest. The story of congressional investigations. T. Taylor; B ... 374
- Grant, F. R.
  - Criticism of Murra review of "Transformation," by Hanson; letter, with reply by Murra ... 275; see also 181
- Great roundup. The story of Texas and southwestern cowmen. L. Nordyke; B 447
- Griswold, Erwin N.
  - The 5th amendment today; B ... 271
- Gropius, Walter, work and teamwork. S. Giedion; AN ... 313
- Gruening, Ernest
  - The state of Alaska; B ... 223
- Guerard, Albert; R ... 445

H

- Half century of international problems, a. F. Coudert; AN ... 353
- Hall, R. A.
  - The scientific revolution, 1500-1800; B 507
- Halle, Louis J.
  - Civilization and foreign policy; B ... 241
- Hallinan, Nancy
  - Rough winds of May; B ... 330
- Hamilton, George Heard
  - The art and architecture of Russia; B 409
- Hans Christian Andersen. R. Godden; AN 468
- Hanson, Earl Parker
  - Transformation: The story of modern Puerto Rico; B ... 181; see also letter, 275
- Hardy, Ronald
  - The place of jackals; B ... 330
- Harris, George Washington
  - Sut Lovingood. Edited with an introduction by B. Weber; AN ... 55
- Harrison, Gordon
  - Road to the right. The tradition and hope of American conservatism; B 76
- Harrow, Benjamin; R ... 507
- Hawkes, Jaquetta
  - Man on earth; AN ... 332
- Hawthorne. A critical study. H. H. Waggoner; AN ... 468
- Hayes, Rutherford B., and his America. H. Barnard; B ... 467
- Heath, W. L.
  - Violent Saturday; B ... 330
- Henry Ford. R. Burlingame; AN ... 468
- Highland jaunt, the. M. McLaren; AN ... 488
- Hilliard, Jan
  - A view of the town; AN ... 55
- His very self and voice. Collected conversations of Lord Byron. Edited with an introduction and notes by E. J. Lovell, Jr.; AN ... 244
- History, American; four books ... 145
- History of Christian philosophy in the middle ages. E. Gilson; AN ... 314
- Hitler, Adolf; the young Hitler I knew. A. Kubizek. Translated by E. V. Anderson. Introduction by H. R. Trevor-Roper; AN ... 353
- Hoare, Geoffrey
  - The missing MacLeans; AN ... 332
- Holmes, John
  - The symbols; AN ... 508
- Homegrown liberal: The autobiography of C. W. Erwin. Edited by J. Gould; B 122
- Honig, Edwin
  - The moral circus; AN ... 509
- Hopi ethics. R. B. Brandt; AN ... 314
- Howells, William
  - Back of history; AN ... 106
- Howells and the age of realism. E. Carter; AN ... 244
- Huddleston, Sisley
  - France: The tragic years, 1939-1947; AN ... 509
- Hudson, Derek
  - Lewis Carroll; AN ... 244
- Human society in ethics and politics. B. Russell; B ... 222
- Humphries, Rolfe
  - Poems; AN ... 77
- Hunt, Frazer
  - The untold story of Douglas MacArthur; AN ... 146
- Hutchison, Keith; R ... 145, 468
- Huxley, Thomas; story of. ("In Apes, angels, and Victorians," by W. Irvine); AN ... 380
- Hyman, Harold Melvin
  - Era of the oath: Northern loyalty tests during the civil war and reconstruction; B ... 271

PAGE

I

India and Pakistan; four books on 82
India's walking saint. H. Tennyson; B .. 408
Industrial voyage. P. W. Litchfield; B .. 331
Intelligent heart, the. The story of D. H. Lawrence. By H. T. Moore; B ... 164
Invitation to an eastern feast. A. Coates; AN 354
Irvine, William
  Apes, angels, and Victorians. The story of Darwin, Huxley, and evolution; AN 380
Israel's emerging constitution, 1948-1951. E. Rackman; B 488

J

Jackson, H. C.
  Sudan days and ways; AN 106
Jacobson, Dan
  The trap; B 330
James, Daniel
  Red design for the Americas; Guatemalan prelude; B 182
Japanese literature. An introduction for western readers. D. Keene; AN 244
Jefferson, Thomas
  Papers. Vol. X, 22 June to 31 December, 1786. Edited by J. P. Boyd, M. R. Bryan, and F. Anadahl; AN .. 292
Jenkins, Elizabeth
  The tortoise and the hare; AN 83
Jews in America, the: A history. R. Learse; B 36
John Sloan: A painter's life. Van W. Brooks; B 242
Johnson, Samuel; Young Sam Johnson. J. L. Clifford; AN 488
Johnson and Boswell: The highland jaunt. M. McLaren; AN 488
Josephson, Matthew; R 122
Journey to the Pathans. P. Mayne; AN 354
Journey without end. M. Sperber. Translated by C. Fitzgibbon; AN 104
Jung, C. G.
  The development of personality; AN .. 79

K

Kallen, Horace M.
  Secularism is the will of God; B 310
Kaufman, R. J.; R 330
Keene, Donald
  Japanese literature. An introduction for western readers; AN 244
Kemal Ataturk; biography. R. Brock; B . 352
Kesten, Herman
  Casanova. Translated by J. Stern and R. Pick; AN 294
King, Evan
  Children of the black-haired people; B 486
Kirk, Russell
  A program for conservatives; B 76
Knight, Grant C.
  The strenuous age in American literature; AN 81
Korbel, Joseph
  Danger in Kashmir; AN 82
Korg, Jacob; R 244
Krutch, Joseph Wood; R 142, 268

L

Lader, Lawrence
  The Margaret Sanger story and the fight for birth control; B 406
Lardner, Ring, Jr.
  The ecstacy of Owen Muir; B 204
Last hunt, the. M. Lott; AN 55
Lauterbach, Albert
  Man, motives and money; B 268
Lawrence, D. H.; the story of. H. T. Moore; B 164
Laye, Canara
  The dark child. Translated by J. Kirkup, E. Jones, E. Gottlieb; B 16
Learsi, Rufus
  The Jews in America: A history; B .. 36
Leaves of grass, one hundred years after. New essays by W. C. Williams and others; B 426
Letters of Jacob Burckhardt, the. Edited and translated by A. Dru; AN 509
Levin, A. Leo; R 488
Lewis Carroll. D. Hudson; AN 244
Life and times of a happy liberal, the. A biography of M. L. Cooke. K. E. Trombley; B 35
Life records of John Milton, the. Volume III, 1651-1654. Edited by J. M. French; B 124
Lindsay, J. M.
  Thomas Mann; AN 468
Lion and the honeycomb, the. R. P. Blackmuir; B 407
Lion at morning, the. S. Longstreet; AN 104

PAGE

Lippmann, Walter
  The public philosophy; B 202
Litchfield, P. W.
  Industrial voyage; B 331
Literary situation, the. M. Cowley; B ......162; see also letter 412
Longstreet, Stephen
  The lion at morning; AN 104
Loomer, Bernard M.; R 466
Lorwin, Val. R.
  The French labor movement; AN .. 353
Lott, Milton
  The last hunt; AN 55
Lumby, E. W. R.
  The transfer of power in India; AN .. 82
Lynn, Kenneth S.
  The dream of success. A study of the modern American imagination; B .. 404

M

MacArthur, Douglas; the untold story of. F. Hunt; AN 146
Macdonald, George
  Visionary novels. Edited by A. Fremantle; AN 244
MacDuffie, Marshall
  The red carpet: 10,000 miles through Russia on a visa from Krushchev; B 54
MacLeish, Archibald
  Songs for eve; AN 77
Madison, Charles A.; R 272
Magener, Rolf
  Prisoners' bluff. Translated by B. Creighton; AN 353
Magician and the widow, the. G. Simenon. Translated by H. Sebba and H. Petrie; AN 468
Mahatma Gandhi. V. Sheean; AN 468
Malone, Dumas
  The story of the declaration of independence; AN 145
Man, motives and money. A. Lauterbach; B 268
Man on earth. J. Hawkes; AN 332
Man who never died, the. B. Stavis; AN 429
Mankiewicz, Don M.
  Trial; AN 205
Mann, Thomas. J. M. Lindsay; AN ... 468
Mannerheim, Marshal
  The memoirs of. Translated by Count E. Lewenhaupt; AN 146
Mantelpiece of shells, a. R. Todd; AN .. 508
Margaret Sanger story, the; and the fight for birth control. L. Lader; B 406
Maritain, Jacques
  Approaches to God. Edited by R. N. Ashen. Translated by P. O'Reilly; AN 79
Marquand, John P.
  Sincerely, Willis Wayde; AN 488
Marshall, Bruce
  Only fade away; AN 55
Martin, Kingsley
  The rise of French liberal thought; AN 353
Masters, John
  Coromandel; AN 381
Masters of modern art. Edited by A. H. Barr, Jr.; AN 313
Matchett, William H.
  Water ouzel ad other poems; AN 508
Maurois, Andre
  Alexander Dumas; AN 468
Maverick, Samuel, Texan: 1803-1870. Letters, Journals and memoirs. Edited by R. M. Green; B 143
Mayer, Martin
  The experts; AN 243
Mayne, Peter
  Journey to the Pathans; AN 354
Mayo, H. B.
  Democracy and Marxism. Foreword by W. B. Smith; AN 509
McLaren, Moray
  The highland jaunt; AN 488
Meiklejohn, Alexander; R 349
Melville, Herman
  The confidence-man. Edited by E. S. Foster; AN 468
Memoirs of Marshal Mannerheim, the. Translated by Count E. Lewenhaupt; AN 146
Meniru, G. Udegbunem
  African-American cooperation; AN . 106
Middle voice, the. C. Carrier; AN 508
Miller, Perry; R 203
Millis, Walter; R 374
Milner, Lucille
  Education of an American liberal; AN 293
Milton, John; the life records of. Volume III, 1651-1654. Edited by J. M. French; B 124
Mirsky, A. E.; R 78
Missing Macleans, the. G. Hoare; AN .. 332
Mizener, Arthur; R 407
Moore, Ruth
  Charles Darwin; AN 468
Moorehead, Alan
  A summer night; AN 244

PAGE

Moos, Malcolm, and T. I. Cook
  Power through purpose; B 241
Moral circus, the. E. Honig; AN 509
Morals and medicine. J. Fletcher; AN .. 79
Moscow kremlin, the. A. Voyce; B 409
Mother and son. I. Compton-Burnett; AN 380
Muir, Edwin
  An autobiography; B 372
Munz, Ludwig
  Rembrandt; AN 33
Murra, John V.; R ...... 16, 79, 106, 181 (see also letters, 275)
Museum pieces. W. Plomer; AN 55
My life with the microbes. S. A. Waksman; B 78

N

Nagel, Ernest
  Sovereign reason; AN 314
Nationalism: Myth and reality. B. C. Shafer; AN 510
Natural house, the. F. L. Wright; AN. 313
New men, the. C. P. Snow; AN 206
Nicolson, Harold
  The evolution of diplomatic method; AN 353
Nordyke, Lewis
  Great roundup. The story of Texas and southwestern cowmen; B 447
Nu. Thakin
  Burma under the Japanese. Edited and translated by J. S. Furnival; AN .. 146
Nuremberg: German views of the war trials. Edited by W. E. Benton and G. Grimm; AN 509

O

O'Connor, Harvey; R 331
Olson, Elder
  The scarecrow Christ; AN 508
Once in Aleppo. D. R. Barton; AN 469
One arm and other stories. T. Williams; AN 244
Only fade away. B. Marshall; AN 55
Opposing self, the. Nine essays in criticism. L. Trilling; B 203
Out went the candle. H. Swados; AN 206

P

Painting in Britain: The middle ages. M. Rickert; B 77
Pakistan and India; four books on 82
Palmer, R. R.; R 487
Papers of Thomas Jefferson, the. Volume X: 22 June to 31 Demember, 1786. Edited by J. P. Boyd, M. R. Bryan, and F. Anadahl; AN 292
Papini, Giovanni
  The devil; AN 79
Pearson, Hesketh
  His life and personality; B 142
Perlo, Victor
  Letter on review, published December 18, 1954, of "The 20th century capitalist revolution," by A. A. Berle, Jr 86
Peter Domanig in America: Brass. By V. White; AN 56
Peterson, Elmer T.
  Big dam foolishness; AN 381
Petrus Borel. By E. Starkie; AN...... 468
Peyre, Henri
  The contemporary French novel; B .. 446
Peyrefitte, Roger
  Diplomatic conclusions. Translated by E. Hyams; AN 469
Phlosophy and sociology; five books on; AN 314
Place of jackals, the. R. Hardy; B 330
Plomer, William
  Museum pieces; AN 55
Poems. R. Humphries; AN 77
Poems, 1923-1954. E. E. Cummings; B 142
Poems of five decades. M. Eastman; AN 77
Poetry, recent 77
Poetry; selected books 508
Politics, world; selected books 509
Poltroons and patriots. A popular account of the war of 1812; G. Tucker; AN 145
Pound, Ezra, and T. S. Eliot. By R. Aldington; AN 77
Power through purpose. T. I. Cook and M Moos; B 241
Prisoner in paradise. G. Rogers; B .. 80
Prisoners' bluff. R. Magener. Translated by B. Creighton; AN 353
Program for conservatives, a. R. Kirk; B 77
Prospects for communist China, the. W. W. Rostow; B 14
Psychology and religion, five books on; AN 79
Public philosophy, the. W. Lippmann; B 202

R

Race question in modern science, the. A Unesco series; AN 79

Index

PAGE

Rackman, Emanuel
  Israel's emerging constitution, 1948-1951; B 488
Racolin, Alexander E.; R 271
Raushenbush, Stephen; R 35
Rebels and democrats. The struggle for equal political rights and majority rule during the American revolution. E. P. Douglass; B 487
Recognition, the. W. Gaddis; B 376
Red carpet, the: 10,000 miles through Russia on a visa from Khrushchev. M. MacDuffie; B 54
Red design for the Americas; Guatemalan prelude; D. James; B 182
Reece, Byron Herbert
  The season of flesh; AN 508
Reflections at fifty. J. T. Farrell; B 290
Reischauer, Edwin O.
  Wanted: An Asian policy; B 368
Religion and psychology, five books on; AN 79
Rembrandt. Text by L. Munz; AN 313
Report from Malaya. V. Bartlett; AN 354
Reuben, William A.
  The atom spy hoax; B 466
Rickert, Margaret
  Painting in Britain: The middle ages; B 77
Riesman, David
  Books by. Article by J. W. Aldridge . 585
Rise of French liberal thought, the. K. Martin; AN 353
Road to the right. The tradition and hope of American conservatism. G. Harrison; B 76
Roberts, Donald A.; R 124
Robinson, Edgar Eugene
  The Roosevelt leadership, 1933-1945; B 272
Rogers, Garet
  Prisoner in paradise; B 80
Romulo, Carlos P.
  Crusade in Asia; B 408
Ronan, Tom
  Vision splendid; AN 82
Roosevelt leadership, the. 1933-1945. E. Robinson; B 272
Rosen, Bernard; R 182
Rostow, W. W.
  The prospects for communist China; B 14
Rough winds of May. N. Hallinan; B . 330
Ruark, Robert
  Something of value; B 449
Ruby, Lionel
  The art of making sense. A guide to logical thinking; B 270
Rungless ladder, the. Harriet Beecher Stowe and New England puritanism. C. H. Foster; AN 244
Russell, Bertrand
  Human society in ethics and politics; B 222
Rutherford B. Hayes and his America. H. Barnard; B 466

S

Sacred forest, the. D. Gaisseau. Translated by S. Becker; AN 79
Salisbury, Harrison E.
  American in Russia; B 291
Salomon, Ernst von
  Fragebogen. Translated by C. Fitz-Gibbon; B 34
Samuel Maverick, Texan: 1803-1870. Letters, journals, and memoirs. Edited y R. M. Green; B 143
Sanger, Margaret, story. L. Lader; B .. 406
Sansom, William
  Something terrible, something lovely; AN 55
Santal. R. Firbank; AN 468
Scapegoat of revolution. J. L. Teller; B 80
Scarecrow Christ, the. E. Olson; AN .. 508
Schuman, Frederick L.; R 34, 241, 353, 509
Scientific revolution, 1500-1800, the. A. R. Hall; B 507
Scott, Sir Walter. His life and personality. H. Pearson; B 142
Seabury, Paul
  The Wilhelmstrasse. A study of German diplomats under the nazi regime; AN 81
Season of flesh, the. B. H. Reece; AN . 508
Secularism is the will of God. H. M. Kallen; B 310
Seeds of destruction. C. Belfrage; AN .. 509
Selected essays. W. C. Williams; B 78
Selected poems. E. Sitwell; AN 508
Selected poems. M. Van Doren; AN .. 77
Self-betrayed, the. J. Wechsberg; AN .. 243
Self-made man in America, the. I. G. Wyllie; B 184
Seven days to Lomaland. E. Warner; AN 106
Seymour, John
  Around India; AN 82
Shafer, Boyd C.
  Nationalism; myth and reality; AN .. 510

PAGE

Sharpe, Ernest
  G. B. Dealey of the *Dallas News;* B 447
Shield of Achilles, the. W. H. Auden; B 378
Sig Byrd's Houston. S. Byrd; B 447
Simenon, Georges
  The magician and the widow. Translated by H. Sebba and J. Petrie; AN 468
Simmons, Ernest J.; R 54
Sincerely, Willis Wayde. J. P. Marquand; AN 488
Sir Walter Scott. His life and personality. H. Pearson; B 142
Sitwell, Edith
  Selected poems; AN 508
Sloan, John; biography, Van W. Brooks; B 242
Smith, A. J. M.
  A sort of ecstacy; AN 77
Snow, C. P.
  The new men; AN 206
Snow, Edgar; R 14, 486
Social aspects of technical assistance in operation. Unesco publication; AN 79
Sociology and philosophy; five books; AN 314
Solitary singer: A critical biography of Walt Whitman. G. W. Allen; B 426
Something is missing. A. Goodfriend; AN 354
Something of value. R. Ruark; B 448
Something terrible, something lovely. W. Sansom; AN 55
Songs for eve. A. MacLeish; AN 77
Sort of ecstacy, a. A. J. M. Smith; AN . 77
Sovereign reason. E. Nagel; AN 314
Spender, Stephen
  Collected poems, 1928-1953; B 378
Sperber, Manes
  Journey without end. Translated by C. Fitzgibbon; AN 104
Spoor of spooks, the. B. Evans; AN 81
Spring books 368
Standish, Robert
  Face value; AN 469
Stanford, Derek
  Dylan Thomas; AN 245
Starkie, Enid
  Petrus Borel; AN 468
State of Alaska, the. E. Gruening; B .. 223
State versus Socrates, the. Edited by J. D. Montgomery; B 349
Stavis, Barrie
  The man who never died; AN 429
Stefansson, Evelyn; R 223
Sterba, Edith and Richard
  Beethoven and his nephew; B 144
Stern, Karl
  The third revolution. A study of psychiatry and religion; B 310
Story of the declaration of independence, the. D. Malone; AN 145
Stowe, Harriet Beecher; and New England puritanism. C. H. Foster; AN 244
Strenuous age in American literature, the. G. C. Knight; AN 81
Struggle for mastery in Europe, 1848-1918, the. A. J. P. Taylor; 353
Sudan days and ways. H. C. Jackson; AN 106
Summary of recent economic developments in Africa, 1952-53. United nations publication; AN 79
Stumpf, Samuel Enoch
  A democratic manifesto; AN 314
Summer's night, a. A. Moorehead; AN .. 244
Sun at noon, the. C. Angoff; AN 243
Sut Lovingood. G. W. Harris. Edited with an introduction by B. Weber; AN .. 55
Swados, Harvey
  Out went the candle; AN 206
Swenson, May; R 508
Symbols, the. J. Holmes; AN 508
Syrkin, Marie; R 80

T

Tannenbaum, Frank
  The American tradition in foreign policy; AN 510
Taylor, A. J. P.
  The struggle for mastery in Europe, 1848-1918; AN 353
Taylor, Telford
  Grand inquest. The story of congressional investigations; B 374
Teller, Judd L.
  Scapegoat of revolution; B 80
Temple tiger, the, and more man-eaters of Kumaon. J. Corett; AN 333
Tennyson, Hallam
  India's walking saint; B 408
Terror in the modern vein. Edited and with an introduction by D. A. Wollheim; AN 489
Texas; three books on; B 447
There is no Asia. D. Cooke; B 15
Third revolution, the. A study of psychiatry and religion. K. Stern; B 310
Thomas, Dylan. D. Stanford; AN 245

PAGE

Thomas, Dylan, in a London "pub." K. Boyle ...... 102; see also letters, 188, 336
Thomas Mann. J. M. Lindsay; AN 468
Thompson, Era Bell
  Africa, land of my fathers; AN 106
To eat a peach. C. Willingham; AN 489
Todd, Ruthven
  A mantelpiece of shells; AN 508
Tokyo and points east. K. Beech; B 15
Tortoise and the hare, the. E. Jenkins; AN 83
Transfer of power in India, the. E. W. R. Lumbey; AN 82
Transformation: The story of modern Puerto Rico. E. P. Hanson; B ...... 181; see also letter, 275
Trap, the. D. Jacobson; B 330
Trial. D. M. Mankiewicz; B 205
Trilling, Lionel
  The opposing self. Nine essays in criticism; B 203
Trombley, Kenneth E.
  The life and times of a happy liberal.. A biography of M. L. Cooke; B 35
Tucker, Glenn
  Poltroons and patriots. A popular account of the war of 1812; AN 145
20th century capitalist revolution, the. A. A. Berle, Jr. (Reviewed December 18, 1954). Letter by V. Perlo 86

U

United nations publications 79
United States and Argentina, the. A. P. Whitaker; B 184
Untold story of Douglas MacArthur, the. F. Hunt; AN 146
Uribe, Andres
  Brown gold. The amazing story of coffee; B 184

V

Vagabond, the. Colette. Translated by E. McLeod; B 268
van der Post, Laurens
  Flamingo feather; AN 468
Van Doren, Mark
  Selected poems; AN 77
Verses; selected books 508
View from Pompey's head, the. H. Basso; AN 82
View of the town, a. J. Hilliard; AN 55
Vincent, John Carter; R 368
Vinoba Bhave; "India's walking saint." H. Tennyson; B 408
Violent Saturday, W. L. Heath; B 330
Vision splendid. T. Ronan; AN 82
Visionary novels of G. Macdonald. Edited by A. Fremantle; AN 244
Voyce, Arthur
  The Moscow kremlin; B 409

W

Waggoner, Hyatt H.
  Hawthorne. A critical study; AN .. 468
Waksman, Selman A.
  My life with the microbes; B 78
Walker, Mildred
  The curlew's cry; AN 244
Walker, Stanley; R 143, 447
Walt Whitman. A catalogue based upon the collections of the Library of congress; B 426
Walt Whitman abroad. Edited by G. W. Allen; B 426
Walt Whitman, poet of American democracy. Selections from his poetry and prose. Edited by S. Sillen; B 425
Walt Whitman reconsidered. R. Chase; B 426
Walter Gropius, work and teamwork. S. Giedion; AN 313
Wanted: An Asian policy. E. O. Reischauer; B 368
Ward, John W.; R 588
Warner, Esther
  Seven days to Lomaland; AN 106
Washington papers, the: Basic selections from the public and private writings of George Washington. Edited by S. K. Padover; AN 333
Water ouzel and other poems. W. H. Matchett; AN 508
Wechsberg, Joseph
  The self-betrayed; AN 243
Wehle, Harry B.
  Art treasures of the Prado museum; AN 313
Wheelwright, Philip
  The burning fountain. A study in the language of symbolism; AN 244
Whitaker, Arthur P.
  The United States and Argentina; B 184
White, Victor
  Peter Domanig in America: Brass; AN 56

PAGE

Whitman, Walt; seven books; B 426
  Leaves of grass one hundred years after. New essays by W. C. Williams and others; B 426
Whitman, Walt; world of. M. Geismar .. 265
Whitman reader, the. Edited by M. Geismar; B 426
Wilhelmstrasse, the. A study of German diplomats under the nazi regime. P. Seabury; AN 81
Williams, Tennessee
  One arm and other stories; AN 244
Williams, William Carlos
  Selected essays; B 78
Williams, William Carlos, and others
  Leaves of grass one hundred years after. New essays; B 426

PAGE

Wilderness stair. B. Belitt; B 508
Willingham, Calder
  To eat a peach; AN 489
Willingham, John R.; R 78, 426
Wilson, H. H.; R 76
Wilson, Mitchell
  American science and invention; B .. 507
Wint, Guy
  The British in India; AN 82
Woodward, C. Vann; R 467
World of love, a. E. Bowen; B 123
World politics; selected books 509
Wortis, Joseph
  Fragments of an analysis with Freud; B 310
Wright, Frank Lloyd
  The natural house; AN 313

PAGE

Writers; a declaration for 1955. K. Boyle ......102; see also letters, 188, 336
Wylie, Max
  Clear channels; B 312
Wyllie, Irvin G.
  The self-made man in America; B .. 184

Y

Yerby, Frank
  Benton's row; AN 55
Yinger, J. Milton; R 36
Young Hitler I knew, the. A. Kubizek. Translated by E. V. Anderson. Introduction by H. R. Trevor-Roper; AN 353
Young Sam Johnson. J. L. Clifford; AN .. 488

BOOKS THEATER RECORDS

THE *Nation*

January 1, 1955
20¢

How Free Is the Free World?

A Special Issue on Colonialism

Articles by

*Rupert Emerson, Wm. Bross Lloyd, Jr.,
Fenner Brockway, John V. Murra, and
M. O. M. Maduagwu*

**EVERY
WEEK
SINCE
1865**

THE Nation Bulletin Board:

AMONG THE MANY Christmas greetings received by *The Nation* I particularly like the one from George Christopher of Syracuse, New York. *"The Nation,"* he wrote on his card, "is a Christmas gift every week of the year."

To Mr. Christopher, and to all our readers, the editors of *The Nation* extend best wishes for the New Year.

IF YOU ARE planning a trip abroad next summer we have just the thing for you. *The Nation* is sponsoring a six-week seminar on Social Change in Western Europe. The tour will be led by Professor Colston Warne of Amherst College, and the countries to be visited include England, Denmark, Sweden, France, Switzerland, and Germany. You will meet outstanding political leaders, writers, and other prominent people. Further details will be announced shortly. Meanwhile, those interested should write to me.

IN A FEW DAYS Dick Neuberger will take his seat in the United States Senate—the first Democratic Senator from Oregon in forty years. He has come a long way since he sold his first magazine article to us in October, 1933. Entitled The New Germany, this stemmed from a trip young Mr. Neuberger had taken to Nazi Germany. Refuting current reports about the "peaceful" land of Hitler, he wrote: "Everywhere I saw evidence of cruelty, violence, and death. Hitler and his lieutenants must smile behind their hands when they watch tourists leave Germany with stories of the courtesy and fine manners of Nazi officials." With German rearmament pending today, some of the same old lieutenants must be roaring with laughter.

LOOKING AHEAD: Next week's issue of *The Nation* will present the affirmative side of a debate on the question "Should the United Nations' Charter Be Amended?" Dr. John Henry Merryman, assistant professor of law at Stanford, argues that it should be. In the issue of January 15 Dr. Merle Kling of Washington University will take the other side.

Also in the offing is a provocative article on the biological implications of radioactivity by C. H. Waddington of the Institute of Animal Genetics in Edinburgh. The distinguished British biologist analyzes the theories of the American biologists, H. J. Muller and A. H. Sturtevant, and reports his own startling conclusions.

REACTIONS to our special high-fidelity section have been coming in, and *The Nation* would like to hear from more readers how they feel about future articles on the same topic. Waldo Frank took time out from work on his forthcoming book to drop us a note saying he enjoyed the articles and thought they were a good "change of pace." A number of readers asked us to recommend good high-fidelity units. We will ~~try~~ to get such information from one of the authorities in the field. J. W. Rubin, advertising and sales-promotion manager of Allied Radio, thought that the hi-fi articles were "unusually well-written and should be stimulating and interesting to your readers. The whole subject of high fidelity is so completely tied in with the upsurge in appreciation of good music that I think it would be of interest to your publication to have additional articles." Mr. Rubin also sent along a handsome illustrated booklet entitled "This Is High Fidelity." If readers would like a free copy, drop me a postcard.

CHARLES P. TAFT'S article on the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (G. A. T. T.) drew numerous responses. K. G. Colwell, vice-president of the Guaranty Trust Company, writes: "Whatever tends to liberalize world trade appeals to bankers, and both G. A. T. T. and Mr. Taft's article are real efforts in that direction." Harold Stassen, head of the Foreign Operation Administration, said he was pleased to see the issue containing Mr. Taft's article, and Clarence B. Randall, chairman of the board of Inland Steel Company, expressed his appreciation of "Charlie Taft's discerning piece on the trade question in your current issue."

INTEREST in automation is mounting. In December the New York *Times* called it "a second and supplementary industrial revolution, gathering speed with sensational rapidity. Its effects promise to be as profound as those of the first." The *Times* also named John Diebold as the "leading authority" on the subject. All of which marks Editorial Director Carey McWilliams as a man of unusual prescience. Back in 1953 he asked Mr. Diebold to write a three-part series on automation. Some copies of the series are still available and readers can have them, with our compliments, as long as they last.

MARTIN SOLOW

Letters

California Politics

Dear Sirs: Grant McConnell's thesis in his article entitled California Conundrum: Why It Votes G. O. P. in your issue of December 4 was exceedingly interesting, but we feel that his approach to the problem was far too academic and completely ignored one of the main reasons for Republican successes and Democratic losses in California elections.

The most important contributing factor to Democratic defeats in California, in our opinion, has been the party's failure to produce outstanding candidates for public office. This is said without specific reference to the recent election, as we do not wish to be guilty of invidious comparisons, but for many years past, as we believe most impartial political observers would agree, there has been a sad paucity of men of real capacity and stature among the Democratic candidates for office in this state.

In most instances California voters, who are notable for their independence and freedom from party ties, have simply voted for the best man—and the best man was seldom in the Democratic ranks. If the Democratic Party is to end Republican rule in California, its first and greatest need is to induce men of first-rate capacity to seek office under its banner. It may well be argued that the Republican candidates have not always measured up to these specifications either, but in our opinion the Republican batting average—strictly on fitness for office—has been better by far than the Democratic performance in this regard.

Admittedly, we are both Republicans, and our opinions may be discounted on this score. However, we are public-relations counselors by trade, and if the Democratic Party consulted us in our professional capacity, we would make the same diagnosis.

CLEM WHITAKER
San Francisco LEONE BAXTER

Paradox

Dear Sirs: The following paragraph from "The Human Use of Human Beings" by Norbert Wiener (Houghton Mifflin, 1950) might interest your readers: "Our military men and our great merchant princes have looked upon the propaganda technique of the Russians, and have found that it is good. They have a worthy counterpart for the G. P. U. in the F. B. I., in its new role of political censor. They have not considered that these weapons form something fundamentally distasteful to humanity, and that they need the full force of an overwhelming faith and belief to make them even tolerable. This faith and belief they have nowhere striven to

(Continued on page 20)

Volume 180, Number 1
New York, Saturday, January 1, 1955

THE *Nation*
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

Containment of Freedom . . *by Victor H. Bernstein*

WROTE Metternich of American foreign policy: "In fostering revolutions wherever they show themselves, in regretting those which have failed, in extending a helping hand to those which seem to prosper, [the Americans] lend new strength to the apostles of sedition and reanimate the courage of every conspirator." This was in 1824, a year after the promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine. There is no doubt that we were guilty as charged; had we not been, Latin America might still be Spanish today. One hundred and thirty years later—in 1954—we were still guilty as charged; had we not been, the conspirator Castillo Armas would not today be president of Guatemala. The difference between a Bolívar and a Castillo Armas is the measure of how far our policy has changed on the question of the freedom and the right to self-determination of peoples.

That we have lost our zest for revolution, our own as well as others, is nothing new. What is startling is how quickly and how far we have traveled in recent years toward complete identification with the interests of the dwindling but still powerful imperialisms of the West. Of eight major issues directly involving colonialism, trusteeships, or the treatment of native peoples debated at the recently concluded ninth session of the General Assembly, the United States opposed the demands of native peoples on four and abstained on two. We opposed U. N. action in behalf of the independence movements in Tunis, Morocco, and Cyprus, as well as India's plea for U. N. intervention in behalf of its nationals in South Africa; we abstained on South Africa's *apartheid* issue and on the Dutch-Indonesian conflict over West New Guinea. Of the other two votes, only one involved the taking of sides on an "imperialist" issue. This was our approval of a mild resolution, opposed by South Africa, affecting the union's claim to Southwest Africa.

The United States justified its vote on most of these items by adopting what William Bross Lloyd Jr., elsewhere in this issue calls a "rigid" interpretation of the U. N. Charter. During the debate on *apartheid* Ambassador Lodge pointed out that Washington viewed with "increasing concern . . . the growing tendency to include on the agenda questions the international character of which is in question in the light of Article 2, Paragraph 7, of the Charter." The cited paragraph forbids the U. N. to intervene in "matters which are essentially within the jurisdiction of any state."

"It is too early to be sure," wrote the cautious New York *Times* recently, "but we may be seeing a general shift of United States policy, and indeed of a majority of the U. N. member states, toward a hands-off attitude in these so-called colonial issues." It would appear that the concept of containment is undergoing a considerable broadening, with the West determined to safeguard the "free world" against the encroachment not only of communism but also of freedom.

Here is a phenomenon of fundamental importance which has largely escaped public notice because the people involved are strange to us and far away, and because their motivations have nothing to do with the pros or cons of the cold war. In the following pages, which constitute in effect a special issue of *The Nation,* the problem is examined from many angles. Each of the authors is an expert in his field who has approached his assignment objectively, recording the undoubted victories as well as the defeats in the war against imperialism. In this war, as Mr. Murra reminds us, the U. N. is a principal battleground.

WHY has the United States dropped its role of messiah of the enslaved? Mr. Emerson and others of our contributors emphasize the manner in which the cold war has been affecting American policy. The recent U. N. debate on Cyprus could not have made the point plainer. The New York *Times* said:

> The State Department would have preferred to take a neutral position [on Cyprus] as it did in the Netherlands-Indonesian dispute over West New Guinea. In the end, however, strategic considerations prevailed over the desire not to hurt either of two good friends, Britain or Greece. . . .
>
> The British say flatly and rather convincingly that Cyprus is too valuable strategically to the Commonwealth and the West in general to be given up even nominally. . . . The United States officials feel that this is not the time . . . and that the United Nations is not the place to discuss such changes.

What is true of Cyprus is equally true of North Africa, where we are committed to continue French rule not only

In This Issue

EDITORIAL

Containment of Freedom
by Victor H. Bernstein 1

ARTICLES

Colonialism and the Cold War
by Rupert Emerson 3

Role of the U. N.: Tightening the Brakes
by Fenner Brockway 6

American Policy: The Status Quo
by Wm. Bross Lloyd, Jr. 7

Trusteeship System: How It Operates
by John V. Murra 10

Africa: Last Stronghold
by M. O. M. Maduagwu 13

BOOKS

Mao's Problems and Prospects
by Edgar Snow 14

Asia in the Soptlight
by O. Edmund Clubb 15

An African Autobiography
by John V. Murra 16

THEATER *by Harold Clurman* 18

RECORDS *by B. H. Haggin* 19

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 600
by Frank W. Lewis opposite 20

BULLETIN BOARD
by Martin Solow opposite 1

LETTERS opposite 1

Editorial Board

Freda Kirchwey *Editor and Publisher*
Carey McWilliams *Editorial Director*
Lillie Shultz *Director, Nation Associates*
Victor H. Bernstein *Managing Editor*
J. Alvarez del Vayo *Foreign Editor*

Martin Solow *Assistant to the Publisher*

Harold Clurman *Theater*
B. H. Haggin *Music*
Gladys Whiteside *Copy Editor*
Caroline Whiting *Assistant Literary Editor*
Mary Simon *Advertising Manager*

Contributing Editors: Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus, Keith Hutchison, H. H. Wilson, W. Macmahon Ball, Maxwell Geismar, Bruce Catton.

The Nation, January 1, 1955. Volume 180, No. 1

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1955, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Company, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

because of American bases but because, in the broader perspective, we cannot expect France to be loyal to us unless we return the loyalty in some form. Just as in pursuit of the current conception of domestic security we are prepared to sacrifice the individual, so on a different level we are prepared to sacrifice whole peoples. The question arises whether such machinations can ever lead to the security we seek. In one way or another all the contributors to this issue seem to agree that the voice of the indigenous peoples must one day be heeded—and if not by us, then by the Russians.

The cold war, however, is not the only factor in America's change of policy. For one thing, we have ourselves become a colonial power; if we count our permanent military bases in Europe and in North Africa, the sun never sets on the American empire. Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands in the Caribbean; Hawaii in mid-Pacific; the Marshalls, Guam, and the Marianas still farther west; Alaska sealing the North Pacific: here is an empire of more than 2,500,000 people, scattered widely across the earth, over which we are closing our fist ever more tightly. And in point of fact if not of law, to these possessions must be added Formosa, certain islands off the shore of China, and South Korea, which today are part of our security system.

Beyond our visible empire is another and greater one: Recently Mr. Moekarto, the Indonesian ambassador to the United States, pointed out that colonialism does not end with the political independence of an area; it continues so long as the "independent" state is dependent for its economic life upon the export of a few primary commodities. This, wrote Walter Lippmann, explains

> . . . why we have become the principle object of anti-colonial propaganda. As we are the largest industrial power and therefore the greatest user of primary products, the dependence upon us is the greater.
>
> The negative and piecemeal approach which the United States and the other industrialized countries are now using is not good enough. Nor can we afford to postpone or ignore the question on the ground that the military cost of the cold war is so high that we cannot afford much else. It would be truer to say that we cannot afford not to offer convincing proof that we are willing to join in dealing with the problem.

It is idle to look forward to the American century. It is with us already, at least for the half the world which we unblushingly call free. Jean Farran, a distinguished French journalist, recently wrote that colonialism had become a sin which "can no longer be avowed and still less recommended. . . . The élite who take French enlightenment to Africa realize with consternation that the formula 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity,' which they have had engraved on public monuments, has turned against them and become a seditious slogan." His words ring with a great truth for American as well as French ears.

COLONIALISM

And the Cold War . . *by Rupert Emerson*

COLONIALISM, the boast and strength of the Western powers only a few decades ago, has become a source of grave weakness and confusion. At the turn of the century it was possible to look to a world in which the non-white peoples, with rare exceptions, would remain tidily under imperial control for an indefinite future. By mid-century, after two global wars, that world has vanished, swept away by the revolt of Asians, Arabs, and Africans against white supremacy.

It is not that so many colonies have become independent but that the assumptions on which colonialism rested have had the props knocked from under them. The balance of effective power—moral, political, and physical—has shifted in such fashion as to turn confident colonialism into a series of defensive rearguard operations. This makes it all the more tragic that the United States, traditional champion of the under dog, should have joined the dwindling ranks of the colonial apologists just as the swing was in the other direction. The ending of the Indo-China war has removed one undefendable colonial situation to which the United States was committed, but it remains to be proved that the temper of Washington and the ties with imperial allies will permit the Administration to make bold use of the greater freedom thus acquired.

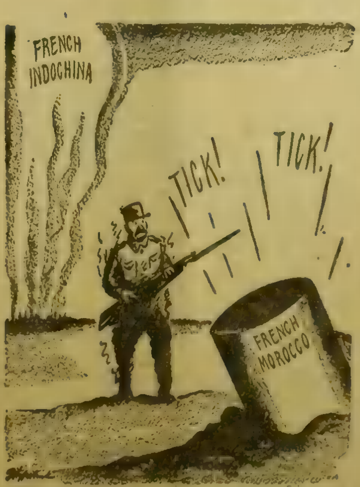
The First World War shattered the great land empires of Europe, and the second brought to a climax the disintegration of overseas empires in Asia. Even though an uneasy colonialism still exists in Africa, there has been a final reversal of the tide of centuries which bore the peoples of Europe to domination over most of the globe. The non-white peoples of the earth have declared in terms which none can refute that they will no longer accept the position of inferiority which lay at the heart of the imperialist system; and in the West itself the belief in the rightness of empire has been sapped beyond repair.

Wilsonian self-determination was proclaimed in the First World War as a doctrine of universal application, but in practice it was not intended to reach significantly beyond the confines of Europe or, more particularly, to penetrate into the colonial territories of the victors. Far more global in its direct impact and in its implications than its predecessor, World War II made self-determination a living principle for the non-European world, opening the door to a full assertion of the nationalist claims which had been mounting in the inter-war decades. Even by 1914 the forward sweep of Western imperialism had lost its momentum, and between the wars the imperial powers could hold on in many areas only through compromises and concessions. It was typical of the temper of the times that the Fascist attack on Ethiopia was generally recognized to be a shoddy anachronism; neither the powers nor the League of Nations, however, took more than half-hearted steps to choke it off.

After 1945, old-style imperialism was in full retreat, even though the long arm of the United States embraced the Pacific and dipped into military bases at many other scattered points to counter the challenge of a new Communist imperialism. The United Nations Charter, asserting the paramountcy of native interests, explicitly pointed the way to colonial emancipation. For Asia and the Middle East the continued existence of a few embattled European dependencies could not obscure the fact that colonialism there was dead, though Asians still felt a very real interest in the struggles of African colonies. If before it had been necessary to explain the aberrant independence of Siam and Afghanistan, it now became necessary to seek out the special circumstances which made comprehensible the continued colonial status of Hongkong, Malaya, Dutch New Guinea (West Irian), and the more tranquil backwaters of North Borneo.

In substance and as symbol the transition of India to full, if partitioned, independence; the freeing of India from Dutch rule, largely through United Nations action; and the total removal of China from the Western sphere—whatever the implications of a new dependence on the Soviet Union—established a world in which the old signposts not only no longer served as useful guides but became dangerously misleading for those who had to deal with the new forces.

In striking contrast to the League's lack of concern with colonial issues, except in the particular case of the mandates, the more broadly based and less Europe-centered United Nations has been constantly embroiled in them, and the emergence of the Asian-Arab-African bloc gave notice that the former underlings had become the highly vocal and watchful champions of the non-white peoples in general and the colonial peoples in particular. That their zeal in


FRENCH INDOCHINA
TICK!
TICK!
FRENCH MOROCCO

Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*

Learning About Colonialism the Hard Way

RUPERT EMERSON, professor of international relations at Harvard University, was for a time director of the Division of Territories and Island Possessions in the Department of the Interior. He is the author of several books on colonial areas.

behalf of non-self-governing territories strains the limits of the Charter as it was written at San Francisco is obviously of far less moment than that the newly freed peoples, often making common cause with the Soviet bloc and some of the Latin Americans, have resolved to liquidate colonialism. Colonies have ceased to be the private preserve of their imperial masters and have come into the public domain of international concern and even international action.

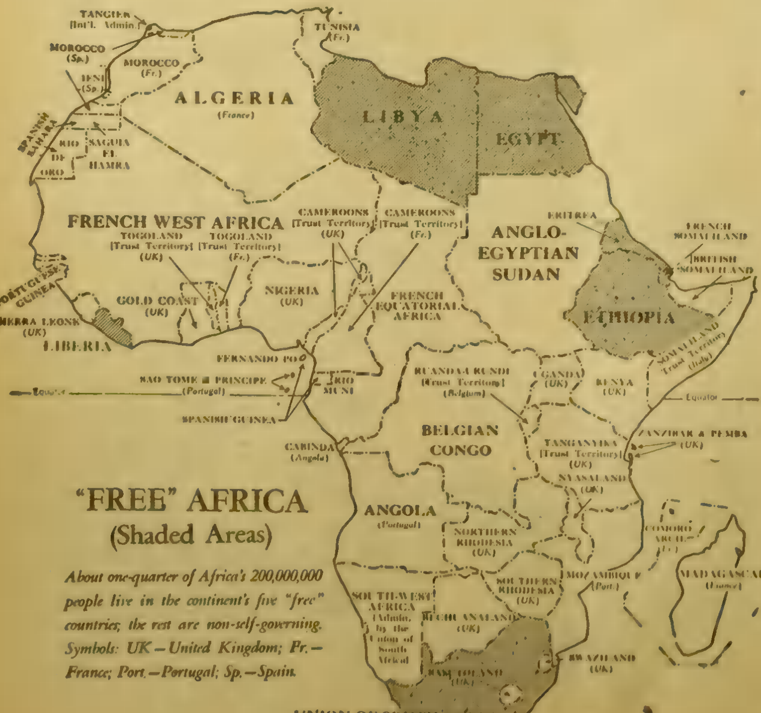
TO SAY that colonialism is dead in Asia is by no means to say that it is dead in the world at large, even though it has considerably changed its spots almost everywhere save in the Spanish and Portuguese areas. Colonial Africa stares us in the face, and there are a substantial number of other colonies dotted about on the face of the globe. In 1953 eight administering powers furnished the secretary general of the U. N. information on sixty non-self-governing territories, and to these must be added the eleven trust territories, the colonies of states not members of the U. N., and perhaps others whose removal from the non-self-governing category by the controlling power can be viewed with a certain skepticism. All told, the population of the world's colonies is still something like 200,000,000, or the equivalent of the population of the forty least populous of the U. N.'s sixty members.

Colonialism is probably dying, but there is still life in the old bones. The Belgians in the Congo, though increasingly aware that new breezes are blowing to which they must somehow adapt themselves, have scarcely slackened their autocratic grip. The French have regularly acknowledged the existence of alternative doctrines, but the old-established policy of assimilation continues to dominate their colonial practice and outlook, not without at least momentary success among the rising élites of tropical Africa. For the fullest and most daring implementation of the new ideas it is now necessary to turn to the British, who have moved ahead on a number of colonial fronts in disregard of old colonial maxims which once seemed unchallengeable principles.

The most urgent and hazardous of the problems which lie ahead concern the African areas, both French and British, in which a substantial body of white settlers confronts the far larger body of Africans whose countries they have in considerable part taken over. The Gold Coast, Nigeria, and Sierra Leone can move ahead in the new dispensation with some measure of serenity toward the creation of independent African states, but French North Africa, Kenya, and the new federation of British Central Africa, not to mention the Union of South Africa, with its appalling problems, are plagued with a racial conflict which cuts across every aspect of development and advance. In the British territories and in South Africa the presence of a large number of Indians and Pakistanis only serves to complicate an already acute situation.

ONE of the key facts which must be taken into account in any attempt to analyze and deal with the surviving colonialism is the radical diversity of the situations, relationships, and policies with which we are confronted. There are only a limited number of purposes for which it makes much sense to lump together and condemn all colonies. Of these the two most important are (1) to emphasize that colonialism is tolerable only when it works to create as speedily as possible conditions in which a meaningful equality of status can be achieved by colonial peoples, and (2) to demand that all the interim stages of inequality be carried out under the aegis of the principle of international accountability, overriding the counter-principle of domestic jurisdiction.

We have, however, already had experience enough to know that even these beneficent conceptions are not as simple as they sound. In relation to the first it has become evident that there are particular cases, such as Puerto Rico and perhaps the French West Indies, in which assimilation to or close association with the metropolitan power seems a better answer than outright independence. With respect to the second it is difficult not to acknowledge that there is some justice in the complaint of the colonial powers that they are being subjected to criticism not only by Communist spokesmen who seek to stir up trouble rather than to correct abuses but also by states whose home policies and circumstances are less advanced and less democratic than those now to be found in various of the better-run colonies. An odd twist also appeared in the recent General Assembly debate on the West Irian question, where some of those who opposed the Indonesian claim argued that if a sovereign Indonesia were to take over the disputed territory from


TANGIER (Int'l. Admin.)
TUNISIA (Fr.)
MOROCCO (Sp.)
MOROCCO (Fr.)
IFNI (Sp.)
ALGERIA (France)
LIBYA
EGYPT
SPANISH SAHARA
RIO DE ORO
SAGUIA EL HAMRA
FRENCH WEST AFRICA
CAMEROONS [Trust Territory] (UK)
CAMEROONS [Trust Territory] (Fr.)
ERITREA
FRENCH SOMALILAND
BRITISH SOMALILAND
ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN
TOGOLAND [Trust Territory] (UK)
TOGOLAND [Trust Territory] (Fr.)
PORTUGUESE GUINEA
GOLD COAST (UK)
NIGERIA (UK)
FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA
ETHIOPIA
SIERRA LEONE (UK)
LIBERIA
SOMALILAND Trust Territory (Italy)
FERNANDO PO
SAO TOME & PRINCIPE (Portugal)
RIO MUNI
RUANDA-URUNDI [Trust Territory] (Belgium)
UGANDA (UK)
KENYA (UK)
Equator
SPANISH GUINEA
BELGIAN CONGO
ZANZIBAR & PEMBA (UK)
CABINDA (Angola)
TANGANYIKA [Trust Territory] (UK)
NYASALAND (UK)
ANGOLA (Portugal)
NORTHERN RHODESIA (UK)
COMORO ARCH. (Fr.)
SOUTHERN RHODESIA (UK)
MOZAMBIQUE (Port.)
MADAGASCAR (France)
SOUTHWEST AFRICA (Admin. by the Union of South Africa)
BECHUANALAND (UK)
BASUTOLAND (UK)
SWAZILAND (UK)
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

"FREE" AFRICA
(Shaded Areas)

About one-quarter of Africa's 200,000,000 people live in the continent's five "free" countries; the rest are non-self-governing. Symbols: UK—United Kingdom; Pr.—France; Port.—Portugal; Sp.—Spain.

Dutch colonialism the people of West Irian would be deprived of such U. N. supervision and protection as might be derived from Chapter XI of the Charter, which deals with non-self-governing territories. At this point a kind of Alice-in-Wonderland bewilderment must be felt by statesmen who ponder the meaning of self-determination and colonialism.

The argument is also complicated by the intrusion of what has been called the "salt-water fallacy." This is the contention, particularly advanced by the Belgians, that there is no good reason to single out for invidious treatment the subjection of overseas colonial peoples when there are many other non-self-governing peoples, equally worthy of solicitous international attention, who happen not to have salt water between them and their overlords. The Belgians have a point not easy to dispose of on theoretical grounds, but in the world of practical politics it has had no real success in diffusing the glare of the spotlight focused on colonial issues. By sensible rule of thumb the conclusion has been reached that overseas colonies do in fact constitute a distinct problem, and the anti-colonialists are not to be diverted by the most irrefutable demonstration of the evils visited on the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union, the Indians of Latin America, or the aboriginal population of other countries.

FOR most other purposes than the two mentioned, and particularly for concrete political action, it is the diversity rather than the identity of colonialism which must be taken into account. For the anti-colonial fanatics it may be a matter of indifference whether the case at hand concerns the Americans in the Virgin Islands or the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, the French in Morocco or Equatorial Africa, the British in the West Indies, Malaya, Kenya, or Nigeria, the Belgians in the Congo, or the Portuguese in Angola. The less pure in heart are likely to find that they must draw some serious distinctions.

It is one thing to say, in the words of the Charter, that the peoples of all these territories should be insured "their political, economic, social, and educational advancement" and should be helped to develop free political institutions. It is a very different thing to assume that their various needs, conditions, and aspirations can be satisfactorily met by anything approaching identical measures, save in the general sense that no colonial policy is acceptable in the modern world that does not have as its goal the attainment of equality for subject peoples. A blanket drive for immediate independence for all would be likely to make the situation more rather than less chaotic. Many of the peoples of tropical Africa and of the Pacific are so far from crossing the threshold into the modern world as to make it grossly improbable that they could manage their own affairs either to their own satisfaction or to that of the rest of the world.

The grant of independence, under U. N. auspices and as the product of international politicking, to an internally divided, poverty-stricken, and illiterate Libya has crystallized the doubts which many felt, and the surprising question has now been raised whether the British are not perhaps moving too fast in West Africa rather than too slowly and too late. The cry of "Freedom" chanted by the awakened masses of the Gold Coast is not without its threatening as well as its heartening aspects. Coming at the matter from another angle, a glance at the state of affairs in Afghanistan, Iran, and Saudi Arabia, in Ethiopia, Liberia, and Haiti, works to undermine any confident conviction that independence *per se* offers a sure path to liberty, progress, and prosperity.

Whatever the moral strength of the argument that there should never have been any colonialism—and it is not an argument to which the answer is wholly self-evident—it is a stark fact in the middle of the twentieth century that vast numbers of colonial peoples are caught at some midstage in the painful process of transition from a variety of ancient worlds into some approximation of modernity. It would be a simpler matter if entire peoples were being lifted en masse into a new way of life. Actually, in most instances a relatively small élite has moved far ahead, a more considerable segment has been pushed around, detribalized, and uprooted, and the mass of the people have remained embedded in the crumbling patterns of their traditional economy, social structure, and outlook.

COLONIALISM at its best has been a miserable instrument with which to lead these peoples from the old into the new. We must therefore face up to the question whether we have as yet devised any other practicable instrument which can be counted on to be an improvement on it. Mandates, trusteeships, and the meager provisions of Chapter XI of the Charter represent a helpful tinkering with the machinery and are perhaps the best we can do, but it is to be doubted that they measure up to the magnitude and difficulty of the task that still lies ahead.

Even under the best of international auspices government by alien superiors is a poor substitute for self-government, and the resentments bred by colonialism set a sharp limit to what can be taught by imposition from above. India, Ceylon, the Philippines, and other recently freed countries demonstrate that despite the fears of colonial administrators independence and self-government are manageable for peoples who have started on the road into the modern world. The Gold Coast is the next in line; Tunisia and Morocco cannot be far behind, whether their destination turns out to be full independence or voluntary and amicable association with France.

It would be possible to have a worse motto for the era of the cold war than make the free world free.

ROLE OF THE U. N.

Tightening the Brakes . . *by Fenner Brockway*

London

THE progressive revolution of this century is the emergence of the Asian, African, and Caribbean peoples to equality with the peoples of Europe and America. Any international authority which really reflects world tendencies would consider intensively the problems which arise from this dynamic change. The Charter of the United Nations, however, only allows for a very limited consideration of these issues.

The Trusteeship Council requires reports from the administering authorities on the social, economic, and political advance of peoples in the trust territories. It permits sections of these people to submit petitions on grievances and to be represented at sittings of the council when these grievances are considered. This is of very real value. The fact that the trust territory of Tanganyika is the most advanced politically in East Africa in its recognition of racial equality is a tribute to the influence of the United Nations. The conditions in Kenya and, until recently, Uganda indicate the difference between a British colony and a British trust territory.

The United Nations can also intervene in colonial affairs when one of the delegates urges that conditions in a colony are "a danger to peace and security." The racial conflicts in Morocco, Tunisia, and South Africa have been brought before the U. N. under this provision, though they have not got very far owing to the opposition of Britain and other imperial powers in Europe.

A third sphere in which the United Nations can act is that of disputed territory. Such a dispute arose recently between the Netherlands government and the government of Indonesia regarding West New Guinea (West Irian). But again the opposition of the imperial powers blocked the proposal that negotiations should be resumed.

The nationalist movements in most colonies demand that the U. N. should extend the scope of its intervention. It is remarkable how the leaders of the mass organizations accept the idea of allegiance to an international authority. They object to the administration of their territories by one power or by a group of powers, but they accept the principle that when their political freedom is gained they should recognize their obligations to a genuine world confederation. They would like to see the duty laid upon every occupying power of a non-self-governing territory to report annually to the Trusteeship Council just as the trustee powers must do. At present the occupying powers are requested to report on social and economic progress but not on political progress. This is one of the amendments which should be made to the Charter.

The leaders of nationalist movements would also like to see established the right of dependent peoples to bring before the U. N. repudiations of the Declaration of Human Rights. This document has been accepted by the member states and is generally applied within the metropolitan territories. It is not applied, however, in colonial territories. When recently I introduced a bill in the House of Commons to extend the Declaration to British colonial territories, I found that it was necessary to include over sixty clauses in order to cover all the failures of the British government to implement its undertakings regarding human rights to its overseas possessions. The most outrageous denial of the Declaration is the power given to governors to deport citizens without any judicial process. The Kabaka of Buganda and Chief Seretse Khama were victims of this power, but less well-known persons are constantly deported.

I need not stress the desirability of intervention by the U. N. whenever there is a dispute between member states regarding dependent territories. This ought not to be a matter of doubt. The case of West New Guinea is symbolical.

THE functions of the U. N. ought, however, to be extended much farther. The Charter lays down the broad principle that administering powers should progressively further social, economic, and political freedom. We have now reached a stage where this principle must be applied in a more concrete manner if the demands of colonial peoples are to be satisfied. They are tired of vague phrases. They require that the occupying powers should come to an agreement with them regarding the character and the time-table of advance. The functions of the U. N. should be extended to require definite plans, agreed on with the representatives of the peoples, for their progress in all spheres, with a stated target date for the attainment of self-government.

There is another sphere in which the U. N. should intervene. Many of the present frontiers in the colonies are arbitrary and artificial. They were fixed by the colonial powers according to conquest, without consideration of racial and geographical conditions. Divided Morocco, Togoland, and the Cameroons are examples. The U. N. should have the power to insist that frontiers shall be redrawn according to the will of the peoples.

The right of the imperial powers to use the inhabitants of colonial territories for military purposes should also be limited. Great bitterness is caused when the British and French governments use African troops in the suppression of revolts in their Asian territories. It is not difficult to enrol colonial troops, since the physical conditions in the armed forces are so much better than those attainable by agricultural and industrial workers in civilian life. The real answer, of course, is to lift the standard of life of the colonial peoples. But the U. N.

FENNER BROCKWAY, Labor M. P., is chairman of the Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism, which includes all major non-Communist democratic movements.

should insist that the natives of a territory will not be required to serve abroad and will certainly not be conscripted for this purpose without the consent of their representatives.

Finally, the U. N. should begin a world crusade against poverty, disease, and illiteracy. It should be a matter of shame to the citizens of Britain and America that proposals along this line were recently rejected by the Assembly on the ground that the amounts spent on defense prevent the nations from meeting this crying need. In Britain we are spending ten pounds on defense for every pound we spend on world betterment. Quite apart from the fundamental claim of humanity, it should be realized that the spread of totalitarianism in the world is more likely to be effected through hunger than through arms.

If the U. N. is to reflect the forces at work in the world which will determine the issues of war or peace and of human degradation or happiness, its Charter must be revised to express these claims of liberty, justice, and equality.

AMERICAN POLICY

The Status Quo . . *by William Bross Lloyd, Jr.*

THE first official application of the mandate or trusteeship concept is generally credited to the efforts of President Woodrow Wilson, but American leadership in this field is now a casualty of the cold war. The United States has been glad to associate indigenous peoples with its delegations to the U. N. Trusteeship Council, and to provide scholarships for the youth of trust territories. It even facilitated the trip of the Marshall Island leader last summer to make his protest regarding the H-bomb. Undoubtedly American delegates and members of visiting missions prod Western European representatives in private. But on some fundamental Charter questions American policy is rigidly to maintain the status quo.

Asian and Middle Eastern nations, interpreting the Charter liberally, have sought to strengthen the measures of international supervision in Chapter XII, on trust territories, and the embryonic concepts of international responsibility toward remaining colonial peoples in Chapter XI, on non-self-governing territories. Colonial powers have claimed that although Paragraph 73(e) requires them to transmit information on their colonies, the U. N. may not discuss this information. They have battled to prevent the permanent establishment of the General Assembly's Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories. In this effort they have had the support of the American State Department.

The U. N. Charter on Colonies and Trusteeships

Chapter XI of the U. N. Charter lays upon colonial powers which are members of the U. N. the responsibility for the "just treatment" of indigenous peoples and for the development of self-government "according to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and their varying stages of advancement." Paragraph 73 (e) of the chapter requires colonial powers "to transmit regularly to the Secretary General for information purposes . . . statistical and other information of a technical nature relating to economic, social, and educational conditions in the territories for which they are respectively responsible."

Chapter XII lays down the "basic objectives" of the international trusteeship system, chief among them being "(a) to further international peace and security" and "(b) to promote the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the trust territories, and their progressive development toward self-government or independence as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned."

A more important question is: Who shall decide when a non-self-governing territory has achieved full self-government and is to be removed from the operation of the principle of international responsibility? The General Assembly claims authority to make this decision, but Britain in regard to Malta, France in regard to Guadeloupe and Martinique, and the Netherlands in regard to Surinam and the Dutch Antilles have ceased transmitting information when in their judgment new constitutions for these territories have established self-government.

The United States, with some ameliorative variations, has used this unilateral approach in regard to Puerto Rico. It also teamed up with Soviet Russia to oppose a resolution authorizing the General Assembly to make the decision and another specifying the factors that the Assembly should take into account. The official line is that giving the Assembly authority to determine when self-government was attained would permit the United Nations to regulate relations between the United States and Hawaii and Alaska. Since in fact the General Assembly seeks authority to determine, *for U. N. purposes only,* when an established U. N. obligation should cease, and since this involves merely the transmission of the information—in which the United States has been exceeding its duty anyway—it is hard to see the "threat" to United States sovereignty. On the other hand, this obligation acts through moral pressure to protect the inhabitants of territories ruled by the colonial powers, and weakening it may negate the whole principle of international responsibility.

The traditional American opposition to colonialism has also been weak in re-

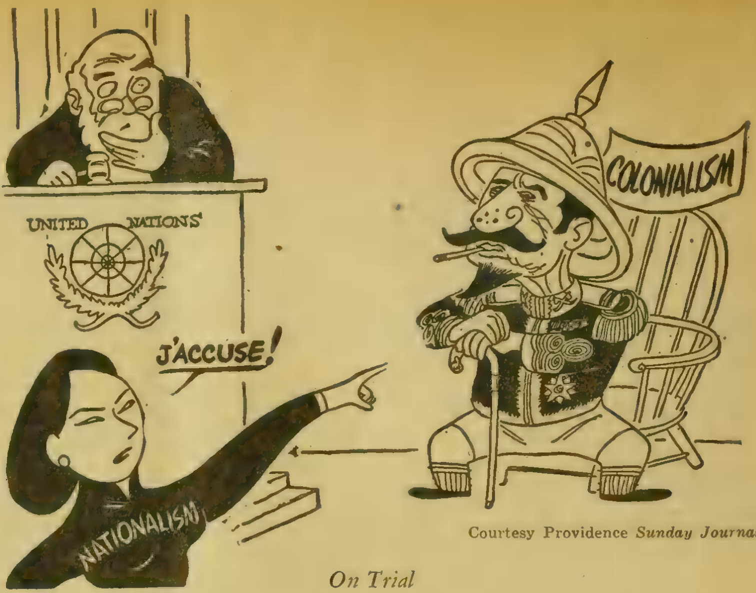
---

WILLIAM BROSS LLOYD, JR., is editor of Toward Freedom, *a newsletter on colonial affairs published in Chicago.*

gard to the United States' own dependent areas. It was not until the days of Roosevelt's New Deal that the McDuffie-Tydings Act of 1934 promising Philippine independence was passed. Puerto Rico continued in the strait-jacket of the March 2, 1917, Organic Act.

WITH the outbreak of World War II in 1939, President Roosevelt recognized the importance of convincing the American people that the war was a world-wide crusade for freedom. With some difficulty, it is reported, he persuaded Prime Minister Churchill to agree, in the Atlantic Charter of August 14, 1941, that their countries "respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live, and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them." But in this case as in so many others, deeds counted for more than words. Future historians may find the 1946 decision of the United States to free the Philippines on schedule more important than the American ideas which found their way into the trusteeship sections of the Charter. Standing firmly by the nation's pledge in spite of the dislocation of war, the American delegation at San Francisco declared in connection with the Philippines: "[The United States] looks forward to the time when many other now dependent peoples may achieve the same goal."

Puerto Rico, however, was not slated to achieve that goal. Largely because the probable economic dislocations of both independence and statehood were considered too great, Puerto Rico was offered an associated role as a commonwealth. In spite of the island's encouraging economic progress under Governor Muños Marin this status can hardly be said to embody complete self-government. Military conscription and many other United States laws are enforced on the island, though the people have no vote in their enactment. This is not self-government by American standards, and until a serious movement is launched to give Puerto Rico voting representation in Congress, to make United States laws subject to local approval, or to set up a time-table for independence, the situation must be considered a danger to American as well as Puerto Rican freedom.



Courtesy Providence *Sunday Journal*

On Trial

The reference to independence for other peoples made by the American delegation at San Francisco was soon tested in Asian areas adjoining the Philippines. On Indonesia, Washington's policy was direct and courageous. First of all it was clearly a U. N.-channeled policy; secondly, it contemplated ultimate independence as a distinct possibility; and thirdly, it was concerned to end a destructive civil war as soon as possible. When requested to join the U. N. Mediation Commission by governments friendly to one or the other of the belligerents, the United States concentrated its attention on the restoration of peace. The navy transport Renville was used as a neutral meeting ground for the final negotiations, but this was as close as the U. N. came to a show of force in the entire Indonesian crisis.

In Indo-China, on the other hand, Mr. Truman's State Department threw its support to the French-sponsored playboy emperor, Bao Dai, without even exploring—publicly, at least—the possibility of United Nations mediation. The Indo-China problem was more difficult than that of Indonesia because Ho Chi Minh was Communist-trained, whereas the Indonesian rebels were anti-Communist. But the Vietnam people on both sides were war-weary, and the presence of an independent U. N. commission negotiating peace and independence would have ruined one of Ho's most powerful recruiting lures—his resolve to oust the French. Negotiations with him, at an early stage and under U. N. auspices, would have left the Western moral and political position in far better shape than it now is.

A resolution requesting the President to bring the Indo-China conflict before the United Nations was introduced by Senator Guy M. Gillette (D., Iowa) on April 20 last year, when active American involvement was being considered seriously. This resolution was given the silent treatment by the State Department and most of the American press. When questioned by a newsman about the possibility of U. N. action, Secretary Dulles indicated that he did not want the subject discussed.

THE problems of few African countries, aside from the trust territories, French North Africa, and the Union of South Africa, reach the United Nations, where they must be introduced if they are to involve United States policy openly. Some straws in the wind are definitely anti-African—the restriction of the Reverend Michael Scott, spokesman at the U. N. for the Herrero tribe of Southwest Africa, to the island of Manhattan by action of the State Department, and the department's refusal of a passport to George Shepherd, formerly manager of an African farmers' cooperative marketing organization in Uganda.

On the other hand, President Eisenhower's special envoy to the Rhodes centennial celebration in Rhodesia, William H. Ball, took care to use the words "multi-racial society"—a key phrase for liberals in the Rhodesias—to describe the United States, and emphasized America's respect for the individual, "regardless of race, color, or creed."

In regard to North Africa, the State Department violated American tradition and our consistent policy in the U. N. up to that time by voting against even the discussion of Morocco and Tunisia in the 1951 General Assembly. Instead, our delegation favored "direct negotiations." These turned out to mean a series of demands by French authorities that the Tunisians accept their brand of "reforms." When the government of M. Chenik refused, he was ousted and his major Cabinet members clapped in jail.

Asian and Middle Eastern nations moved to bring the Tunisian situation before the Security Council in April, 1952, and leading newspaper corespondents reported that the American delegation privately favored the move. A few months later a poll of the American Association for the United Nations, hardly an isolationist or anti-French sample, showed 65 per cent in favor of more energetic U. N. action against colonialism.

But the State Department, defying the judgment of representatives on the spot and the inclinations of the American people, decreed an abstention, which owing to the influence of our vote was tantamount to ruling out any discussion. Chief Delegate Ernest R. Gross took care to mention at the beginning and the end of his address that he had been instructed to abstain.

The State Department opposed a special session of the General Assembly that summer on the subject, and on December 12, 1952, voted against a U. N. Good Offices Commission to aid negotiations. The American public had been warned that a United States vote for any resolution that might embarrass France would endanger the Pinay government. Eleven days after the United States had sacrificed principle to expediency, the government fell anyway.

The U. N.'s continued failure to act has discouraged Moroccan and Tunisian nationalists seeking their ends through orderly process and has fortified those urging violence as the only way to freedom. The 1954 wave of unrest in the two protectorates is a logical if deplorable consequence. For this development, United States policy in the U. N. bears a heavy responsibility.

Viewing matters in the perspective of history, this is not the first time that the United States has faced a hard choice in regard to colonialism. In 1823, when many South American countries had just won their independence, there was danger that the freedom of the American republics would be made the subject of diplomatic bargaining. The United States response in 1823 was the Monroe Doctrine, which flatly declared our fixed opposition to the restoration of *any* European colonialism in this hemisphere. Instead of cynically forgetting the 1941 Atlantic Charter, why does not the United States attempt to embody its ideal of self-determination in a modern adaptation of the Monroe Doctrine and announce certain fixed principles that will guide its policy?

IN THE modern setting one principle worth establishing is that there should be a definite time-table for the achievement of self-government or independence by each colonial area, according to its particular circumstances. The U. N. has already officially called on administering powers to estimate when each trust territory will become ready for self-government, but the British, French, and Belgians have either ignored or laughed at this resolution. Yet announcement of a time-table proved eminently successful in the case of the Philippines, Indonesia, and Libya. It can be as important to colonial peoples as the date on a promissory note is to a banker. The administering powers' open commitment to the principle of self-determination can release a powerful social dynamism which will bring indigenous peoples and administering authorities into a team pulling together for the rapid betterment of the country. If the United States firmly held to this principle for all colonies —the British Labor Party has already indorsed it—it would be taken a good deal more seriously by West European governments. A new United States doctrine on colonies might also include a strong indorsement of U. N. competence to undertake conciliation and mediation in situations like Indo-China early enough to keep communism from gaining a strangle-hold on nationalist movements.

The danger of the new Communist colonialism which swept over Eastern Europe while some 600,000,000 people in India, Burma, Ceylon, Pakistan, and Indonesia were being freed of Western colonialism has been adequately recognized by the American press. Unfortunately it is too often implied that the only way to combat this danger is to accept the views of the European colonial powers. Of those who recognize the need for a really independent American policy, many fail to see that this policy must be worked out through the United Nations if colonialists and Communists alike are not to label it—and with some justification—as a new, self-righteous form of American economic imperialism.

Those who maintain that we must guard against communism by helping the colonial powers to clutch their possessions more tightly are like the old grandmother who cautioned a young man just entering aviation to "be sure not to fly too high or too fast." Just as speed is the airman's safeguard against a stall and crash, so rapid progress in granting self-government or independence will enable the democratic statesmen to ward off political unrest, with ensuing violence and Communist penetration.

Faced with the Communist world challenge, the most essential move of the West is to clean up conditions on its own doorstep. Colonial administrations accustomed to bearing the white man's burden over the centuries are too susceptible to the pressure of European settlers and cannot be counted on for the flexibility necessary to implement freedom in time. The least that we can contribute is an open, consistent policy insulated from diplomatic horse-trading and driven home by a steady succession of deeds—the march of free new nations into full U. N. membership.

TRUSTEESHIP SYSTEM

How It Operates . . *by John V. Murra*

TO SAY that a U. N. trust territory is only a species of the genus colony is true; but it is not more than a three-quarters truth. At times the old colonialism does seem the decisive ingredient; yet one need only catch a session when live petitioners from some actual trust territory address the twelve-nation Trusteeship Council or the sixty members of the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly to see that something quite uncolonial and very new is emerging.

A country gets to be a trust territory almost by accident. At Versailles and at San Francisco a new administrative formula was sought for the colonies which Germany in 1919 and Japan and Italy in 1945 were giving up to the victors. Thus the mandate system of the League of Nations and the trusteeship setup of the U. N. were born. The procedure by which some 21,000,000 inhabitants spread over more than 900,000 square miles have come within the scope of trusteeship is accidental in the sense that these countries are no less "advanced" than their neighbors. Moreover, no power has yet placed any of its own colonial possessions under the trusteeship system, although Article 77 of the Charter foresees such a possibility.

Nor are the trust territories administered by a separate civil service; an Australian tax collector or public-works man will be routinely transferred from Papua, which is a colony, to the trust territory of New Guinea, which is held in trust for the U. N. A *juge d'instruction* in Dahomey, which the French conquered in the 1890's, will also hear cases from neighboring Togo, which they acquired from the Germans in 1914 and have held in trust for the United Nations since 1946. The administrators are nationals of the trustee country, though at lower echelons one often finds African officials. None of the territories are actually administered by the United Nations and only Italian Somaliland has a tiny resident U. N. secretariat to report directly to headquarters. Administratively speaking, the colonial flavor is still very strong.

Yet it would be a mistake to overstress this survival. The inhabitants of trust territories can present their petitions beyond the local administration and the government to which it is responsible, as virtually no people in colonies can do. Matters frivolous or vital are being brought constantly to the attention of U. N. bodies in New York. The men of Bukoba in Tanganyika declare that the work opportunities provided their wives by the new cash economy make the ladies harder to control. Farmers complain that their traditional land holdings are threatened by the growth of plantations. In 1954 the protest of the Marshall Islanders, in the United States trust territory of the Pacific, against the effects of atom-bomb experiments forced its way to the front pages of the newspapers. When these petitioners, who may be the first generation of literates in their nation, speak in the hushed conference rooms, one hears and sees the United Nations at its most exciting and hopeful.

IN 1952 a young "dispenser" from Tanganyika, K. Japhet, appeared before the Trusteeship Council to plead the case of his people, the waMeru. The waMeru had lived since time immemorial on the cool higher slopes of Meru Mountain, which have always been good grazing country and in modern times have shown potentialities for coffee growing—the kind of place which in colonies like Kenya becomes the "white highlands." Before 1914 the Germans had alienated parts of the Meru countryside. Today Europeans cannot buy land in Tanganyika. Because it is a trust territory the British government promised the U. N. in 1946 that "no real rights over native land . . . in favor of non-natives can be created." Leases are held to 99 years. In neighboring Kenya, a colony, leases are for 999 years.

After Versailles a few hundred waMeru families purchased on the instalment plan a number of German-owned farms; in time close to 3,000 people lived here on 78,000 acres. But in 1949 and again in 1951 they were notified that their lands were needed for a "resettlement scheme"; their farms were part of a highland area undergoing agricultural "development" on a vast scale. In compensation they were offered a much larger tract of land, not too far away. When they refused to move, they were evicted, their huts burned, their possessions piled on lorries by soldiers.

Mr. Japhet spoke in kiSwahili, the lingua franca of East Africa. His West Indian lawyer translated for him. The facts of alienation are commonplace in East, Central, and South Africa; hundreds of thousands of square miles of African land from the sources of the Nile to Capetown have been alienated over the last seventy-five years. What was new was the opportunity provided by the trusteeship system to submit the matter to an international forum, and thus to the conscience of man.

Mr. Japhet made a moving and skilful address. "We know," he said, "that the government has power and can do as it pleases. But we feel bitterness because this country of Meru was given us by God. If it is necessary that we should be removed by force, then we will go, but with tears in our eyes and looking backward. Compensation or lorries to assist us we do not want, nor do we want to be exempted from paying taxes for a year. . . . If you want the Meru country it is better for you to finish off the waMeru and take your stand upon their blood." He then gave detailed lists of donkeys lost, chickens left to die in the bush, storehouses burned, and people arrested and fined. At one point he

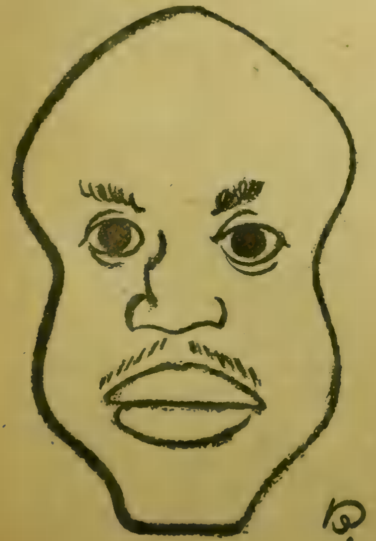
---

JOHN V. MURRA, formerly economic-affairs officer and Africa area specialist with the Trusteeship Division of the United Nations, is now teaching in the Department of Economics, Sociology, and Anthropology at Vassar College.

interrupted his statement to ask the president of the council: "Who is ultimately in control or in charge in Tanganyika?" The president asked why he wanted to know. "Because we have heard that Tanganyika is under the U. N." The president, an Iraqi, explained that the actual administration had been assigned by the U. N. to the British government. If this was so, Japhet insisted, why did not the government wait until the U. N. had given its opinion of the waMeru petition? There was no answer to this.

Afterward the council adopted a resolution expressing regret over the forcible methods of the eviction and recommending that in the future the consent of the Africans who had to be moved should be obtained. Unsatisfied, the waMeru appealed the case. The Trusteeship Council has twelve member nations, of which only six have no colonies; of these, two are great powers—Russia and China—and the others, small or formerly colonial nations. All the member nations, however, are represented on the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly, which heard the waMeru appeal.

In December, 1952, Kirilo Japhet appeared again before the U. N., this time with sixty diplomats, their advisers, interpreters, and hangers-on watching. He still spoke in kiSwahili—by 1953 he addressed the committee in English—and repeated his plea. For several days afterward he submitted to cross-examination by friend and foe, answering patiently and with great dignity. The Fourth Committee then recommended, thirty-one to seventeen, that the administering authority be invited "to return immediately the lands from which [the waMeru] were expelled, and to compensate them for all property destroyed." It also recommended that adequate measures be taken "to educate and train the waMeru tribe in modern methods of agriculture and cattle ranching."

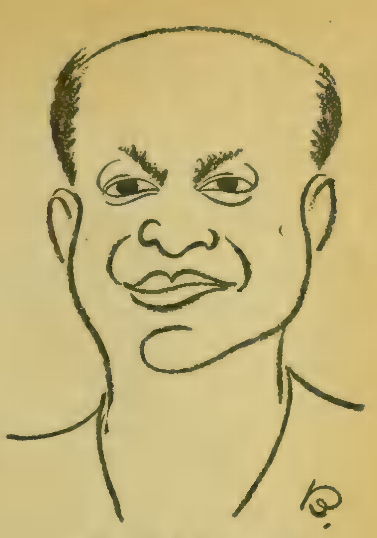


Kirolo Japhet

When this resolution came up before the plenary session, the General Assembly heard a warning from Britain, speaking with the voice of the past: "We are under no obligation to obey the resolutions passed by the Assembly. . . . I state quite frankly that we cannot accept this draft resolution, and if it is passed, it will not be implemented." Three votes shifted, but twenty-eight nations still insisted that the waMeru be reinstated; twenty, including the United States, voted against. This was short of the two-thirds' majority needed for an "operative" resolution. Actually, a colonial power can refuse to honor a U. N. resolution even if it is passed by a two-thirds' majority. The Union of South Africa has successfully resisted all resolutions of the U. N. and of the International Court at The Hague requesting that Southwest Africa, a former German possession, be returned to the U. N. Dr. Malan has coolly annexed the territory.

Earlier this year the waMeru were visited by the regular U. N. mission which every third year goes to each of the trust territories for a few weeks to listen to petitions and verify the extent to which the administering authority promotes "the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the trust territories and their progressive development toward self-government or independence," as it must under Article 76 of the Charter. The report of the 1954 visiting mission is not available at this writing, but it is known that the waMeru have refused to occupy the land offered them in compensation: although not far away, it is hot, dry, and infested with tsetse flies; one can neither grow coffee there nor keep cattle. They still hope for justice from the U. N. and recently have organized a producer cooperative and hired two American technicians to help them run it.

The waMeru case affects directly only a few thousand people, and were it a simple eviction-for-the-public-good kind of case it would normally come up in a local court under the law of eminent domain. By occurring in the highlands of East Africa, where the various European governments and their courts are committed to a policy of permanent European settlement, it becomes a matter of alienation of African land, hence a colonial issue and beyond the effective competence of the local courts. By occurring in a trust territory this minor case becomes of international interest. In such colonies as the Congo, Kenya, Madagascar, and the Rhodesias much graver instances of alienation have taken place, as evidenced by Mau Mau reaction and terrorism, but these are beyond the reach of the United Nations; they are "internal affairs."



Kimla A. Ghedemah

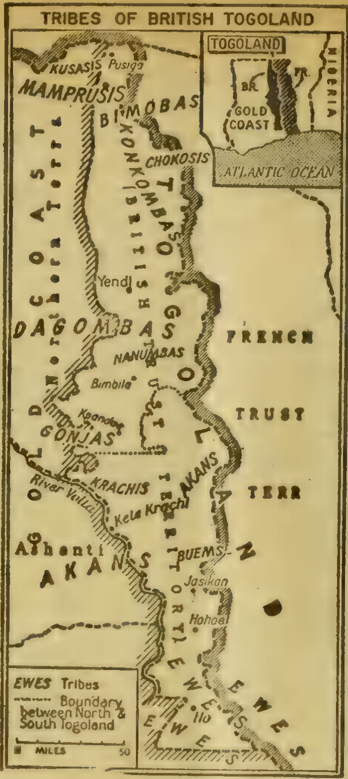
ELSEWHERE in Africa there are no permanent European settlements. Climate, the insects, and prospects of an early grave have combined to keep settlers out of West Africa, an area with over half the Black Continent's population. The western Sudan and the Guinea Coast were conquered and partitioned by Europeans only at the turn of the century. In the process, meaningless frontiers were traced on the drawing-boards of German, French, and British chancelleries, creating territories which had no linguistic, political, or cultural reality. When the ex-German territories of Togo and Cameroon were made U. N. trust territories, the grievances of their partitioned peoples became a matter for U. N. consideration.

The Ewe, over a million strong, were

partitioned three ways and in consequence have suffered endless economic, social, and religious difficulties. Since the late thirties they have been agitating for reunification. When the Trusteeship Council was established, theirs was the first case challenging the colonial frontiers in Africa to receive serious consideration. Since 1947 the Ewe petition has annually reappeared on the agenda, ably argued by Sylvanus Olympio, formerly president of the Legislative Assembly, the Chamber of Commerce, and a Lever Brothers subsidiary in French Togo.*

The most interesting situation in the history of the trusteeship system arose in 1954. German Togo, a narrow north-to-south strip sandwiched between the French colony of Dahomey and the British Gold Coast, was inhabited by various peoples who like the Ewe on the coast had the bulk of their relatives in other territories. After Versailles partition was compounded, France and Britain each getting slivers of Togoland, and these became trust territories in 1946. Last year Britain notified the General Assembly that the neighboring Gold Coast was to achieve self-government in a year or two. But what of Togo next door? Britain is ready to give up its trust; the Togolese are as "ready" as the Gold Coasters; the two could easily be joined in a greater Ghana, as the country will be called once the European place names are erased. What happens then to the French strip? Nothing, says France; we carry on with the status quo.

CONFRONTED with the unilateral offer of the British, what should the United Nations do? The answer is conditioned by many groups of factors—African and European, ethnic and economic, personal and international. While the waMeru case would belong in a local court were it not for the colonizing policy pursued by the administering authority, the Togo situation is a true United Nations case. Continuing tension and even war might once have resulted; today the sixty nations sit in council trying to unravel as tangled a knot as Danzig and Trieste ever were.


TRIBES OF BRITISH TOGOLAND

With the administering authorities taking a back seat, two African groups have met head on before the General Assembly. Both are led by skilled politicians and experienced debaters. Sylvanus Olympio, who once spoke for Ewe unification, is back, arguing for the unification of the two Togos. There should be no unilateral repudiation of the trusteeship agreements, he maintains; France and Britain should terminate their tutelage at the same time, to permit the emergence of a unified Togo state. The United Nations should then step in and administer the country without intermediaries for a transitional period of five years, after which Togo would be declared an independent country. When I asked Mr. Olympio if even such a unified Togo could function effectively, he replied that once the country was independent, it could federate with any other emergent West African nation. Olympio's views are supported by S. G. Antor, a member for British Togo of the Gold Coast legislature, who hopes that a unified Togo would permit the separate marketing of the territory's chief cash product, cocoa. Antor feels that British Togoland's economic contribution to the Gold Coast could finance its own independence. There is also apprehension lest the "annexation" of British Togoland by the Gold Coast mean the indefinite postponement of independence for French Togo.

The opposite view was presented by the Gold Coast Minister of Education, Allasani, another legislator from British Togoland. Dressed in the colorful robes of his people and backed by several tribal representatives, he declared that the original German-drawn frontier between the Gold Coast and northern Togo had threatened the unity of the Dagomba and Mamprussi peoples. They wanted unity with their ethnic and linguistic kin in the Gold Coast; they had no such affinity to the people on the French side.

Backing these petitioners, and speaking, interestingly enough, for the United Kingdom delegation, was K. A. Ghedemah, the Finance Minister of the Gold Coast, best known as the organizational dynamo of the Convention Peoples' Party, now in power in the Gold Coast. A former teacher and timber merchant, Ghedemah, an Ewe, was widely credited with keeping the party together when the present Prime Minister, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, went to jail in 1950. Since their overwhelming electoral victory in 1951, Nkrumah and Ghedemah have been the dominant figures in the first all-African Cabinet in British Africa.

IN AN interview granted to *The Nation*, Mr. Ghedemah argued for the integration of British Togoland with the Gold Coast. There were ethnic, economic, and political reasons, he said, why the first trust territory to emerge from dependent status should join the first self-governing African dominion. The partition of the northern tribes would be ended forever. As for the Ewe, his own people, in the south, integration would bring a majority of them under the Gold Coast flag, where they would enjoy administrative autonomy. The Ewe remaining on the French side were a problem, he admitted. They would have to fight for independence as those in the Gold Coast had fought. The presence of a self-governing Gold Coast to the west was bound to help, not retard, their efforts. As for Antor's economic argument, it ignored the fact that cocoa revenues were the only source of capital to finance the needed technological advance. Offering to pay full market prices for Togo cocoa was demagogy; it would bring ruinous inflation while neglecting development. Integration with the Gold Coast was the best solution; what is more, it was the solution

---

*See his article in *The Nation* for December 26, 1953.

preferred by the people of British Togo. Let there be a plebiscite to confirm or deny this.

Olympio and Antor would consent to a plebiscite only if it took place in both trust territories. They demanded the implementation of a 1953 resolution of the Assembly urging the establishment of an elective Joint Togoland Council. In their view the voters should be offered a chance to choose a united Togo under direct U. N. administration. Before the U. N. decides it may send a mission to ascertain the wishes of the Togolese.

Here is a real twentieth-century problem. The demand for ethnic self-determination, the end of colonial rule, the economics of development are ingredients in the Togo controversy as in all West African affairs. Nations are being born there, as in Asia, that "no one" ever heard of. True enough, the trusteeship system has not been in their case the operative agency. The Gold Coast and Nigeria, the first countries to approach self-government, are colonies, not trust territories. The temper of their peoples, the absence of European settlers, the realities of Britain's current needs have been more important in enabling them to achieve their present status. The trust territories of West Africa benefit from this. Their special contribution has consisted in dramatizing before the U. N. the anomaly, for our time, of completely disregarding the ethnic factor in drawing African boundaries. Elsewhere in Africa settlers and strategic mining have so far prevented any comparable developments. Here the trusteeship system plays the very special role of bringing to the attention of the world the problems of a still submerged population.

Africa: Last Stronghold

by M. O. M. Maduagwu

Ibadan, Nigeria

AFRICA'S problem is the problem of man's inhumanity to man—the problem of how its enslaved millions can be released from European colonialism. Only three of the thirty-five African countries —Liberia, Egypt, and Abyssinia—are entirely free and self-governing. The rest are colonies, split-trust territories, protectorates, or in some way "belong" to European nations.

But the African giant is now awakening from his slumber. When the people began to rebel against the denial of their rights of free movement and speech and participation in the government, they made peaceful demands for freedom. But their self-appointed masters, instead of giving heed to their request, labeled those making it "agitators," "leftist nationalists," and more recently "Communist-goaded terrorists." Even more oppressive laws were enacted to safeguard the interests of the "master" race.

Hopes were raised in Africa when Roosevelt and Churchill, on August 14, 1941, signed the Atlantic Charter, the third clause of which stated that the United States and Great Britain "respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them." On the strength of this, we in Africa contributed our man-power and our resources to the cause of winning the war. We thought the end of the war would mark the end of colonialism and imperialism in Africa as well as in the rest of the world. But when the war was over, we found we were still denied the right to determine what government was suitable for us. Under these circumstances could Africans be expected to remain silent? We knew our demands were just. We saw no reason why we should be punished for urging them.

Unrest has been constantly on the increase—the Mau Mau in Kenya, political agitation in Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia, disturbances and boycotts in Uganda, uprising in Madagascar put down by a bloody massacre. Always people are being killed somewhere; the strength of our manhood is being sapped. We do not like violence and revolution. We do not want continuing political crises. But all those things are an inevitable part of the present struggle for freedom in Africa.

Colonialism is evil. Not liking evil, we do not choose to remain colonials forever and be forever exploited, overtly or covertly. We want liberty. Count Leo Tolstoy wrote: "I sit on a man's back, choking him and making him carry me and yet assure myself and others that I am very sorry for him and wish to ease his lot by all possible means—except by getting off his back." What a fitting description of the relationship between the peoples of Africa and Europe!

At long last Britain has been forced to modify its policy of "what we have we hold," at least in its West African colonies. Under the leadership of Dr. Kwame Nkruma, the Gold Coast is well on the way to freedom. In Nigeria, led by such men as Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, and the Saduna of Sokoto, we have obtained internal self-rule. During the past three years, since our own men have been in office, Nigeria has made tremendous progress in education, rural and urban development, and other fields. We are now working toward achieving complete self-government.

We regret, however, that our brothers in East Africa, South Africa, and West and North Africa, are still chafing under alien rule. And we wish that Dr. Malan's successor, Mr. Strijdom, would renounce the *apartheid* policy of the Union of South Africa. Then there might be peace in this continent.

M. O. M. MADUAGWU, a tutor in mathematics at the Merchants of Light College in Nigeria, is a leader in the Nigerian independence movement.

BOOKS

Mao's Problems and Prospects

THE PROSPECTS FOR COMMUNIST CHINA. By W. W. Rostow. Technology Press of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and John Wiley and Sons. $5.

By Edgar Snow

TO PROVIDE, in a single volume, satisfactory explanations of such matters as the "operative motivations of the Chinese Communist regime," its current intentions toward Asian and world society, the main problems confronting it, the likelihood of its success or failure in solving those problems, and "the prospects for change in Communist society over the foreseeable future" is a formidable task. Dr. W. W. Rostow and his associates in the Center for International Studies, M. I. T.—Richard W. Hatch, Frank A. Kierman, Jr., and Alexander Eckstein—have accomplished it with highly creditable results. Their book is an excellent product of selection, evaluation, organization, and synthesis of significant materials, covering the genesis and growth of Chinese communism, the nature of the regime and its relations with the people and their past, China's economic foundations and present goals, and the interdependence and current and potential rivalries between Moscow and Peking.

The Communists have now entered a period of "bitter struggle" for rapid economic development—comparable to the post-N. E. P. years in Russia—and the authors closely examine their chances of success. "As of 1953 the regime felt that its domestic power machine was fully consolidated." Its leadership, determined to have an "independent industrial base," appears intent also on increasing "the degree of Chinese independence and authority" within the Sino-Soviet alliance. Whereas at first the victorious Communists were inclined "to press on in all directions," reverses and difficulties arising out of Korean and other expansionist moves had, by 1952, brought about a "new emphasis" on production tasks, "partly at the expense of internal and external power goals." The "general line" today is one of "transition to socialism" and is based on the first Five-Year Plan, which was put into effect in 1953. Mao hopes thereby to "duplicate in China the results achieved by Stalin in the 1930's."

Notice is taken of the organizational accomplishments of the Communists in all branches of Chinese life—from the growth of mass literacy and technological training to an industrial effort "enormous by past standards." But it is "surmised" that the "upshot of Communist agricultural policy has been a downward leveling of individual family incomes." And although "the worker lives in the midst of the most rapidly expanding segment of Chinese Communist society," his "probable mood" is one of "fatigue." For this reason, even if for no other, he is "certainly not likely to detonate a revolt."

There is "almost no direct evidence of dissatisfaction or instability in the top levels of leadership," but the authors discern weaknesses and tensions in the bureaucracy. The first is uncertainty or a sense of insecurity; the second is suspicion or fear; the third is the resentment aroused by promotions of technically qualified "cadres" over the heads of party veterans. Such vague bureaucratic unrest might become critical under a combination of circumstances which are described as a sudden change in top leadership, a sharp fall in the natural death rate, a disproportionate rise in urban population, an adverse productivity reaction of the peasantry to collectivization, a relative neglect of agricultural needs in favor of industry, and a succession of bad harvest years.

Unity, order, cleaner streets, more public health, reasonably honest tax collection, a relatively high level of investment, enlightened laws on the statute books governing the position of women, tasks for the unemployed and rootless intellectuals, a decrease in illiteracy—all these are placed on the positive side. An increased reliance on force and fear, enlarged forced-labor camps, a lying propaganda, a wastage of resources to maintain instruments of control, a swollen army, an aggressive foreign policy, brainwashing for the intellectual, an exploited peasantry, a loss of individual freedom for all—these go on the negative side.

But such a balance sheet could be misleading, and to the authors the "central human fact" is the "attitude of the top leadership" toward the people. This latter they believe to be so hateful that it has largely "turned to ashes" whatever advantages the regime offers and makes life for most Chinese a thing of "fearful apathy."

CHINA'S relations with Russia are on a basis of near-equality as compared to those of Russia with Eastern Europe. But the Kremlin has some effective control over the Chinese party and the state. Foremost is Peking's dependence on Soviet military strength. Secondly, all China's economic development hinges on Soviet cooperation; there may be as many as 15,000 Russian advisers in China. They hold key positions in the economic and information field but have no direct political power.

It is stated that the Chinese regime is useful to the interests of Russian nationalism first of all as a means of diverting anti-Communist military resources. It helps to stabilize and enlarge Russian interests in Manchuria, Mongolia, and Sinkiang, enables Russia to bring pressure on Japan to leave the anti-Communist coalition, and serves generally as a bargaining pawn for Russia in its power politics. To Peking the alliance offers a way to maximize Chinese military strength, to increase Chinese power in Northeast Asia, to extend Chinese influence to the Southeast, to attain leadership or hegemony over all Asian Communist movements, and to achieve rapid industrialization by Soviet methods.

Threats to the permanence of the alliance are seen as possibly rising out of failure in the application of Soviet economic technique to China's problems, proof that the West can offer better terms of association, the devaluation of Soviet military strength through internal catastrophe or defeat in war, or an over-extension of Russian political controls in China. The authors seem to think that these possibilities are remote rather than imminent.

EDGAR SNOW is the author of "Red Star Over China" and other books.

Perhaps the most useful chapters in the book are those analyzing Chinese economy to date. Aims of the present Five-Year Plan are "an industrial complex in 1957-59 roughly on the scale of Russia in 1928," but with a base of four million tons of steel production; fully modernized armed forces "supplied increasingly from Chinese resources"; the "skipping" of an N. E. P. period and a movement directly toward early collectivization—with investment capital to be extracted largely from the product of peasant labor; and the training of great numbers of young technicians and administrators to handle the mushrooming economic and state apparatus.

Broadly speaking, "Communist China in 1952 was industrially nearer the position of Russia in the 1890's than that of the Soviet Union of 1928." Continuing the comparison:

> China's first Five-Year Plan is more heavily dependent on a maintained or expanded level of foreign trade; its ambitions demand an important allocation to military purposes which Stalin avoided in 1929; China faces a population growth and urbanization problem of unknown but potentially serious dimensions . . . much hinges on the course of agricultural output and, especially, on the peasants' productivity and response to the regime's collectivization measures. The Chinese Communist regime's problem is essentially more difficult than Stalin's and success is not assured.

Looking ahead, while "direct military aggression is not to be ruled out" it is evident that Peking intends to pursue its "ambitions for expansion" in ways which "minimize the risks of major war and which cost little in resources." Communist China's future stability depends "principally" on "four interconnected factors" which sum up as continued satisfactory Sino-Soviet relationships, continued rising prestige of China in its bid for Asian leadership, the achievement of industrialization without excessive starvation, and unity and cohesion in the party leadership.

Conceding the absence of any serious internal challenge to Peking's authority, the authors nevertheless conclude that "despite the unique powers the Communist regime exercises on the mainland, its fate rests substantially with the people of the Free World and their governments." They express the "conviction" that Chinese communism's "pretensions to political and ideological leadership in Asia" can be defeated. Their prescription for the task:

> An American policy prepared to join sympathetically in efforts to solve the great revolutionary problems of Asia, and an American people prepared to sustain such a policy: to sustain it not merely with guns and armed men, but also with capital and technique, with energy, and with a sense of human fellowship.

Despite the authors' liberal pronouncement of moral judgments against the subjects of their inquiry it is evident from the foregoing that their broad conclusions and interesting speculations are relatively free from wishful thinking and partisan bias. This is probably as objective a piece of intelligence work as is humanly possible in an era of scholarship dedicated to ideological warfare. Its limitations are doubtless due chiefly to the authors' lack of opportunity for first-hand observation of the people whom it judges—and of the complex emotions and psychological factors, past frustrations and present satisfactions, motivations of fear and hatred and ties of fellowship, which produced Chinese communism and now attract to its banners incomparably more active supporters than ever adhered to any previous regime. Some personal experience in living with the Chinese people in the past might have led the authors to modify the conclusion that the mood of "most" people at present can be described as "fearful apathy."

It is regrettable that so rich a book does not contain fuller documentation. Its utility as a reference work might also be enhanced by a more detailed index.

Asia in the Spotlight

THERE IS NO ASIA. By Dwight Cooke. Doubleday and Company. $4.

TOKYO AND POINTS EAST. By Keyes Beech. Doubleday and Company. $3.75.

By O. Edmund Clubb

TWO able newsmen, obviously scornful of the insidious warning that the area is "controversial," come up with two good field reports on Asia. CBS news analyst Dwight Cooke, for his part, skirted China and Soviet Asia to survey a dozen countries on the continent's rim. He found no universal pattern; "There is no Asia," but vast differences, ranked in between Magsaysay's effective administration in the Philippines and the "exceedingly precarious" situation in Indonesia. He describes a legion of diverse cultural traits.

But certain forces discovered in Indonesia, for example, seem to reflect political sentiments actually common to Asians generally. Cooke noted there the dominance of a strong emotion of anti-colonialism and a determination to fend off capitalism, which combine to frustrate both Occidental business men eager to provide Western "know-how" and Occidental strategists interested in erecting anti-Communist barricades. He met the same feeling among Burmese, who "would instantly choose native communism to foreign colonialism," and in India. The possible consequences of any American failure loom large: "If the 370,000,000 Indians ever join the 500,000,000 Chinese against the West, Asia is lost to the free world, and the United States will face the greatest danger in history." Nor does Cooke see salvation in Japan, which must export great quantities of manufactures to survive but now lacks the trade outlets. Can the United States detach China from the U. S. S. R., or will the Communists pry Japan away from the United States? The author discerns "ominous possibilities."

Cooke believes that Asians today see their choice, not between the United States and Russia, but between the ways of China and those of India: "The plain truth is that in most of Asia the only conceivable economic choice is communism or socialism." From the United States he would propose aid, but also patience and fortitude—"in a word, understanding."

Keyes Beech of the Chicago *Daily News* deftly picks up the ball in his more personalized "Tokyo and Points East." He tells how correspondents under SCAP's rule in Japan were subject to restraints that resulted in the American people's getting "an extravagantly optimistic picture of the occupation." He reports the political prostitu-

---

O. EDMUND CLUBB, a retired American Foreign Service officer, spent twenty years in Far Eastern posts.

tion of some Korean war dispatches. He characterizes the American pledge to Syngman Rhee of a billion dollars in economic aid to obtain the Korean armistice as "probably the biggest bribe ever paid."

There are many colorful episodes in Beech's book and much entertaining personalia—not least, of General MacArthur and Correspondent Marguerite Higgins. But when Beech examined the social problems of Asia, like Cooke he found the question of the people's food to be at the core. In a brief section he cogently sets forth his judgment that the United States began to lose Asia the day World War II was won. Then we stood ready to write off a billion Asians "because of our abysmal ignorance of their culture, their hopes, their aspirations." The Russians had a program prepared; but as the balance of history swung from West back to East, as "the slumbering four-fifths" of mankind began to waken, the best that democracy could think to offer Asians was "freedom" in the status quo—tantamount to freedom to starve. Says Beech, "You can't eat freedom"; and he concludes that "if we lose Asia it will be because we bucked a revolution instead of backing one."

What Cooke and Beech say is not always beyond challenge. But they beam light into dim recesses at a moment when reappraisal of our Asia policy is being demanded and a vast economic program is under study. Coming at a critical juncture, their readable books are informative and provocative of re-thinking and make good political sense. They are most timely.

European Peace Treaties After World War II:

Negotiations and Texts of Treaties with Italy, Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania and Finland.
edited by AMELIA LEISS *in cooperation with* RAYMOND DENNETT. $4.75

International Organization:

quarterly of articles on problems of international organization and summaries of activities of major political, regional and functional international organizations.
$5.00 a year (students $3.50); $1.50 an issue

Negotiating with the Russians:

A symposium by eleven American experts on their experiences in war-time and post-war negotiation.
edited by RAYMOND DENNETT *and* JOSEPH E. JOHNSON. $1.75

WORLD PEACE FOUNDATION
40 Mt. Vernon St., Boston 8, Mass.

COLONIALISM AND THE UNITED NATIONS: Proposals for Charter Amendment. Including background and commentary. 25¢; 5 for $1, 100 for $15. Published by
TOWARD FREEDOM
a monthly newsletter on colonial affairs
($3 per year, students $1)
343 South Dearborn Street
Chicago 4, Illinois

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE

Buy Your Books through THE *Nation*

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular retail price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the retail price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D. No C. O. D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to
Miss O. LePach
THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
333 SIXTH AVENUE NEW YORK 14, N. Y.

An African Autobiography

THE DARK CHILD. By Camara Laye. Translated by James Kirkup, Ernest Jones, Elaine Gottlieb. Noonday Press. $2.75.

By John V. Murra

THE imaginative literature of colonial peoples, particularly African, is oral and traditional. The West relegates it to what it calls folklore, admittedly full of quaint wisdom but hardly ever read. Only when we juxtapose African literature with its art, as was done by Paul Radin in his splendid Bollingen volume, "African Folktales and Sculpture," do we suddenly get the shock of meeting a truly sophisticated if alien view of man.

This literature is doubly inaccessible: it is in the vernacular, and we are impatient with the multiplicity of African languages. Much as Metternich and Fernando VII could not believe that some day there would be a Serbian poetry, a Peruvian novel, or a Rumanian state, so today the idea of Malinke or Akan belles-lettres startles not only the European but also the educated African, trained in Western schools and led to believe that his vernacular is a poor vehicle for what needs to be said.

As for modern forms, Richard Wright explains the scarcity of West African novels and drama on the grounds that these people have not gone through the great adventure of rising from feudalism, that there is no bourgeois class exploring experience and ransacking the world for new sensations. It is true that West Africa has not yet gone through an industrial transformation; still, the change in the last fifty years has been enormous. A large number of Senegalese, Liberians, Sierra Leonans, Togolese, and Nigerians have left the villages of their ancestors to go to Western schools, work in mines and offices, legislate in houses of representatives, and grow crops for sale, not to eat. Here are transformations affecting family ties and the role of women, traditional loyalties, land tenures, and values to match any accompanying industrial revolution in the West. It is bound to create a literature and a reading public, though probably not in the conqueror's tongue, nor necessarily using his art forms. The lesson of Latin American, Balkan, and Asian intellectual life is that a real literature can emerge only as writers return to their own mother-tongue and tradition, fertilized by their outside experience to be sure.

IN THE fall of 1953 the illustrated Paris monthly *Réalités* created a sensation by publishing in instalments "L'Enfant Noir," a series of autobiographical sketches by Camara Laye, a twenty-six-year-old engineering student from Upper Guinea in West Africa. It soon appeared in book form, was mentioned for the Goncourt prize, and actually received the Veillon prize early this year. Its title "softened" to "The Dark Child," it now comes out in English translation.

It is a charming and ingenuous but never naive autobiography of a young boy, the first in his immediate family to get a European and later a technical education. Written during a period of intense homesickness after several years in cold and alien Paris, it is tender in its memories of an African childhood in the town of Kouroussa, on the banks of the Niger. Many relatives and school chums and two young girl friends are sketched

---

JOHN V. MURRA has been an "area specialist" with the Department of Trusteeship of the United Nations. He is now teaching at Vassar.

in, but the main personalities are the mother and father, strong, dignified, devoted to the child despite his gradual alienation from their own deep roots in Sudanic tradition. The father was a smith and a leader of smiths; the mother, a descendant of smiths, in a country where those who work metals are a group apart, endowed with unusual and supernatural powers. Writing for a European audience, Mr. Camara is completely relaxed and non-defensive in describing his mother's magic immunity to crocodiles and his father's ability to plan his day and meet the vicissitudes to come because of his constant contact with his guardian spirit, a small black snake living beneath the forge. "I hesitate to say what those powers were. . . . Today, now that I come to remember them, even I hardly know how I should regard them. They seem to be unbelievable; they *are* unbelievable. . . . I see them again as I saw them then. Are there not things around us, everywhere, which are inexplicable? In our country there were mysteries without number, and my mother was familiar with them all."

The author is as matter-of-fact and sensitively informing in describing his anxiety during his initiation ceremony and circumcision as he is over his initial reluctance to take a technical course in high school because it sounded too much like manual labor. Here is the new African writer, the African reader, Richard Wright was looking for: his roots in the unrejected past, his future clearly in the twentieth century. In a recent interview Mr. Camara told reporters that he had no intention to follow a literary career; he planned to return to Guinea as an engineer to take part in the technological transformation of his country. He had written his autobiography in an effort to capture "the face of my country in the process of change."

Such a direct ability to communicate the feelings and anxieties of Westernized Africans is extremely rare. No such personal document, and no review like the African-edited *Présence Africaine*, has yet come out of British West Africa; one wonders if this difference is not more than accidental. French education in Africa is frankly devoted to the creation of a Europeanized élite; nowhere is the African tradition so ignored as on the French side. They may not educate

PURPOSE OF THE RELIGIOUS ADVERTISEMENTS

Belief in God Robbed of Social Justice by Ancient Orthodoxy.—Social Justice overshadowed by "Righteousness."—Reversal of Emphasis Inevitable and Imperative.—Previous advertisements have emphasized that the Hebrew prophets preached a God of social justice (not socialism or communism), and that they were endorsed repeatedly by Jesus of Nazareth. But it is appalling to consider that when *Belief in God* came down from the hills of Palestine and entered the stream of World History, social justice faded from the religious pattern and was overshadowed by "righteousness."

That God requires righteousness is very familiar to all of us from childhood. We were all told, in forceful generalities, that God would punish us if we did not "do right". And yet, very few people, even today, know that the Hebrew prophets proclaimed a God of social and economic justice, and that the prophets were endorsed repeatedly by Jesus. All church people today—orthodox and liberal alike—are honest and sincere. The transformation of Belief in God from its earlier sense of social justice to a merely individual righteousness was accomplished in the far-away Past by orthodox authorities unknown to the masses of the laity today.

Return of Religious Emphasis to Social Justice Inevitable and Indispensable.—No reflection upon the sincerity of present-day church people is implied by the religious problem that has thus come to us from the far-away Past. Nevertheless, if the churches do not choose to follow the prophets and Jesus, and put social justice (not socialism or communism) at the foundation of their belief in God, they will inevitably invite disaster at a time when social problems are pressing upon us as never before, and when social consciousness is rapidly replacing the ancient rugged individualism of orthodoxy and Herbert Hoover.

It is impressive to look back into the hills of Palestine, and to study the great struggles which destroyed paganism and endowed the term "God" with social justice. But it is appalling to think how the insidious propaganda of "righteousness" has been so successful in banishing the sense of social justice from religion, and in reducing the highest concept of the human mind (i. e.,"God") to the state of conventional respectability with which it circulates in our churches, Sunday schools, law courts, colleges, current literature, etc.

Free Material Available.—A free circular is being sent out, upon request, giving additional information. Its title is, *Bulletin of Bible and Hebrew History.* If you have already seen it, please do not ask for another copy, because it is in short supply. But if you have not seen it, you may send a three-cent stamp to cover postage on one copy.

In Addition to Above Circular, Further Material in Preparation.—The title of the new circular is, *Restoration of Social Justice to Religious Belief.* It emphasizes that the process of restoration has already begun, and that these advertisements and circulars are intended to promote the process. The new material will not be ready for some time, however. But if you wish to have a copy, send an additional stamp at once, so as to be in line for it when ready. A request *not* accompanied by a three-cent stamp (or two three-cent stamps in case both circulars are desired) will necessarily bring no results. The great majority of those asking for the printed matter have carefully included postage. And please try not to confuse the two circulars; the first being, *Bulletin of Bible and Hebrew History,* already printed; and second, *Restoration of Social Justice to Religious Belief,* in preparation. You do not incur any responsibility (financial or otherwise) in requesting the printed matter.—L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, N. Y.

(ADVERTISEMENT)

many, but those they do educate get the full, undiluted *lycée,* with its emphasis on humanistic and literary studies. The British may educate larger numbers and be more sympathetic to the vernacular, but their educational system is embedded in a missionary world, with artificial, expatriated, and puritanical standards which they would never hope to impose at home. The modern novel is an important ingredient of French secondary education. The modern French novel is self-critical, realistic, universal; in it the master looks at himself with an unblinking eye, no matter what he may be claiming in the colony. If one writes, one is learning in a great school; one may reject French rule and admire French literature. Puritanism in colonial conditions, on the other hand, is an utter brake on the imagination. The self-hating ambivalences it creates in the colonial student go deeper, are more inhibiting of literary self-revelation.

Clearly, one moving, unself-conscious autobiography and the existence in Paris of a *Présence Africaine* are not enough to verify such assertions. The development of a West African fiction written for African readers must be awaited.

Theater

Harold Clurman

SIDNEY KINGSLEY is a careful craftsman with a talent for genre studies of the shadowy and dramatically unexploited byways of big-city life. To this he adds for the sake of thematic gravity suggestions of social significance—satisfying a certain appetite for moralism in our unsettled audiences. "Men in White" with its piquent details of hospital practice, "Dead End" with its contrast of the proper rich and the delinquent poor on the same street of the city's East Side, "Detective Story" with its colorful glimpses of a central police station—all made absorbing shows. Mr. Kingsley slips when he departs from a sharp documentation of or some consanguinity with his material, as in "Twenty Million Ghosts," an anti-war play about munitions makers, and "Darkness at Noon," a dramatization of Koestler's novel.

"BEST PLAY OF THE YEAR."
—*HEWES, Sat. Review*
NANCY KELLY in
BAD SEED
Evelyn VARDEN, Henry JONES, Eileen HECKART
Thomas CHALMERS, Patty McCORMACK
46th STREET THEATRE, 226 W. 46 St., CI 6-4271
Evgs. at 8:35. Mats. WED. and SAT. 2:30

"Tender and sweet, charmingly humorous."
—HAROLD CLURMAN, *Nation*
"A WINNING PLAY"—*ATKINSON, Times*
THE NEW ROMANTIC COMEDY HIT
WEDDING BREAKFAST
Lee GRANT • Harvey LEMBECK • Virginia VINCENT • Anthony FRANCIOSA
48th STREET THEATRE, East of Broadway
Evgs. 8:40. Mats. WED. and SAT. 2:40

In "Lunatics and Lovers" (Broadhurst Theater) Mr. Kingsley attempts a farce about the daffy riffraff of the city, a species of humanity that may be studied at close range and in dense confinement at some of the hostelries on West Forty-seventh and West Forty-eighth streets. The play has no theme or even a trace of social comment and, what is much more damaging in a farce, very little situation or complication of situation. Without these, the seams show, and since by the very nature of its material the seams of "Lunatics and Lovers" are coarse, the result must be discomfiting.

Although all the personnel of "Lunatics and Lovers" are "characters," there are no real people in it, not even journalistic thumbnail sketches like those that were arresting and amusing in "Detective Story," so that the insistent push toward speed and general clamor in the present play creates more strain than fun. There is not even much of the honest dirt which an audience may enjoy when it either accepts it fully as a venial sin or is unaware of any sin at all.

Mr. Kingsley is slumming here. His play conveys the uneasy sense of a man who does not quite know how to behave in an environment toward which he has no real attitude. One has to have bad morals or some moral viewpoint. Mr. Kingsley seems to be experimenting, putting his foot rather gingerly into the muck—an embarrassing gesture.

I must disqualify myself as a critic of Agatha Christie's "Witness for the Prosecution" (Henry Miller's Theater). Show me the man who likes *everything* "good" in the theater and I will show you an adorable simpleton or a person without any taste at all.

Agatha Christie has earned a reputation as a master of the mystery melodrama, and "Witness for the Prosecution" is considered, in London as well as here, one of her best jobs. As I have not read a mystery or a detective story since I was fifteen—I read Conan Doyle then—I am not competent to judge the validity of Agatha Christie's reputation.

At an earlier stage of my theatergoing I saw such plays as "The Unknown People," "The Thirteenth Chair," "The Bat," and "The Gorilla." It is possible that they thrilled me—I can no longer remember what my reaction to them was, nor does it matter. I found ingenuity in "Dial M" two seasons ago, but if I have to be categorical about it, I must acknowledge that the "pure" mystery play, the guessing-game type of play of crime detection, is distinctly the kind of entertainment I do not need.

Since I am in the mood for personal confessions today, I should add that "entertainment" in general—that is, entertainment as titillation—is not what I seek in the theater. The cry for such entertainment, I often think, is based on the unconscious assumption that life is so excruciatingly boring that one requires relief from it through narcotics or stimulants. I am practically never bored by life—even the theater rarely bores me—and I find the theater a rather poor agent as a nerve tonic.

I am reminded, in this regard, of George Jean Nathan's old gag in which he would painstakingly set down the amount and kinds of alcoholic solace he might have consumed if he had not gone to a particular play on a certain night. When a play's chief purpose is to tickle or shock my sensibilities, I always find myself thinking of the many more effective ways in which I could have this done for me—outside the theater.

"Witness for the Prosecution" is never dull. I found its few humorous touches, abetted by the witty swipes of direction contributed by Robert Lewis, its most rewarding aspect. It has a trick ending—ironically clever in its way—it is well done, and Patricia Jessel's part and performance struck me as the most interesting.

Records

B. H. Haggin

ONE of the year's outstanding events is Columbia's release of Berlioz's Te Deum, one of the works that employ large forces with unfailing discretion and taste—whether in the quiet writing filled with characteristic subtle marvels, or in the brilliantly and grandly sonorous passages which culminate in the final *Judex crederis* with its extraordinary ostinato phrase that is built up to a great climax. Columbia ML-4897 offers a superb performance in which Beecham conducts his Royal Philharmonic Orchestra, the London Philharmonic Choir, the Dulwich College Boys' Choir, the tenor Alexander Young, and the organist Dennis Vaughan.

The Masonic Music of Mozart on Epic 3062 comprises the Cantatas "Dir, Seele des Weltalls" K.429 (1783) and "Die Maurerfreude" K.471 (1785), the "Kleine Freimaurerkantate" K.623 (1792), and the Masonic Funeral Music K.477 (1785). If you listen first to K. 623 you hear mere echoings of "The Magic Flute"; but when you listen to K.429 you discover that "The Magic Flute" was itself written in what might be called Mozart's Masonic style. K.429 is the best of the three cantatas; but most impressive of all is the Funeral Music—a series of musical gestures of solemnity, grief, and resignation, with occasional dramatic events provided by startling modulations. Good performances by the Vienna Symphony, Akademiechor, and soloists under Paumgartner.

Mozart's Violin Concertos K.216 and 218 are played very well by Grumiaux with the Vienna Symphony under Paumgartner on Epic 3060. But the most remarkable and beautiful performances of the two works are still young Gerard Poulet's on Remington 199-131 and 191-125.

Vanguard 454 offers two engaging minor works of Haydn, the Concerto Op. 21 for harpsichord and the Concerto for trumpet—the one played well by Erna Heiller, the other brilliantly by Eskdale, with the Vienna State Opera Orchestra under Litschauer.

Two of Haydn's finest symphonies, Nos. 100 ("Military") and 102, are on London LL-1043, performed excellently by Solti with the London Philharmonic except for the over-deliberate minuet movement of No. 102.

Haydn Society 107 offers all of Handel's pieces for water parties assembled under the title "Water Music," which include a number that are quite as lovely and charming as the ones Harty selected for his suite. The performance of chamber-music proportions by the Hewitt Orchestra delights one with its beauty of tone, phrasing, and texture; and I will add that anyone who prefers a performance of greater sonority that is suitable for this music will find an excellent one by Lehmann with the Berlin Philharmonic on Decca 9594.

Berlioz's charming "Beatrice and Benedict" Overture is played very beautifully by Denzier with L'Orchestre de la Suisse romande on London LD-9143; but the "Benvenuto Cellini" Overture is paced a little too slowly and lacks verve and brilliance.

Virgil Thomson's "Three Pictures for Orchestra"—"The Seine at Night," "Wheat Field at Noon," "Sea Piece with Birds"—and his "Five Songs from William Blake" don't come off for me. Beautiful performances by the Philadelphia Orchestra and Mack Harrell under Thomson and Ormandy on Columbia ML-4919.

Haydn Soicety 114 offers Mozart's Divertimento K.563 for string trio, of which the Adagio and the variation movement are very fine, and a superb ensemble performance by the Pasquier Trio in which the violinist's tone is not always steady, clear, and compact.

The four Adagios and Fugues K.404a of Mozart that the Pasquier Trio plays on Haydn 108 are—after what Henri Ghéon's notes on the envelope lead one to expect—mostly disappointing. The fugues are merely simple transcriptions for string trio of three from Bach's "Well-Tempered Clavier," and one by Wilhelm Friedemann Bach that is the only one I find interesting. And of the adagios that Mozart composed to introduce them I like only the third and fourth.

The Vivaldi Sonatas Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 5 for cello and figured bass that Samuel Mayes plays well with Leo Litwin at the piano on Allegro 95 are all good; but No. 5 is outstandingly beautiful. It is this work—with the realization of the figured bass arranged for strings—that is played sometimes as a Concerto in E minor—for example by Fournier on London LL-687. And though a work without tuttis is not a concerto, the string realization of the figured bass is more attractive than the piano—this in addition to the fact that Fournier's more subtly phrased and more elegant playing is more attractive than Mayes's.

The Vivaldi concertos and sonatas played on Haydn Society 116 by Rampal (flute), Pierlot (oboe), Gendre (violin), Hongne (bassoon), and Veyron-Lacroix (harpsichord) haven't the charm of the ones they played on Haydn Society 82 a year ago.

Boston 208 offers Prokofiev's Sonata Op. 94 in its original form for flute and piano, played well by Doriot Anthony Dwyer and Sanromá. The flute and piano sonorities work together very engagingly, and make this version more attractive than the more familiar version for violin. But it is still a light-weight piece, except for the powerful episode in the finale that is reminiscent of the opening of Bach's Organ Toccata in C. On the reverse side is Roussel's Trio Op. 40 for flute, viola, and cello.

The Vivaldi Cello Sonata No. 5 was played as the Cello Concerto in E minor by the Societa Corelli at its concert for the Concert Society of New York—played with remarkable beauty of tone and phrasing, though with occasional expansive sonorities of the accompanying strings that made the solo cello inaudible. The program included two very poor contemporary pieces, a Sonatina by Mannino and the "Simple Symphony" of Britten; but I don't think this was the reason for the shockingly small audience.

In Coming Issues

"Fragebogen (Questionnaire),"
by Ernst von Salomon
Reviewed by Frederick L. Schuman
"Sir Walter Scott," by Hesketh Pearson
Reviewed by Joseph Wood Krutch
"The Red Carpet," by Marshall MacDuffie
Reviewed by Ernest J. Simmons
"A World of Love," by Elizabeth Bowen
Reviewed by Carlos Baker

F O R U M

★ Friday, Jan. 7—8:30 ★

"TERROR OVER MIAMI"

A New Pattern for America?

ANTISEMITISM & McCARTHYISM

(31 sentenced, 30 of them Jews!)

Hear the shocking facts from

PROF. ROYAL W. FRANCE
CLARK FOREMAN REV. REGINALD BASS
and Parade of Victims!

Questions ★ Refreshments

YORKVILLE COMPASS FORUM
Yorkville Temple, 157 E. 86th St., N. Y.
Contrib: 85¢

P U B L I C A T I O N S

WHAT HAPPENED IN BRITISH GUIANA, by Cheddi Jagan, ousted Prime Minister. 16pp. UDC, London. 15¢, **10 for $1. Wellington's, 346 Concord, Belmont, Mass.**

FREE catalogs on Social-economic Movements, etc. regularly from: **The Hammersmith Bookshop, Beadon Rd., London, W6, England.**

READ "Africa Today" for up-to-date news on Africa—Bulletin of the American Committee on Africa, 28 East 35 Street, N.Y.C. —12 issues, $2.00 per annum.

H A N D W R I T I N G A N A L Y S I S

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS by professionally trained psychologist-graphologist. Commercial and industrial personnel selection. Vocational guidance. Marital, personal, emotional problems. Fee $3.00. **Dr. Hans Weil, 7½ Jane St., N. Y. C. 14. Telephone: CH 3-7880.**

P E R S O N A L S

ENGLISH BICYCLE, 3-speed, fully equipped, **expertly assembled—$44.95—unassembled $39.95.** Standard Brand Dist., 143 Fourth Ave. (13th & 14th Sts.), N. Y. C. GR 3-7819. **1 hour free parking or 2 tokens.**

ON YOUR next trip east or west on U. S. Highway 80 stop at Guilbert's Pharmacy, Gila Bend, Arizona. An oasis in the desert.

CULTIVATED RUSSIAN WOMAN wishes room with small adult family or single person. Willing help household duties, wholesome cooking. Box 387, c/o The Nation.

NEW YEAR'S EVE PARTY. Refined French circle. Dance, Cold Buffet, Discussions. $3.50. MO 3-1492.

Advertising Rates

CLASSIFIED

74¢ a line (6 words)

Three-line minimum

•

CLASSIFIED DISPLAY

$7.42 per inch (minimum)

Remittance must accompany all orders

•

The NATION
333 SIXTH AVENUE
New York 14, N. Y.
CHelsea 2-8400

Letters

(Continued from inside front cover)

replace. Thus they have been false to the dearest part of our American tradition, without offering us any principles for which we may die, except a merely negative hatred of communism. They have succeeded in being un-American without being radical. To this end we have invented a new inquisition, the Inquisition of Teachers' Oaths and of Congressional Committees. We have synthesized a new propaganda, lacking only one element which is common to the Church and to the Communist Party, and that is the element of Belief. We have accepted the methods, not the ideals of our possible antagonists, little realizing that it is the ideals which have given the methods whatever cogency they possess.

Rogers City, Mich. L. H. GREGORY

Guilt by Association

Dear Sirs: Claude Lightfoot, forty-two-year-old World War II veteran, has been held in Cook County jail for many months, under exorbitant bail of $30,000, solely for "membership in the Communist Party." He was arrested under the hitherto unused Section 2 of the Smith Act, which seeks to establish "guilt by association" as a legal principle.

What we may think of Mr. Lightfoot's political views becomes unimportant in the face of the common threat which his indictment represents for all independent-minded Americans. To permit this case to go unchallenged because it affects Communists today is to open the gate for attacks upon millions of other Americans tomorrow—whether for membership in any of the 250 organizations on the Attorney General's subversive list or for membership in any organization which McCarthyism may choose to brand "subversive" the day after tomorrow.

A group to defend Mr. Lightfoot has been established. Headquarters are at Room 11, 306 East Forty-third Street, Chicago.

LIGHTFOOT DEFENSE COMMITTEE

Chicago

Probability vs. Certainty

Dear Sirs: The belief that one has a monopoly of "truth" is at the heart of every form of totalitarianism or fanaticism; those who do not accept the "true" doctrine *in toto* are enemies to be destroyed. The democratic process, which at present offers the best hope for the dignity of the human spirit, grants that our own beliefs may not be perfect, that the other side may have something in its favor, and that even if it doesn't, it may be influenced to change.

Is certainty the only source of faith? Can we act only when we are free from all doubts? Action based on probability can be as dedicated, but it is far less likely to be blind, heedless of the ultimate goal, unresponsive to the flux of circumstance. A principle conceived in probability may be as doughtily fought for as one founded on absolutes; to say that moral values are relative is not to say that they are all equal or indistinguishable. STUART A. MAYPER

Watham, Mass.

Wanted: Convictions

Dear Sirs: The liberal and constructive organs of opinion should face the facts of our political life and speak out in clear language. The national Administration, in the words of a trade-union officer recently quoted in the press, is definitely and incorrigibly reactionary. It is not middle-of-the-way. That would be tolerable. But wilful or ignorant surrender to big business is not tolerable.

The Administration has made unnecessary concessions to protectionism, to industrial Toryism, to partisan and selfish Republicanism, to greedy commercialism. It has done nothing for labor or for the cause of justice and equal opportunity. It has failed even to conserve national resources.

The President, said *The Nation* editorially, lacked the courage of his convictions in connection with the duty on Swiss watches. The truth is that he *has* no "convictions." He takes the advice of the wrong vested interests and naively assumes that what they want is good for all the rest of us. His apologists pretend that he has no time to think, but it seems that golf, not thinking, is his element. He could find the time for thinking and could find out, quite easily, whom he should consult in order to receive sound, enlightened, progressive advice. He lacks that will, too. VICTOR S. YARROS

La Jolla, Calif.

Sean O'Casey

Dear Sirs: Non-poet Harold Clurman's eloquence *in re* Sean O'Casey's talents in your November 27 issue is in joyous contrast to poet Horace Gregory's slough-bound stutterings on the same subject. The poet forgot his wings in a recent issue of a national literary weekly, and his words on O'Casey wound up somewhere near Okefenokee. Your excellent drama critic, it appears, is far more the bard than are some proclaimed versifiers.

Chicago STUDS TERKEL

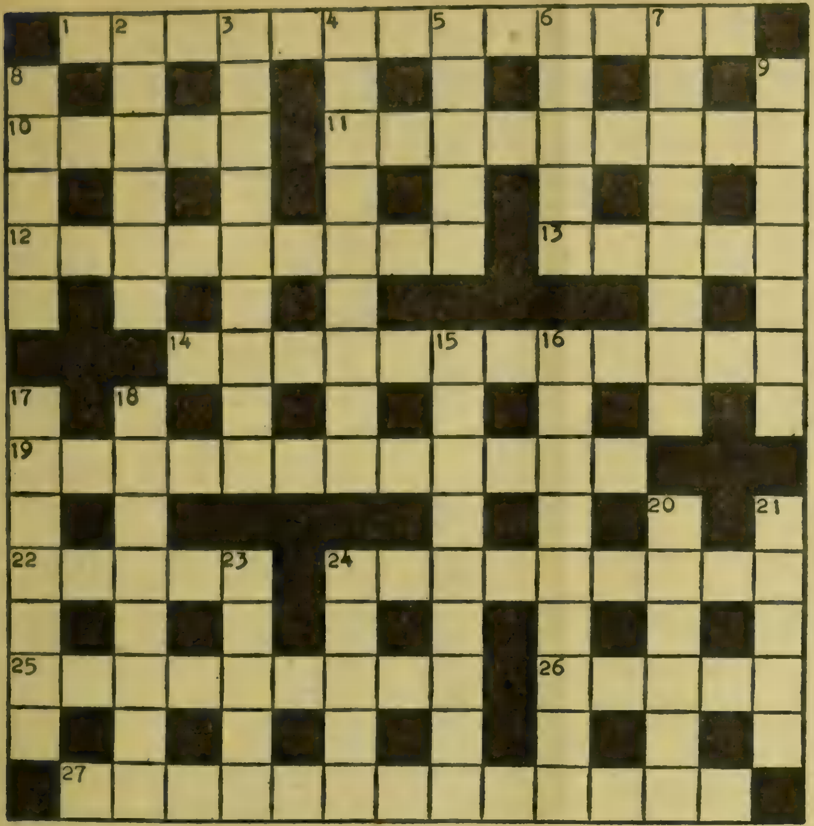
Schuman on Toynbee

Dear Sirs: Frederick L. Schuman's piece in *The Nation* of November 6 is the very best comment or summing up I've ever read on the controversial Dr. Toynbee.

Syracuse, N. Y. CARL H. FISHER

Crossword Puzzle No. 600

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Proving time is final, in [illegible] small way. (13)
10 and 21 down. They always seem to be, when you ask for your favorite dish. (3, 2, 5)
11 Overflowing. (9)
12 Anger caused when I dined in mink? (9)
13 Did she have [illegible] wild time, one way or another? (5)
14 Box bosses that control the carriers. (5, 7)
19 An old soldier is nothing more than a big monster. (5, 7)
22 Meat from cut-up animals? (5)
24 Cheat. (9)
25 Each Riviera arranges this serenade with ease. (9)
26 A little bit of salt and sweetness from Little Old New York. (5)
27 Sounds as though there might be money in John L's business, but they can't predict how Indianapolis will make out. (5, 8)

DOWN

2 There are only 5 vowels if A, E, I, O and U are included, but——. (6)
3 Implying the girl pined in the hospital? (9)
4 Cheap skates will make one of you. (9)
5 Pour out pore. (5)
6 Where the mail's likely to be hard for us to read. (5)
7 Angus makes it useful, but in Germany it's to use up. (8)
8 21, belonging to Doris. (5)
9 The way Siam is about about [illegible] cat, in theory. (7)
15 A coming, if somewhat strange, grandee. (9)
16 Run-of-the-stream variety? (9)
17 Floral cup. (7)
18 The beach of two islands? (4–4)
20 Give testimony at [illegible] trial, obviously. (6)
21 See 10 across.
23 This log is from Ireland, of course. (5)
24 Its ports aren't fixed. (5)

• • • • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. [illegible]

ACROSS:—1 CRASH; 4 WORKBENCH; 9 AIR-COOLED; 10 LEVEL; 11 GRENADINE; 12 BALED; 13 STUDIOUSLY; 17 DRAGONNADE; 21 NOTED; 22 INEBRIATE; 23 MORAL; 24 NIGHTTIME; 26 EAGER.

DOWN:—2 AGREED; 3 HOOKAH; 4 WELL-INTENTIONED; 5 RED-HEADED LEAGUE; 6 and 25 BELL BOOK AND CANDLE; 7 NOVELIST; 8 HOLIDAYS; 14 ADYNAMIA; 15 CAPTURED; 16 CORDELIA; 18 WRITHE; 19 and 1 down TAKING CHARGE; 20 VENEER.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York.

RESORTS

For Your YEAR-ROUND Vacation Plans

CARAN LODGE

Sylvan Lake • Hopewell Junction • New York
60 miles from New York [illegible] Taconic Parkway
Tennis, Folk Dancing and Singing, [illegible] cozy fireplaces, 10 minutes from James Baird Golf Course. Children's Day Camp. Food . . . Superb and Abundant.
Take a drive and have Sunday Dinner with [illegible]
Reservations:
New York HI 6-7506 Hopewell Junction 6-2632

50 Miles to FOREST HOUSE

Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes. All sports.

FOREST HOUSE
Lake Mahopac, N. Y. • Tel. Mahopac 8-3449

RESTAURANT

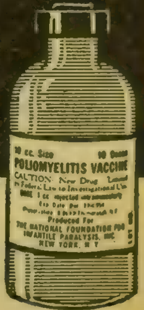
BALALAIKA
157 West 56 Street
New York City
Gypsy Orchestra
Dining—Dancing
Two Shows Nightly
Banquet Department
For reservations call PLaza 7-2334

FARMS & ACREAGE

SPACIOUS — 8-room colonial; improvements. $9,000. Small down payment; rest like rent. **Berkshire Farm Agency, East Chatham, N. Y., and Lenox, Mass.**

AUDIO

HI FIDELITY
RADIO-PHONOGRAPH
sales, installation and service
VECTOR LABS
217 3rd Ave. • N. Y. C. 3 • GR 3-7686



Polio Vaccine Facts

- Developed by Dr. Jonas Salk under March of Dimes grant.
- Inoculation of 425,000 children in 44 states financed by March of Dimes.
- Results of vaccine evaluation by University of Michigan expected before 1955 polio epidemic season.
- Effectiveness of Salk vaccine being determined at a cost of $7,500,000 in March of Dimes funds.

Join the
MARCH OF DIMES
January 3-31

Printed in the U. S. A. by STEINBERG PRESS, INC., Morgan [illegible] Johnson Aves., Brooklyn 6, N. Y.

MONEY-SAVING MAGAZINE COMBINATIONS

For Your Convenience

THE *Nation* with

☐ **Harper's Magazine..$9.50**

You save $2.50

THE *Nation* with

☐ **Consumer Reports.$10.75**

You save $1.25

These club combinations are for one year and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Remittance must accompany all combination orders.

THE *Nation* by itself:

☐ **One Year $7** ☐ **Two Years $12**

☐ **Three Years $17**

SERVICEMEN'S RATE $5 A YEAR

MILITARY RATE IS AVAILABLE ONLY WHEN MAGAZINE IS SENT TO A MILITARY ADDRESS

Canadian and Foreign Postage $1 a year extra

***The* NATION**

333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y.

- I want to subscribe to *The Nation* for ________ years
  ☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.
- I enclose my remittance for the following *Nation* combinations as listed below.

____

____

____

NAME________________________________

STREET______________________________

CITY________________ ZONE______ STATE ________

1/1/55

SPECIAL NOTICE TO NATION READERS:

To Subscribers:

We are asking subscribers who wish to change their address to give us at least three weeks' notice, indicating the old as well as the new address.

If you will renew your subscription on receipt of the first notice of expiration, your cooperation will be much appreciated. It will help us simplify our record-keeping, saving us time and expense, and shield you from further renewal letters. At the same time you will avoid interruption in receiving *The Nation.*

To Newsstand Readers:

Since *The Nation* is distributed on key newsstands only, you may have difficulty in obtaining your copy. Therefore, the only certain way of getting *The Nation* regularly is to enter a subscription. By doing so you will not only be sure of receiving your copy promptly every week but save considerable money.

THE TORTURED GERMAN PSYCHE: FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN

[illegible]
PUBLIC LIBRARY
Burlingame

THE *Nation*

January 8, 1955
20¢

Mendès-France

Man on a Tightrope

by Fred Clarke

Meanings for the West

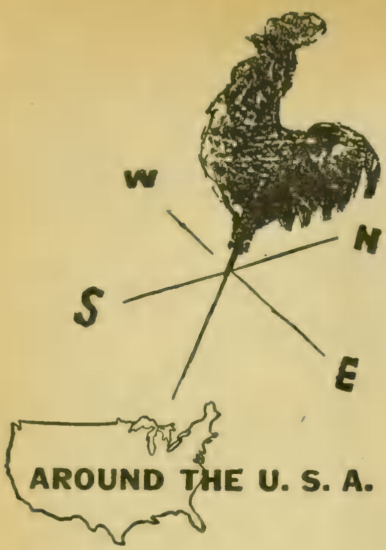
by J. Alvarez del Vayo

1955: Year of Decision

Shall We Revise The U. N. Charter?

Yes: *John Henry Merryman*

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865


W
N
S
E
AROUND THE U. S. A.

The Man with the Load on His Back

DANNY and Jean are a young married couple with two pre-school children. Recently they bought a house in Levittown, a Long Island community about twenty-five miles from New York City. Jean lists their monthly expenses thus:

Food (approx.)	$100.
Mortgage	69.
Car	49.95
Stone Front	22.
Storm Windows	12.
Life Insurance	8.
Electricity (approx.)	10.
Telephone (approx.)	10.
Oil (for fuel)	13.
Danny	40.
Miscellaneous	20.
Total	$365.95
Danny's regular take-home pay	$268.
Deficit	$97.95

The deficit is made up by overtime pay, and by the repair work Danny does in and around Levittown on his own. He is a TV service man, having learned the trade under the G. I. bill after leaving the navy.

Under Miscellaneous, $20, is included all expenditures for doctor, medicines, clothing, entertainment, and savings. They have a little over $100 in the bank, which they keep for what Jean calls "real" emergencies. Ordinary emergencies presumably have to wait their turn. Danny hasn't bought a new suit in five years, but fortunately neither his employer nor his work demands more than presentability. Jean hasn't bought a new dress or coat for nearly as long. Around the house she wears shorts or jeans.

They never go anywhere except for an occasional visit to Jean's family in the city. Danny's family lives too far away to visit. Drive-in movies were given up because the children grew restless. They have a TV set, of course. Jean reads an occasional novel, and Danny buys a home-mechanics magazine now and then. They have a Long Island paper delivered. They vote Democratic but are not otherwise politically active, although Jean broke with a neighbor who was strongly pro-McCarthy. Danny belongs to a union and thinks unions are necessary but that most union officials are in it "strictly for what they can get."

The telephone bill may seem rather high; Jean explains that her family and most of her friends live in the city, which makes calling them expensive. Danny's spare-time work also requires many phone calls.

The "stone front" item refers to the cast-stone facing which Danny was talked into buying. It was an utterly foolish extravagance and can be explained only on the ground that everyone makes an indefensibly foolish purchase at some time or other. For little more than the facing is costing him Danny could have put up a garage-workshop which he badly needs. Now it must wait.

The aluminum storm windows and doors were a more practical purchase; Jean says the drafts in winter were quite bad. And like the stone facing they are expected to save oil and so pay for themselves. Jean's uncle remarked once that he had seen plastic storm windows advertised for a dollar apiece, sheets of flexible plastic that one tacked over the windows. Danny said he wouldn't have such things on his house: "People would think I couldn't afford aluminum." "Well, as a matter of fact, you can't," Jean's uncle replied. Danny said, "We haven't missed any payments yet."

Not that he and Jean don't worry. They do. But as he says, he is caught. They had to have a place to live. They decided against a low-rent housing project, partly because they wanted to get out of the city altogether and partly because the rules wouldn't have let Danny set up a work bench in his apartment. His overtime is no longer as dependable as it used to be, but his spare-time work is holding up. He drives himself harder than is good for him, or for Jean and the children, who see little of him even on week-ends. Jean worries and feeds him extra vitamins. "It almost seems as if a man *had* to have two jobs nowadays; he can't make enough to support his family on just one. It doesn't seem right. And how long can he keep it up?"

So she can only shrug when her uncle asks what they would do if Danny should get sick, or lose his job, or a real slump should set in. "I guess we'd just have to manage somehow." They agree that they might lose the house, the car, everything. Especially if there were a real slump. But in that case, Danny feels, the government would step in. It would have to.

Jean's uncle finds this small comfort. He is a solid man in his fifties, a skilled mechanic; he remembers the depression and has a horror of going into debt. He once estimated that by the time Jean and Danny paid off their twenty-five-year mortgage they would have paid $19,800 for their house—whose advertised price was $8,790. "And no down payment for G. I.'s," Jean adds dryly. "Just a slight $325 to 'close the papers.' "

"If I can't pay cash I do without," her uncle says. In all fairness, he agrees that this principle is more easily lived up to after a man has acquired the bulk of his household goods. And he admits that Jean and Danny had to have a place to live, and that the house in Levittown, inadequate and overpriced though it is, is better for them all than two rooms in a Bronx tenement. Nevertheless, the amount of their debt and their lack of any real reserve, the hideously narrow margin, as he sees it, that separates them from disaster, trouble him anew each time he and Jean's aunt—invariably laden with gifts ranging from toys to canned hams—come for a visit.

He was rumbling away in his usual strain one recent Sunday when Jean exclaimed, "Oh, Uncle Jim, if the only people who ever bought anything were the ones who could afford to pay cash, you sure would have an awful depression in this country."

Her uncle grunted. "And what do you call that load Danny is carrying around on his back, prosperity?"

A lot of people in Washington and elsewhere apparently do.

THOMAS BELL

[*Thomas Bell is the author of "All Brides Are Beautiful" and other novels.*]

Volume 180, Number 2
New York Saturday, January 8, 1955

THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Paris Vote: Meanings for the West

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

DECEMBER 30, 1954, may turn out to be a date that the world will long remember and that some Western enthusiasts of today will live to regret. On that day the French National Assembly approved by the narrow margin of 286 to 268 the agreement authorizing a West German army of initially twelve divisions. The word "initially" is mine; it does not appear in the text. On the contrary Washington, London, and Paris have done their best to convince those who are morally horrified and politically uneasy over the resurrection of a rearmed Germany that the heir to the *Reichswehr* and the *Wehrmacht* will be a nice little army, dangerous only to the Russians. In arguing this absurdity the leaders of the Atlantic coalition prove themselves to be either totally ignorant of history and politics—a scarcely plausible description of men like Churchill and Dulles—or so conscious of the enormity of what is being done that they are trying desperately to subdue the fears of the average citizen by pretending that this time the system of controls will work and that German aggressive power will be kept within bounds set by NATO.

As a genuine test of the people's will, the vote taken in Paris last Thursday had no significance. The spontaneous, "free" vote was cast the preceding Thursday, December 23, when by 280 to 259 the National Assembly voted down the West German rearmament provisions of the Paris treaties. In the seven days that intervened, France was subjected to greater public pressure by its major allies than any sovereign nation in recent history. What made the entire episode more fateful, more laden with grave meaning, was Britain's blunt and unqualified support of the United States in serving notice on the members of a national Parliament that either they must reverse their vote or Germany would be armed "even without France"—which in practical terms can be read "against France."

One can understand London's disappointment when the French Assembly voted down agreements to which Premier Mendès-France had subscribed and which were made possible only by Sir Anthony Eden's pledge that British armies would remain on the Continent—in itself a revolutionary commitment. But Britain has swallowed bitter pills in the past without displaying a fury so out of tune with the moderation and self-control that have always been the mark of its diplomacy. Britain addressed the same kind of threats to France that British leaders and the press, no more than six months ago, had so sharply criticized when uttered by Secretary Dulles. Between the editorial comments of the New York *Times* and the London *Times* there was hardly any difference. The *Daily Mail* attacked the French deputies, who were expressing very exactly the will of the people of France, with astonishing brutality. Even the usually sober and understanding *Manchester Guardian* reproached its Paris colleague *Le Monde* for arguing that it is not possible to lead a crusade for freedom and against communism with former officers of the Gestapo and soldiers of Fascist Spain in the vanguard.

This impressive unity between Washington and London is one of the most important developments of recent days. It not only wrecks any Russian illusion about the possibility of playing off one capital against the other, but it also deprives the world of the hope of a mediator. Sir Winston Churchill must be a great believer in the strategy of the *fait accompli* if he still clings to the project of a pilgrimage to Moscow. The idea of a high-level meeting, such as he suggested in his historic speech of May, 1953, has been emptied of substance.

THE situation has become too serious to make tolerable continued pious statements favoring coexistence and negotiation. Rearmament of Germany and coexistence are not compatible. A most experienced Western diplomat at the United Nations told me the other day, when the vote in the French National Assembly was absorbing everyone's attention: "Of course our statesmen act as they do simply because they are convinced that Russia, which for years now has been playing the card of peace, cannot march in Europe. But if Russia were to order its armies in East Germany to advance, we would quickly see what these Parliamentary ratifications amounted to. There would be not one Munich, but several. In the time of Munich there was not the deterrent of the atomic war."

Some of the words spoken during the long, painful debate in Paris should be remembered. It would be difficult for the most astute "label monger" to reject as inspired by Moscow the voice of the Gaullist deputy, General Adolph Aumeran. Referring to the United States and to the pressure exercised on France by the United

In This Issue

EDITORIALS

The Paris Vote: Meanings for the West *by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 21

The Shape of Things 22

Brandishing the Shillelagh 24

ARTICLES

Mendès-France: Man on a Tightrope *by Fred Clarke* 25

U. N. Charter Revision: The Case in Favor *by John Henry Merryman* 27

Chinese in Thailand: A Problem for Bangkok *by Muchi* 30

Anti-Red or Anti-Union: That Boston Labor Probe *by Joe Hill* 32

BOOKS

The Tortured German Psyche *by Frederick L. Schuman* 34

A Fine Public Servant *by Stephen Raushenbush* 35

The Role of American Jews *by J. Milton Yinger* 36

THEATER *by Harold Clurman* 36

FILMS *by Robert Hatch* 37

MUSIC *by B. H. Haggin* 38

LETTERS 40

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 601 *by Frank W. Lewis* opposite 40

AROUND THE U. S. A.
The Man with the Load on His Back *by Thomas Bell* opposite 21

Editorial Board

Freda Kirchwey	*Editor and Publisher*
Carey McWilliams	*Editorial Director*
Lillie Shultz	*Director, Nation Associates*
Victor H. Bernstein	*Managing Editor*
J. Alvarez del Vayo	*Foreign Editor*
Martin Solow	*Assistant to the Publisher*
Harold Clurman	*Theater*
B. H. Haggin	*Music*
Gladys Whiteside	*Copy Editor*
Caroline Whiting	*Assistant Literary Editor*
Mary Simon	*Advertising Manager*

Contributing Editors: Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus, Keith Hutchison, H. H. Wilson, W. Macmahon Ball, Maxwell Geismar, Bruce Catton.

The Nation, January 8, 1955. Volume 180, No. 2

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1955, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Company, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

States, he shouted: "Are we going to permit a country inexperienced in foreign affairs to show France the way?" Neither could the patriotism of former Premier Edouard Herriot be questioned when, with extraordinary lucidity and visible reluctance, he took a stand against the Prime Minister of his own party. Previously a steadfast supporter of Mendès-France, he three times warned the Assembly during the debate that the West was committing its greatest blunder since the end of World War II. As the result of his courage and consistency, Herriot has emerged from the debate spiritually much stronger than Mendès-France, who in years could be his son.

Ironically, it was Guy Mollet, secretary general of the French Socialist Party, who shared with former Foreign Minister Robert Schuman the dubious honor of defending with ardor and conviction the ratification of the fateful treaty. Real Socialists all over the world will have to rest their hopes now with the German Socialist Party, the only one in Western Europe that is acting in the great tradition of Jean Jaurès. This, too, is an historic irony.

The Paris agreement was delivered by forceps and with the barest margin of survival. But once in existence it will draw strength from the massive forces that ordained it. One week before the voting Premier Mendès-France had declared that he "would consider a slim majority as bad as outright rejection." He knew that this would mean an actual, popular majority the other way. But however weak its support in the people, the treaty is there; the damage is done and will soon be evident to all who hope for peace.

The Shape of Things

Model Risk

Joseph Petersen, Jr., ousted employee of the National Security Agency, has just pleaded guilty to a charge of using government secrets "in a manner prejudicial to the safety and interests of the United States." Two aspects of the case invite comment. The admission by the Netherlands embassy that Mr. Petersen had been exchanging "secret intelligence" with its agents for some years should come as something of a shock to those who believe, and would have the rest of us believe, that the Soviet Union is the only nation interested in espionage.

But the case has a more significant aspect. Mr. Petersen is apparently the type of person who could pass the stiffest loyalty test as easily as Dr. Einstein could pass a college-entrance examination in mathematics. Born in New Orleans of respectable middle-class parents, he attended Loyola University and later did graduate work at St. Louis University. He had a fine record with the National Security Agency. Married, a surburbanite, he is described as "a mild, bespectacled man with graying hair" and a devout Catholic. There is no suggestion that he indulges in the dry martini or the manhattan, a fondness for either of which is nowadays regarded in Washington as presumptive evidence of unreliability. Nor is there any evidence that he contributed to the Spanish Loyalist cause or ever took part in "popular-front" or any other kind of politics. By all the current criteria he would appear the ideal civil servant, the model security risk. One might think that this frightening realization would jar some sense into the architects of security policies in Washington, but it probably won't.

The Unstable Dictator

Two developments have again brought Spain into the foreground of the news. American Protestants were shocked to learn that the Catholic hierarchy in Spain is demanding that any United States citizen stationed there under the recently concluded Spanish-American treaty must marry in accordance with Spanish Catholic regulations. This is typical of the hierarchy there, whose medieval leadership has defied even the Pope.

In historical perspective the second development is likely to prove of greater importance. For years Franco had refused to deal with Don Juan de Borbón, pretender to the Spanish throne; now the dictator has spent nine hours with Don Juan at the home of a prominent Monarchist near the Portuguese border discussing the question of the reinstatement of the monarchy. The meeting is indicative of the powerful pressures being exerted on Franco to settle the question of the succession. The pressure is particularly strong from the army; seven of ten generals now in command of important military regions are convinced that the time has come for the Caudillo to open the way to a regime more in accordance with Spain's traditions than the present fascist dictatorship.

Supporting the Monarchists among the military are Spain's wealthy classes—bankers, industrialists, landowners—all of whom are frightened lest Franco's removal, by natural or unnatural causes, will precipitate the country into anarchy. The new Monarchist drive started last October in Estoril, Portugal, home of Don Juan, when several thousand Spaniards traveled from Madrid to attend the début—a gala affair—of Don Juan's daughter. It has been gathering strength ever since.

Inside Spain the whole affair is seen as evidence of the increasing instability of Franco's position and as a herald of important events to come.

Death of a Daily

It is an unhappy task to say farewell to the Los Angeles *Daily News*. In the newspaper Sahara that is Los Angeles the *Daily News* represented at least a glimmer—on occasion it was even a glow—of liberal journalism. Founded as a tabloid by Cornelius Vanderbilt, Jr., in 1923, the *News* was soon taken over by Manchester Boddy, who later acquired the Los Angeles *Record* and merged it with the *News*. In its time the *Record* was a lively, freewheeling, ribald sheet which fought and won many good battles and kept the community highly entertained. Under Mr. Boddy the *News* limped along during the late 1920's but came into its own once the depression struck. A first-rate salesman of ideas, Mr. Boddy carried on debates with Lincoln Steffens and John Strachey and featured on the front page stories about technocracy, social credit, Upton Sinclair's EPIC (End Poverty in California), and the various pension movements. But later, with the demise of the New Deal, Mr. Boddy's enthusiasm for social panaceas abated and other hands took over. Last year former Representative Clinton D. McKinnon tried valiantly but unsuccessfully to save the paper and it has now been sold to the *Times-Mirror* Company and merged with the *Mirror*.

Not only is the demise of the *Daily News* a severe blow to a fine staff, but it leaves the melancholy Los Angeles newspaper field to the Chandler interests—the *Times* and the *Mirror*—and two Hearst papers, the *Herald-Express* and the *Examiner*. The *Mirror* is not likely to fill the need for at least one liberal daily in this great, rapidly growing metropolitan area which, surface appearances to the contrary, is predominantly liberal, pro-labor, and Democratic. May the existing enormous vacuum soon be filled.

The Ellis Case

Two years ago James R. Ellis, president of the Yonkers Committee for Peace, was denied the use of a school auditorium for a meeting of his organization. The Yonkers Board of Education, in denying the request, took the position that the proposed meeting was "controversial." But Yonkers school auditoriums have been open to meetings of other organizations, including all political parties. Is a Republican Party gathering less controversial than one on peace? Mr. Ellis, charging discrimination and violation of the right of freedom of speech and assembly, has brought the matter to the United States Supreme Court, where arguments were heard on October 18. The principle at stake induced New York City, which has a good many more school auditoriums to worry about than has Yonkers, to file a last-minute brief in behalf of the Yonkers board.

Mr. Ellis was represented by Emanuel Redfield, Associate Council for the New York Civil Liberties Union, who reminded the Supreme Court that it had never passed upon the question of free speech, "which is becoming recurrent." The case has another virtue, for the civil libertarian, in that it arises out of the arbitrary use of administrative power at local level. It is at this level that government-by-gag is most oppressive, most dangerous, and least publicized.

Brandishing the Shillelagh

ALWAYS the good showman and often a sensitive weathervane of political trends in labor's ranks, Michael J. Quill, president of the Transport Workers Union, fired the unexpected proposal at the last C. I. O. convention that labor should give serious consideration to building "a truly independent political party" so that "workers will have the choice of expressing themselves separate and apart from any of the existing parties." In an article in the T. W. U. *Express,* Mr. Quill has since made it clear that he was not talking about a national third party which would nominate its own candidates for President and Vice-President but rather about a third party or movement which would "have something to say about the choice of nominees" for these and other offices.

Obviously Mr. Quill is irked by Tammany's high-handed selection of nominees, in the absence of a direct primary in New York, without reference to labor's preferences. Many another labor leader must resent the way in which the Democratic leadership sidetracked Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., in the last election. It is also obvious that Mr. Quill expresses a widespread concern in labor circles when he speaks of the danger that labor may become "just tail to the Democratic Party kite" and then goes on to say that American workers will never participate fully or enthusiastically in a party that fails to represent their wishes and interests on major issues. "I cannot ask Negro T. W. U. members," he writes, "to give their dollars . . . when those dollars may wind up supporting city, state, or Congressional candidates who stand for the denial of every basic civil and human right for the Negro people. . . . And I cannot ask T. W. U. members, whatever their race or religion, to volunteer their dollars to a party organization which governs fourteen states out of a total of seventeen which have adopted union-busting 'right-to-work' laws."

BUT one wonders whether Mr. Quill has not perhaps confused a basic problem, namely, the organization and education of workers for political action, with the secondary problem of instruments and vehicles. In his speech at the C. I. O. convention he made an admission that points to the fallacy in his argument. Of the early experience of the American Labor Party in New York he said: "Twice we gave 600,000 votes to Governor Lehman and to President Roosevelt. Through our inaction and because of the laziness of a great section of the labor movement in New York, that growing young fighting labor party slipped out of our hands into the hands of the left wing and into the hands of strangers where it didn't belong." In this instance, in other words, a third party did not succeed in overcoming political inertia on the part of labor, nor is there much reason to believe that the result would be different were the experiment to be repeated today. The plain fact is that too many workers, including wives, sisters, cousins, and aunts, admire candidates who do not represent labor's interests. The formation of a labor party is not *per se* an answer to this problem. By and large, labor has pretty consistently avoided facing its full implications by alternating between a policy of all-out expediency and wishful daydreams about miracle-producing "third parties" when the policy of expediency has failed to produce significant political dividends.

NOR does Mr. Quill suggest how labor can expect to win political victories without enlisting the support of "strangers"—that is, of voters who feel a degree of identification with labor but are not active members of labor organizations. An aversion to signing political "blank checks" is equally strong in other groups and among independent voters. If labor is to win the consistent support of its natural allies, then it must acquire the habit of working with them and of permitting them to share in the making of key decisions. It must also acquire the habit of speaking out on issues other than those in which its own special interests are directly affected. Independent voters are as much concerned with state sedition statutes as with state right-to-work laws. It is not enough to argue that because of its numerical strength labor's basic interests reflect, on many social and economic issues, the national interest. Somehow labor must go a step farther and convince those who would like to work with it politically that its leaders are capable of developing programs and policies to guide the nation as well as to protect labor. On this score a glance at the foreign-policy positions of some unions is enough to indicate the magnitude of the task of political self-education that confronts American workers. In or out of the Democratic Party, tail to a kite or a kite with tails, labor must still bargain with other groups over candidates and policies. That its strength in this bargaining process is today less than it should be does not argue the case for a third party so much as it points to the necessity for labor's doing a better job of political education and organization and of coming to a clearer understanding of its relations with other groups.

All the same, we are glad that Mr. Quill is waving his familiar shillelagh over the heads of the Democratic leaders. If nothing else it proves that Mike Quill is still a shrewd tactician. Labor should muffle its criticisms of the Democratic Party only in the brief season between nominations and elections. By the same token, the time for labor to assert its independence—the time to brandish the shillelagh—extends from November 3 until the next election. By speaking as he has, Mr. Quill has served notice on the leadership of the Democratic Party, particularly in New York, that labor's support is not to be taken for granted.

MENDES-FRANCE

Man on a Tightrope . . *by Fred Clarke*

Paris

"WHY Cao Bang? Why Dienbienphu? Why was our army, superior in men and matériel, vanquished in Indo-China? Because it was betrayed in Paris." The speaker was Jean Legendre, a dissident Gaullist deputy, opening the debate in the National Assembly on the scandal of the "leaks" in national defense. His accusation of treachery was shrewdly directed at François Mitterand, Minister of the Interior, and through him at Mendès-France.

Change the dramatis personae to Lattimore, Davies, Marshall, Acheson, and Truman, change the scene of the "treason plot" to Washington and the accusation to the "betrayal of China," and the full impact of the poisoned drama now unfolding in France comes home.

Legendre's charges were forcefully rebutted by Mitterand, Mendès-France, and others. But four days later, on December 9, there was a wild demonstration at a convention of "independent" deputies headed by former Premiers Antoine Pinay and Paul Reynaud. Government ministers were booed off the rostrum as "traitors." Then, on the night of December 10, M. Grousseaud, a colleague of Legendre's led off in the Assembly debate on government policy in North Africa with a similar ruthless attack on the present ministry.

> Never [he said] was a government more disastrous to the country; never have there been so many surrenders; never has the honor of the nation been so lightly sacrificed. Hanoi, Haiphong, the Indian trading posts—what triumphs! . . . Once we have left Tunisia, we shall be ready to lose Morocco and Algeria. To follow a policy of national abdication, you should be certain, Mr. President, that you represent the country and not rely on your pasteboard reputation. Have a care that they will not say to the school children of tomorrow: this Premier was named Mendès; he had another name also, but he was too small for it.

The government survived both tests; its majority, however, dropped from forty-seven to twenty-nine votes. Then came the series of votes on the ratification of the London and Paris agreements. On the first ballot, before the issue had been made one of confidence, the Premier was defeated; CBS correspondent David Schoenbrun ascribed the vote, which nearly scared President Eisenhower out of his golf game, to the Assembly's desire to "teach Mendès-France a lesson." In the end Mendès-France and the Western European Union were saved, but only by the narrowest of margins. The Premier's opponents now believe they can charge him with personal responsibility for a rearmed Germany as well as for treachery in Indo-China and weakness in North Africa.

At first sight, all this appears *une histoire de fous,* as the French say. As in the States, the first impression made by such "McCarthyism" is of irrationality. There are no big differences between Mendès-France and his opposition on the right. His regime has distinguished itself from its predecessors primarily by its style and pace. Where the others were bogged down in immobility, making procrastination and delay an art of government, Mendès-France has set dramatic deadlines and met them. His tireless activity—Geneva, London, Tunisia, Washington—the regular votes of confidence in Parliament, have made it seem that something was being achieved, and something was. But at the same time nothing was changed.

The Geneva agreement stopped a military and financial hemorrhage for France. It is possible, however, that had Bidault remained in office and been faced with Dulles's veto on direct American intervention in Indo-China, he too would eventually have concluded a truce with Vietminh. Since the truce, certainly, little in Mendès-France's Indo-China policy has marked it out from the pre-Geneva days and years. The situation in southern Vietnam is "rotting" as it was before in all Vietnam: incompetent and corrupt native officials are again digging into the pork barrel; feudal gangs are quarreling for power. And once again, as under Bidault, policy is made in Washington.

A cloud of suspicion hung over Mendès-France after the rejection of E. D. C. by the French National Assembly. It was rumored—unjustifiably—that he intended to break French dependence on American "diplomacy from strength" and seek a settlement with Russia on outstanding European differences. When he signed the Paris agreement and then submitted it for prompt ratification, he got back into the column of "good Europeans."

JUDGING from his speeches when a simple deputy, Mendès-France in power should have been the man of economic renovation. "In a strong government," he once confided to a friend, "I would rather be Minister of Finance than Premier." But since he took office his actual Finance Minister has been Edgar Faure, who has continued the dead-beat policy he pursued in the same post under the Laniel government. The plans to "remake France" drafted by a team of young economic experts at the behest of Mendès-France have been put on ice. There have been no substantial increases in wages, teachers are still underpaid, and low-cost government housing remains in the talking stage. Only the beet-growers, who had coined a fortune out of government support to alcohol, have come in for some punishment.

When Mendès-France took over last summer he was confronted by a North Africa in upheaval. Disappointed nationalists for whom French policy had been a mixture of broken promises and repression were turning to terrorism. Then came the lightning trip of the new

---

FRED CLARKE is a free-lance writer living in Switzerland who keeps a close watch on French politics.

Premier to Tunisia and his agreement to inaugurate drastic reforms; it seemed to augur a new deal for North Africa. But in a few months, under the powerful pressure of the North African lobby of French colonials—the equivalent of our "China lobby"—the government retreated. Accused in the Assembly of fostering eventual Tunisian independence, High Commissioner Fouchet, seconded by Mendès-France, declared: "Internal autonomy, yes; independence, no." M. Fouchet added that France "should and will remain in Africa" and had "no need of imitating Britain."

In Morocco and Algeria the policy is simply one of force. The incident which sparked the crisis in Morocco was Bidault's banishment of the Sultan in the summer of 1953 for his too marked sympathy with nationalism. The present regime has not even hinted at restoring him to his throne. In Algeria the government has outlawed the nationalist party, known as the Movement for Triumph of Democratic Liberties. Minister of the Interior Mitterand has boasted that through the "massive presence of troops . . . the mission of repression and, better, of pacification has been methodically fulfilled."

THE disillusionment of the left with Mendès-France is understandable. "There was no point to change the government, assuredly no point . . . ," runs the old French ditty quoted by Claude Bourdet, editor of *France-Observateur*. But why the bitter attacks of the right? Why their determination to overthrow the regime by any means, including McCarthyism?

Naturally, the political "dynasties" cannot forgive Mendès-France for ending their long monopoly of power. Their rancor is increased by the fact that after vigorously assailing them when he was in opposition he is now pursuing a policy not dissimilar from their own. It is less their policies than their reputations which have suffered—and nothing hurts a politician more. But beneath the personal feelings are real dilemmas which cleave through society like an ax.

In the last few years a big shift to the left has been preparing in French politics. The raging conflicts over Indo-China and E. D. C. brought it to the very threshold. Everything that is stagnant and standpat in France—the privileged groups and the special interests, aided mightily by the American State Department—has combined to bar the road to such a change. A threat when he first came to power, Mendès-France has now become for them a symbol of danger. It may not be in him but will come through him or because of him; it is potential if not actual. The constant smears and attacks are designed to discredit his "good works" and, above all, to cut off any turn to the left. The right does not want assurances or imitation from Mendès-France; it wants his head. Only then, with open and unabashed reaction in power, will it feel secure.

Mendès-France

Ironically enough, the right thus far seems the chief beneficiary of the Indo-Chinese settlement which it so long resisted and even sabotaged. As the government it was paralyzed by the disintegrating effects of the *sale guerre*. Thrust into opposition, the right has recovered from its disarray during the Geneva conference and is now using that very settlement as the battering-ram against Mendès-France. The formula is so simple that it almost appears there was malice aforethought in allowing him to sign the armistice: liquidator of the French Empire, he is responsible for the loss of Indo-China and now, by his "softness," is preparing an even bigger disaster in North Africa.

This is not merely a cleverly contrived political campaign, although it is surely that. The powerful colonial interests were genuinely frightened by the repercussions on North Africa of Dienbienphu and then of Geneva. They trust in nothing but naked force. Their spokesmen in the National Assembly denounced the arrangements under which the fellaghas surrendered as a shameful capitulation to "bandits and highway robbers." A French judge at Oujda, where Moroccan nationalists were being tried for violence at demonstrations held in August, 1953, gave another grim illustration of the colonial psychology. Thirteen of forty-five persons locked in a cell two and a half by one and a half meters, had died of suffocation while awaiting trial. Defense attorneys remonstrated. "That there were deaths is of no concern to us," was the reply of the judge. The court then condemned fifteen to death, eleven to forced labor for life, eleven to a total of eighty-five years' forced labor, thirty-nine to a total of eighty years in prison.

Brutal in the colonies, this group is equally contemptuous of the Rights of Man in France itself. It was charged in the National Assembly that the inspiration behind Legendre was Jean-Louis Tixier-Vignancour, who as a minister in the Vichy regime was assigned to propaganda and to the purge of Jews from the film industry. In the investigation of the "leaks" he is chief counsel for Baranes, the dual agent whose testimony is being used to smear the government. Around such men are coalescing the Catholic M. R. P., a section of the Radicals, the motley "independents," and the dissident Gaullists.

ADHERENTS of the left, on the defensive for the first time since last summer, complain that they have been let down by Mendès-France himself. They say that his agreement to rearm the Bonn regime before negotiating with Russia may have allayed Washington's suspicions but has split the supporters who put him in power and saw him through the Geneva crisis. They say that his repudiation of the Communist vote while agreeing to the election of Martinaud-Deplat, a notorious reactionary and probably one of the instigators of the McCarthyite plot, as head of his own party, the Radical Socialists, has further weakened the left. They also reproach Mendès-France for defending only members of his official family in the Assembly's debate on the "leaks," while leaving in the lurch D'Astier de la Vigerie, a leftist deputy accused by Legendre of being the "pivot" of the "treason plot"; the editors of *France-Observateur*, whose offices have been raided and who have been summoned before the court investigating the "leaks"; and others. Is Mendès-France "unloading ballast," they ask, in order to save himself?

The reform minister who does not break radically with the old regime, who does not mobilize the people for new efforts, who sacrifices some of his own troops to assuage his opponents, offers an easy mark for the sharpshooters of reaction. He becomes responsible for the failure of their policies, distrusted for not following his own, suspected of secret plans. Moderation toward his foes is taken as a sign of weakness—a sign to close in for the kill. Will this be the fate of Mendès-France?

Observers on the left predict two possible developments if the Premier continues along his present course. (1) Part of the present right, seeing no startling differences in policy and fearing that big upheavals would result from his overthrow, may decide, in view of the blessings Uncle Sam has given his government, to join him instead of fighting him. In that case he would become a kind of liberals' Ramsay MacDonald. (2) The McCarthyite forces, given their head, could unseat Mendès-France; but this might lead to a repetition of the events stemming from the famous Stavisky affair of 1934, when the fascist-type right wing, emboldened by its successes, lunged for power only to be confronted by a galvanized, united left in a movement known as Popular Front.

U. N. CHARTER REVISION

The Case in Favor . . *by John Henry Merryman*

[*The United Nations Charter, signed at San Francisco in 1945, provides that in ten years member states should have opportunity to vote on whether they wanted to hold a "review conference" to discuss Charter revision. This is the year, then, of the great debate—a debate of such importance that both the partisans and the opponents of revision insist that at stake is nothing less than the continued existence of the U. N. as an effective world force.*

The United States government is on record as favoring a "review conference," though it has not committed itself to any specific proposals for revision. For the purpose of sounding American public opinion, a Senate subcommittee is planning extensive open hearings on the subject.

The Nation *opens its own debate with a presentation of the pro-revision side by John Henry Merryman, assistant professor of law at Stanford University, a member of the American Society of International Law and of the Academy of Political Science. Next week the anti-revision case will be argued by Merle Kling, associated professor of political science at Washington University. The letters' column of this journal is open to the many readers who, we are certain, will want to participate in this significant discussion.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

HUMAN history is a chronicle of wars. Today the world is engaged in an arms race, politely called a balance of power. This arms race, like those in the past, will end in another war. This time civilization, as we know it, will end with it.

Eighty-five cents of every tax dollar paid by an American goes for past wars and to build our strength and the strength of our friends and allies in preparation for the next one. Perhaps wars, however costly, might be easier to justify if they could be won. But today nobody wins. However the war starts, whoever is to blame, everybody loses. The "winners" of World Wars I and II have had as their chief reward the job of rebuilding the shattered losers. Consider, for example, what we have found ourselves forced to do in Germany, Italy, and Japan.

The next war is going to be something special. Not just atom bombs but "improved" hydrogen bombs, cobalt bombs, and bacteriological weapons will be used. The next war is going to be a very personal one, in the sense that we will all be directly involved in it. Weapons of mass destruction will be used against civilians. Bombs will be dropped on American cities. And we will all lose, just as all the Danes, the French, the Chinese, the Russians, the Poles, the Nigerians, the Brazilians will lose. But since we have more to lose than many other peoples we will lose more.

Only a lunatic would advocate such a war. Certainly few Americans want it. But it is not up to Americans to decide whether we shall go to war. When the equivalent of Pearl Harbor happens we will have to go, whether we want to or not. It is only a question of time until some fanatic somewhere in the world acquires sufficient power to start World War III. When that happens the lights will again go out all over the world. This time they will stay out.

THERE is an alternative. It requires recognition of the fact, attested by sixty centuries of recorded human history, that as long as people have guns they will shoot at each other. Or in our terms, as long as nations have the means of waging war they will wage war. The problem is to take away the means. This requires disarmament.

We all recognize that life as we know it could not go on without law. We have had our experience in the past with lawlessness and with vigilante government. We have abandoned these at all levels, national, state, and local, in favor of laws enacted by a representative legislature, enforced by a controlled police, interpreted and applied by an impartial judiciary. But above the national level we do not have law and order. We have its only alternative, anarchy. It is the same condition which has existed among nations throughout history. As in the past it can only result in more wars. We delude ourselves with slogans about balances of power, collective security, coexistence, and the like. These are new names for the same old ideas, which have not worked in the past. They will not work now. Nations have been trying to prevent wars through alliances, powerful defenses, moralizing, for sixty centuries. These "solutions" are as inadequate today as they have always been.

If the world is to be at peace, disarmament must be universal and enforceable. In order to become, and stay, universal and enforceable it must be based on laws which are enforced by police and applied by courts. The political authority which enacts, enforces, and applies these laws must be separate from individual nations. In this way law and order of the sort which exists within nations can be substituted for the anarchy which now exists among them. World law can replace world chaos.

These ideas are not new or original. They are widely held. Most world leaders have expressed them at one time or another, people like Eisenhower, Churchill, Nehru, Romulo, Adenauer, De Gasperi, the Pope, and others. They are repeated here because the world is at a point in history where the mounting need for world law and the opportunity of achieving it are converging. The need and the opportunity are about to meet at a point in space and time; the place is the United Nations, the time 1955.

THE United Nations is an excellent organization, as far as it goes, but it is weak where it needs most to be strong. It is unable to maintain international peace and security because it has not been given the power to do so by the nations of the world. The thing to do with a good, but imperfect, organization is to improve it. The United Nations is the nearest thing the world has to a universal international organization and is therefore the logical place to begin working toward enforceable disarmament through world law.

When the Charter was drafted at San Francisco the world was still in the pre-atomic age. Secretary of State Dulles has said: "As one who was at San Francisco I can say with confidence that if the delegates there had known that the mysterious and immeasurable power of the atom would be available as a means of mass destruction, the provisions of the Charter dealing with disarmament and the regulation of armaments would have been far more emphatic and realistic." This means that today the Charter is pre-atomic. It must be brought up to date.

The nations which drafted the Charter in 1945 envisioned the possibility of revision. That is why they provided, in Article 109, for a general conference to be called to review the Charter in 1955. No nation can veto such a conference being held; all that is needed is a majority vote in the General Assembly and in the Security Council. The United States has officially announced it will favor the calling of the conference. With the exception of the Soviet bloc most other nations will so vote. It seems as nearly certain as is possible in human affairs that the conference will be held.

Plans exist for amending the Charter in order to make universal, enforceable disarmament possible. Although they differ in detail they agree that the area within which the United Nations will have expanded powers must be carefully circumscribed to prevent intervention in affairs of strictly national or local interest, or in matters not directly related to disarmament and arms control. They agree that there must be a Bill of Rights which protects individuals against unauthorized action by the United Nations but which does not attempt to alter in any way the relations of the individual with his own nation. They agree that subject to these limitations the veto must be abolished, the one-nation, one-vote principle must be altered to provide for weighted representation of nations according to their actual importance in world affairs, an independent inspectorate and police force must be established, the jurisdiction of the United Nations must be extended to individuals as well as states, and a court, perhaps the International Court of Justice, must be given compulsory jurisdiction to hear disputes and render binding decisions. Under this type of political authority it would be possible to halt further arms production and to establish a plan of gradual disarmament which would allow nations to absorb the social and economic shocks involved in converting to a non-military economy.

To date the United Nations has been most successful in its attacks on the economic and social problems of underdeveloped parts of the world. While this work is necessarily slow it goes directly to many of the causes of war and should not only be continued but increased. Meanwhile, however, the burden of armaments and the waste caused by armed destruction are themselves the source of urgent economic and social problems which can be solved by effective Charter revision. And at the same time peace, which is impossible without disarmament, becomes possible.

THERE is opposition to these ideas, both in the United States and in other parts of the world. The Soviet Union and its satellites oppose calling a Charter review conference, oppose any attempts to give the United Nations more power, and speak of the "principle of the unanimity of the great powers" (the veto) as fundamental to the continued effective existence of the organization. Since they cannot veto the calling of the conference they are using every propaganda device available to them to persuade other nations to oppose it. However, the Soviet Union will have an effective veto over any specific proposals adopted by the conference. It is therefore legitimate to ask if it is not futile to speak of Charter revision.

The question assumes something that may not be true; it assumes the Russians *will* veto conference proposals because they now say they will. But we have all had experience with the party line. We know that the Soviet position on questions of this type is not taken with reference to the merits but to the calculated effect that position may have on long-range foreign and domestic objectives.

That position may change at any time, because the part it plays in total Soviet policy necessarily varies. It is conceivable that the loud propaganda against Charter revision now emanating from Russia has as its sole objective the persuasion of free peoples to vote against calling the conference—a matter over which the Soviet Union has no veto. But when the conference is called, when the delegates are assembled before the eyes of the world, both within and without the Iron Curtain; when the chips are down and the delegates must be for or against specific proposals designed to prevent man destroying himself; then what will the party line be? What pressures will then be felt within Russia? Within the satellites which are being drained to build and maintain the Soviet war machine? Within the uncommitted part of the world Russia has been so eagerly wooing since World War II?

The point is: if we agree that a good idea should not be advanced at the conference because it might be unacceptable to the Kremlin we kill the good idea, we admit defeat in the battle for the minds of men, we strengthen the Russian position and drive despair deeper into the hearts of the subjugated behind the Iron Curtain. Now, while the world is debating Charter revision, we can alter the party line by creating a strong basis in world opinion—in the free world, the uncommitted world, and the Soviet bloc—in favor of it. The best way to do this is to advocate a program which promises the world peace. If enough people throughout the world are persuaded by these ideas, then the party line will have to change. But we must not play into the hands of Soviet propagandists by giving up without trying.

Suppose the conference is held, before all the world. Suppose hopeful solutions are advanced which might promise world peace. Suppose the Soviet Union vetoes them. What have we lost? We have not yet disarmed, or otherwise diminished our strength. We have not given up our alliances, or abandoned our friends. We have not diminished our world-wide war against poverty, disease, illiteracy. We have given up nothing. But have we not gained? Have we not added to the unrest behind the Iron Curtain and at the same time drawn closer to us the uncommitted nations of the world? Of course the Russian leaders oppose the conference. They do not want to have to reach the merits at a Charter review conference. They have too much to lose. But we have nothing to lose and much to gain.

OUTSIDE the Iron Curtain the strongest opposition to these ideas comes from a variety of organizations in the United States. Of these some are frank isolationists who want to withdraw from all the rest of the world. Others are "conservative" or "patriotic" groups which try to sell isolationism disguised as political conservatism or patriotism. It seems unnecessary to point out that in a world as closely interdependent and shrunken as this one, in which we keep bumping into and tripping over each other, isolation is impossible, even if it were wise.

The significant opposition comes from more responsible people who support the United Nations and who are internationalist in outlook. Their position is that we should not tamper with the United Nations, should not try to alter it by amending the Charter, should not "rock the boat." The Charter, they say, should be left alone and allowed to develop through interpretation; natural evolution is to them preferable to amendment. They point to the "dangers" involved in attempted revision: that the Soviet Union might withdraw, or that anti-United Nations forces might seize this opportunity to wreck the organization.

The thought appears to be that if we do nothing we cannot make a mistake. Actually this is not true. If we do nothing we do not maintain the status quo. The Charter is already pre-atomic. The world is changing, and if the Charter does not change with it it will become obsolete. There can be no more effective way to kill the United Nations than to oppose revision of the Charter to enable it to keep pace with the world. The tendency away from reliance on the United Nations in matters of international peace and security is already a strong one. Unless it is given power to deal with the problems of the atomic age the United Nations will atrophy and die, as the League of Nations died, from disuse. Those who profess to support the United Nations while crying "don't rock the boat" are, tragically, its most dangerous enemies.

A WORD on realism. Those who cling to the familiar like to think of themselves as realistic, practical, hard-headed thinkers. In justifying their resistance to change they call those who advocate it impractical and unrealistic. Thus the proponents of Charter revision are said to "ignore the realities of international politics" and are accused of advancing "visionary schemes." But what is the program of these realists? It is maintenance of the status quo. It is perpetuation of international anarchy. It is continued reliance on the devices of traditional diplomacy, on balance of power, alliances, defense treaties, Maginot Lines, moralizing about "good" and "bad" nations; all the tired old clichés which have never worked. It is, in short, a proposal that we continue as we have done in the past. This is supposed to be realism. It is not. It is suicide.

It is unrealistic to suppose that a Charter-review conference will not be called in 1955. Other nations which attend that conference will present good ideas, constructive proposals, hopeful solutions. We cannot go to the conference table equipped with the paraphernalia of a tired and disillusioned diplomacy, repeating the worn and threadbare slogans of a pre-atomic approach to world affairs. Realism requires that we go to that conference with full recognition that we are discussing the fate of the world, knowing that the United States must play a prominent part in that discussion.

The Charter of the United Nations contains, in its preamble, the following words:

> We the peoples of the United Nations, determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, . . . to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and to insure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, . . . have resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish these aims.

If these words are to mean what they say the Charter must be amended to give the United Nations the authority it requires to cope effectively with the problems of the Atomic Age. It is to our interest as individuals and as Americans to give it this authority.

CHINESE IN THAILAND

A Problem for Bangkok . . *by Muchi*

Bangkok, Thailand

IN CONSIDERING the critical situation in the countries of Southeast Asia one should always keep in mind their very large Chinese populations. In Malaya the Chinese form nearly 59 per cent of the entire population. Here in Thailand the percentage is smaller, but the Chinese probably control over 95 per cent of all private business, excluding the activities of a small number of Western firms. Indeed, there is hardly a town of any size in the whole peninsula—except Rangoon in Burma, where Indian shopkeepers predominate—in which the great majority of shops and business enterprises are not owned by Chinese. So one can easily imagine how these countries would be affected if China's Communist government succeeded in obtaining the loyalty of overseas Chinese.

Some factors hinder Peking's drawing the Thailand Chinese into the Communist fold and other factors are favorable. The Thai people are racially and linguistically first cousins to the Chinese but by no means identical with them. Moreover, since they came to their present home from southwestern China nearly a thousand years ago, the Thais have adopted the Indianized culture of Cambodia, which has accentuated their differences from the Chinese. Thailand and its neighbors never formed an integral part of the vast Chinese Empire, though the rulers used at one time to send embassies to Peking bearing presents which were accepted as tribute.

As far back as the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) a steady stream of Chinese merchants and artisans began to flow into Thailand, and it has never ceased. Until quite recently the immigrants found themselves welcome, for with their higher standards of material comfort and their artistic ability they improved conditions among the local people. Even now, the palaces and temples of Thailand proudly flaunt the beautiful golden-yellow tiles which are the glory of the Forbidden City in Peking. Just as the British often justify their retention of Hongkong by pointing to the flourishing city that has risen on the site of a few poor fishing villages, so the Chinese may with a certain amount of justice claim that they acquired their economic hold on Thailand through having originated and built up most of the country's economic enterprises.

In the middle of the nineteenth century that asute ruler King Mongkut—who deserves to be better known in the West quite apart from "Anna and the King of Siam"—encouraged Chinese immigration on a large scale but stipulated that immigrants should not bring their women folk with them. Himself part Chinese, he admired the energy of the Chinese and hoped to introduce a more vigorous strain into the blood of his own people. Now, in addition to merchants and artisans, came hordes of half-starved Chinese laborers fleeing from hunger, cold, and maladministration at home—men willing to undertake the most menial tasks and to work hard and long in a fruitful, underpopulated land holding out infinite possibilities to them. Many realized their dreams; their descendants are wealthy and cultured men.

The total population of Thailand is around eighteen or nineteen million, of whom three or four million are said to be Chinese. It is impossible to arrive at reasonably accurate statistics owing to the frequency of intermarriage and to the fact that many offspring of mixed marriages claim to be Thai or Chinese according to circumstances. In the busiest areas of Bangkok, the only large city, Chinese is heard more frequently than Thai, and almost every shop has its name inscribed in beautiful Chinese characters. In other towns the percentage of Chinese is lower, but almost all shops are Chinese operated. Even in jungle hamlets the shopkeepers are generally Chinese. And until the Thai government took action, most of the banks, insurance companies, rice mills, and sawmills were Chinese owned and managed. In addition, the great majority of skilled and semi-skilled labor is Chinese—the builders, carpenters, painters, tilemakers, rice-millers, hotel servants, cooks, restaurant operators, and so on. Somebody once said that the Thais are a nation of government officials, Buddhist monks, and farmers, all other occupations being left to the Chinese. If we add that there are Thai doctors and lawyers and that the armed forces are of course Thai, that remark is close to the truth.

In both Chinese law and Chinese tradition the descendants of any Chinese male are considered Chinese. The Chinese language usually continues to be spoken in the home, Chinese religious and ceremonial customs are observed, and if possible the children and grandchildren are given a Chinese education. One of the reasons for the unpopularity of the Chinese is their unwillingness to be absorbed.

OF LATE the Thais, caught up in the current wave of nationalism, have laid aside their easy tolerance of the Chinese. They are asking in the press and the National Assembly why "aliens" should be permitted to "run the country," and the government is taking vigorous measures to limit Chinese enterprise.

Stated in their simplest form, Thai complaints against the Chinese are as follows: (1) Commerce and industry are the lifeblood of a country. It is dangerous and unprofitable to have almost the whole of private enterprise in the hands of aliens. (2) The Chinese are racially arrogant and exclusive. They cooperate with one another at the expense of the Thais and make it exceedingly difficult for the Thais to increase their small share in the commercial life of the

---

MUCHI is the pen name of a European writer living in Bangkok. This is the second of a series of articles on the large Chinese minorities in the countries of Southeast Asia.

country; only government legislation can help. (3) In normal times the Chinese remit a great part of their income to their families in China; the loss of such huge sums is obviously detrimental to the economy of the country.

All of this is true, and one cannot help sympathizing with the Thais, but the question, like most others, has two sides. An intelligent young Chinese, born in Thailand and by no means biased against the Thais, recently expressed to me what he called "the point of view of the average educated Chinese." "One must understand," he said, "why the Chinese occupy their present position in the country's business life. It is not as if we had come as conquerors and taken over our vast interests by force. I assure you there was very little to take over. The Thais, having lived for generations in an immensely fertile, underpopulated country, have long been strangers to hunger and cold. The climate disinclines people to work and at the same time reduces man's needs to a minimum. Very little clothing is required; the simplest houses are sufficient protection against the weather; fuel is needed only for cooking. Under such conditions most personal possessions are pure luxuries, and the Thai religion has always frowned upon the possession of luxuries. So until they were affected by the competitive spirit from the West the Thais never cared much about wealth. If a man, by good fortune or a rare burst of energy, accumulated more money than he required for his immediate needs, he was apt to sit back and take a rest from his labors. Many of the old-fashioned Thais were gentlemen who enjoyed the tranquillity of leisure. To them industrial and commercial undertakings seemed undignified and unnecessary.

"But with our people it was always different. Our grandfathers came here as destitute refugees, knowing the pains of hunger and cold. They would work long hours for the tiniest profit, living meanwhile on plain rice and a little salt fish, so long as they could put something by for the future. We built up our enterprises by our own toil and sweat. And at that time we met with no competition from the Thais. They laughed good-naturedly to see us passing our lives in dreary toil under the hot sun.

"Now it is different. The Thais have awakened, stirred by the spirit of competition and the nationalistic pride they have got from the West. But they can hardly expect us to hand over voluntarily the fruits of our labor. Let the Thais meet us in fair competition. The dice are loaded in their favor by the current legislation. Yet, in spite of everything, very few of them can compete with us. Even the most anti-Chinese Thais employ Chinese laborers to build their houses, for example. Why? Because we can do the job better and more quickly.

"If we went back to China, taking our money with us, Thailand would be bankrupt. We have got to stay here. So we naturally want to keep our property."

THE Thai government is attempting to solve the problem by helping Thai nationals to play a more active part in economic life. Chinese immigration has been cut to a mere two hundred a year. More and more trades and professions are reserved for Thai nationals. Difficulties are being put in the way of "alien" banking and insurance companies. Certain enterprises are run by or under the auspices of the government for the benefit of Thai nationals. The alien residents' tax has suddenly been increased from 20 to 400 ticals a year (officially the tical is worth 8 cents); this is a severe burden on, for example, Chinese hawkers, who may not make as much as 400 ticals in a month. Most of the Chinese schools have been closed, and the few which continue are only permitted to teach Chinese as a foreign language, a few hours a week. Government officials, politicians, and school teachers speak of the necessity of combating the "alien menace" in a spirit of patriotism.

Up to the present these measures, except the restriction on Chinese immigration, have not achieved their objective, though they have made things more difficult for the Chinese. Various banking, insurance, and other companies have been registered under Thai names, but the Thais are often sleeping partners whose only duties are to appear at meetings and draw dividends. Other companies continue to be Chinese owned, but high police officers are included among the shareholders or "advisers" and in return provide a good deal of protection. In its most ambitious attempt to encourage Thai enterprise the government built a great avenue which it was hoped would become the capital's new commercial center; the shops along it were to be leased to Thai nationals only. Though some of the buildings have already reached the stage preliminary to collapse, the avenue is still almost deserted, far different from the Chinese shopping centers with their milling crowds and tangled traffic. (I once asked a nationalistic Thai why he patronized Chinese shops. He replied: "In a Thai shop, by the time they have gone through the complicated process of wrapping up my order, writing out a bill in triplicate, and counting out the change, I usually regret my purchase. Without exaggeration, this process sometimes takes as much as ten minutes.") And even on this all-Thai avenue the Thais who rented the new shops often sublet to Chinese or put in Chinese managers.

BHUTAN
PAKISTAN
CHINA
BURMA
Laos
INDO-CHINA
THAILAND
Cambodia
Viet-Nam
FEDERATION OF MALAYA

SO FAR only a few Chinese in Thailand have shown Communist leanings. The majority own their own business, are capitalists, and those who work for a daily wage are ambitious to become the owner of a stall which may one day become a shop and later a company with most of the shares in the hands of the original owner's family. With so little industry in Thailand there is nothing which could be called a proletariat in the Western sense. Almost every Chinese in Thailand believes that his prospects are better there under the system of individual enterprise than they would be in overpopulated, impoverished China, at least for many decades to come. Immediately after the overwhelming Communist successes in China, racial pride created a certain amount of carefully concealed sympathy for Peking. Since then letters received from families and clansmen in South China have caused the enthusiasm to wane. It is almost certain that the great majority of Chinese in Thailand would not favor the country's domination by Peking.

On the other hand, enthusiasm for Chiang Kai-shek is at very low ebb. Overseas Chinese have not forgotten that the Nationalist leaders, when at the height of their power, offered no concrete aid to their countrymen abroad though the latter many times demonstrated their loyalty with lavish contributions to the government's war chest.

Secret rejoicing over Communist China's ability to make itself felt in the world after a century of weakness will not in itself make Communists of the Chinese in Thailand. What would produce a rash of communism here and perhaps entirely undermine the position of the forces opposed to communism in this whole area would be a wrong handling of the Chinese problem by the Thai government. If legislation aimed at curbing Chinese activities, combined with further stirring up of racial feeling, made the Chinese feel that the day of opportunity for the individual had passed, they would surely turn toward Peking.

THE only real solution to the problem seems to be absorption. The Chinese, it is true, have resisted absorption in the past, but they might be less recalcitrant now that their loyalty to both the governments claiming to represent China is so much weakened. Unfortunately, the Thais no longer look very favorably on this solution. They are not only discriminating more and more against the Chinese as aliens but increasing the difficulties in the way of their naturalization. At present even a Chinese born and educated in Thailand cannot become a full citizen if his father was born in China. What the country needs is a settled policy based on the following principles: (1) restriction of immigration to be continued; (2) local-born Chinese to be offered every reasonable inducement to become Thai citizens; those who accept Thai citizenship and a Thai education to be treated in every way like other Thais; (3) increasing restrictions to be placed upon the activities of those Chinese who enjoy the benefits of living in Thailand but are unwilling to accept a citizen's responsibilities.

This is not a problem which can be disregarded, nor can it be solved without good-will and sympathetic understanding. Its neglect or any attempt to force a wrong solution would have very serious consequences, not only for Thailand, but for all Southeast Asia.

ANTI-RED OR ANTI-UNION?

That Boston Labor Probe . . *by Joe Hill*

Boston

IT IS no coincidence that the three unions which have been publicly investigated by the Massachusetts legislature in recent months were expelled from the C. I. O. nearly five years ago for "Communist domination." The legislative investigation has been conducted by a bipartisan "Special Commission on Communism, Subversive Activities, and Related Matters within the Commonwealth" created in September, 1953. The commission has made a few forays in the already well-investigated educational field but appears to have concentrated its attention on the labor movement. Last May it announced that it had found evidence of Communist activity in six unions within the state. So far, however, only three have been publicly investigated. The open hearings on each coincided with a crisis in its affairs and in one way or another served to further the interests of the employer or a rival union or both.

First on the Index was the independent United Electrical Workers (U. E.) which last fall made one of its periodic attempts to regain bargaining rights from Jim Carey's I. U. E. (C. I. O.) at the big General Electric plant in Lynn. (Carey is secretary-treasurer of the C. I. O.) Two weeks before the National Labor Relations Board election, McCarthy brought his one-man subcommittee to Boston, bullied a few G. E. workers belonging to both unions, and conferred *in camera* with the legislative commission. Several witnesses were immediately suspended by the company.

Five days before the election, on December 5, the commission announced that Carey had handed over the names of some 200 members of U. E. who he said were Communists or Communist sympathizers. After U. E. officers, on their own insistence, had replied to Carey's charges, the commission and G. E. piously told the public they were not trying to interfere with the election. On the day before the vote G. E. announced a new policy of suspending employees who refused to answer questions of an investigating group. The election went to I. U. E. by some 700 votes of more than 11,000 cast.

THE commission then moved into the insurance field. The 375 agents of the Boston Mutual Life Insurance Company had been represented since their organization in 1937, first, by the United Office and Professional Workers and then, after that union's expulsion from the C. I. O., by its successor, the Distributive, Processing, and Office Workers, which obtained temporary affiliation after an internal purge and contingent upon amalgamation with another C. I. O. affiliate. The contract of Local 1282, D. P. O. W. A., with Mutual expired last December 10, about the same time that the union's temporary C. I. O. affiliation ran out. Since then D. P. O. W. A. has effected the required merger and been received into the C. I. O. but without the Mutual employees.

JOE HILL is the pen name of a Massachusetts writer who is active in the labor movement.

The expired Local 1282 contract provided high weekly guaranties and territorial protection for agents, arbitration of grievances, seniority rights, and a union shop, and was considered the best in the insurance industry. When negotiations bogged down, Frank Siegel, the local's president and business agent, tried to persuade various public officials to put pressure on Mutual to settle. State Senator John E. Powers of South Boston, Democratic leader and chairman of the commission's labor subcommittee, intervened in behalf of the union with Everett H. Lane, president of Mutual. Lane, in reply, suggested that the commission investigate Local 1282.

On February 15 the negotiating committee set a strike deadline for March 1. The next day the commission subpoenaed local leaders for a private hearing. Powers, who has strong labor support, protested that he did not know a strike had been called and had no desire to interfere in a labor dispute. Nevertheless, on February 25 a public hearing was held. A former business agent of the local who had been expelled for dual unionism and two members who had been disciplined testified as to Communist literature and "influence." Siegel invoked the Fifth Amendment when asked: "Do you think you were being honest with your membership when in your capacity as business agent you took orders from the Communist Party?"

Though the strike had been authorized by a vote of seven to one, it was now canceled, and the company withdrew recognition of the local. Its members split up into the C. I. O. and A. F. of L. insurance-workers' unions, with most of their leaders joining the latter, and on April 1 an N. L. R. B. election deadlocked the two, 185 all. The next day the company fired one of the leaders of the old union, and on April 13, two days before a runoff, informed its employees in writing that it had only "contempt" for the A. F. of L. union and would refuse to sign an arbitration clause with a union it didn't "respect." The C. I. O. won the runoff, 188 to 180.

The company now swung into action, threw out the contract, and forced the agents to accept individual agreements. The change in working conditions and commission practices was equivalent, the union claims, to an average weekly pay cut of $15. Siegel quit his post and went into private business. The N. L. R. B. found that the company had showed favoritism before the runoff and ordered a third election on November 1. This the A. F. of L. won, 183 to 132. The timely intervention of the commission had given the company the weapon it needed to confuse and divide its employees, break their militant union, destroy their contract, and cut their pay.

NEXT the commission turned its guns on the International Fur and Leather Workers, whose leather division contains 10,000 of the industry's highest-paid workers in 100 shops on the North Shore. In May, while I. F. L. W. U. Local 33 was negotiating for 1,500 workers at the A. C. Lawrence plant in Peabody, the A. F. of L. Butchers moved a raiding party into town. In July the A. F. of L. petitioned for an N. L. R. B. election, and the company suspended talks. Almost simultaneously the commission released testimony that Local 21, the largest in the division with 3,500 members, was Communist-dominated. John Silk, a former president of Local 21 who had resigned in 1947 in the face of dual-unionism charges, testified that Richard B. O'Keefe, the local's veteran business manager, George F. Markham, its educational director, and James Bollen, a former member of its education committee, had admitted to him they were Communists. The commission said it would hold public hearings on the charges in "two or three months."

On September 24 Professor W. W. Rostow of the Center for International Studies at Massachusetts Institute of Technology testified in open hearings that he believed the I. F. L. W. U. was Communist-dominated. He based his opinion on approximately one-third of the 100-odd resolutions the union had adopted at its four preceding conventions and on the fact that it had donated funds to Communist unions in Europe and to eighteen organizations on the Attorney General's list.

Markham, having invoked Article XII of the Massachusetts constitution when asked in executive session about past Communist affiliations, denounced the investigation and Rostow's opinions and resigned his union post under pressure. Bollen, who was no longer with the union, denied Silk's charges and also invoked Article XII. O'Keefe denied he had ever been a Communist; he said he "hated" communism and had led the opposition to the Progressive Party in his local in 1948. He insisted he had seen no evidence of Communist domination of the I. F. L. W. U. Asked how he squared this with the fact that he was the perennial chairman of the convention resolutions committee, O'Keefe admitted he "may have been duped." He concluded by praising the commission for its work.

Early in December O'Keefe popped up at the C. I. O. convention in Los Angeles, told cheering delegates that the fur division was the "hard core of communism in this country," and promised to bring 10,000 New England leather workers back into the fold in January. Concurrently, the executive boards of the I. F. L. W. U. and the apparently less squeamish Butchers were talking merger in Chicago, with the fur union slated to become an autonomous division of the Butchers and to retain its officers and $9,000,000 treasury.

Under the circumstances, these look like smart moves, since the I. F. L. W. U. was probably headed for hard times under the new Subversive Control Act. Both divisions would be immune to N. L. R. B. decertification under the new law, but they may have to pay the price in militancy if they expect to get the protection from persecution and prosecution which A. F. of L. and C. I. O. affiliation is supposed to afford.

There are signs that the commission is preparing to strike closer to the C. I. O. preserves. The tip-off came when the same Bollen who was questioned in connection with the I. F. L. W. U. was asked if he had engaged in Communist activity with one of the leaders of Local 11 of the C. I. O. Packinghouse Workers. Bollen is a shop steward at the Colonial Provision Company in Boston, where the Packinghouse Workers have been on strike.

Whether the commission has succeeded in exposing threats to the internal security of the Commonwealth is open to question. It has done an efficient job, however, of frightening and confusing workers whose greatest crime is the militancy often exhibited by a left-wing union. The legislature may or may not have had this aspect of the commission's activities in mind when it extended its life through next year.

BOOKS

The Tortured German Psyche

FRAGEBOGEN. By Ernst von Salomon. Translated by Constantine FitzGibbon. Doubleday and Company. $6.

By Frederick L. Schuman

INVICTIS VICTI VICTURI. So read the inscription to the dead at the University of Munich after World War I. The terse Latin is best translated: "To the Unconquered from the Conquered Who Will Yet Conquer."

Few reflective spirits in the 1920's would have defended the Allied thesis of 1917: that the victory of the Second Reich would have meant the destruction of culture by the "Huns." Still fewer would now deny that the triumph of the Third Reich would have been precisely such a catastrophe. A great nation joyously embraced a sadistic fanaticism whose bedeviled disciples were sworn to annihilate all human relationships which give meaning to culture and to humanity itself.

We are today bent upon rearming a Fourth Reich to "defend civilization." To question the wisdom of this resolve is, in America at least, to become a "security risk." Yet everyone is obliged by the decision to ask himself anew why and how most Germans, bewitched by Hitler, once embarked upon the enslavement or massacre of most of their neighbors and found their souls by losing their minds.

This book, at once fascinating and frightful, furnishes data needful for an answer. Published in 1951, passionately praised and bitterly denounced, it has sold more than a quarter of a million copies in Germany. Its translation is a major literary and political event. Goronwy Rees of University College in Aberystwyth, Wales, comments in his Preface that the author is both a "man of action" and an "artist" who "can find complete satisfaction neither in art nor in action, and expresses in both the violence of his frustration." The work, in its evasion of responsibility, "is a piece of effrontery which only so brilliant a writer could have attempted with success." The book does not answer our question. But it is safe to say that the question will remain unanswerable until the inner meaning of this book can, somehow, be grasped.

I claim no understanding of the motives of this man or of the tortured German psyche which he typifies. I know that who understands all forgives all, and that there is no way of indicting a whole people. Yet the puzzle remains. This is autobiography, among the best ever written, and an absorbing work of "fiction" in the sense that it depicts scenes, analyzes characters, and reconstructs conversations of long ago in a fashion worthy of Thomas Mann or even of Dickens, Proust, or Dostoevsky. Its form is ironic. Its spirit is cynical. In 1945 the Allied Military Government required all Nazi suspects to fill out a questionnaire of 131 items. Salomon answers the questions in 525 pages. The result, far from being dull, is hypnotically moving and replete with exciting reminiscences, delicate nuances, superb "flashbacks," sparkling vignettes, and an elusive progression from nothing to nothing which reads like a tragic drama concerned with the ultimate mysteries of existence.

"ARYAN" Ernst von Salomon, born in Kiel in 1902, was an army cadet, too young to take part in World War I and too preoccupied in writing film scripts for UFA to take part in World War II, save for comical service in the Volkssturm in the last days of the débâcle. He professes great patriotism, and indifference to politics: "I have never voted." He is an intellectual and a novelist, highly civilized and deeply sensitive to love and sorrow. He is a bohemian and an epicurean. His "affair" with Majie in St. Jean-de-Luz is delicious. He is a neurotic, spending time in Dr. Querfeldt's sanitorium. He is a jailbird, having served time in Striegau—where he scratched a swastika on the wall on November 9, 1923—and, in 1945-46, in Kitzbühel, Natternberg, and Plattling. He is an adventurer, having served in the Freikorps in Silesia in 1919 among other freebooters whose nihilism has been lucidly portrayed by Robert L. G. Waite in "Vanguard of Nazism," where Salomon is often cited and quoted. He is also an assassin. He was an active participant in the plot to kill Walter Rathenau in 1922.

What accounting does he give? Everything and nothing. Although he never says so, he obviously abstained from joining the National Socialist Party for one reason only: his mistress, Ille, was Jewish. Neither he nor she had the slightest concern with the Nazi robbery and butchery of the Jews. Buchenwald and Ausschwitz are only "pictures," post-war, though he is too shrewd to repeat the fiction of German ignorance of these horrors. He denies that Rathenau was killed because he was a Jew. He blames and excuses his own anti-Semitism as "the foulest sort of corruption of which the conscience can conceive, the corruption that compels the individual to choose the lesser of two evils." Democracy? "I do not know what it is."

Hitler's magic, he concludes, was "the appeal of offering oneself as a sacrifice. That has invariably been the alternative to accepting responsibility and doing one's duty." "How could it come about that everyone was guilty, which means of course that no one was guilty?" In 1946 as in 1933 the options were "to behave like a fool or behave like a coward. Nothing had changed. They were worth the same. Their victory was valueless, as was our defeat. I was myself worthless." "Can anyone understand the Americans? Can anyone understand the Germans? Can anyone understand the world?"

Konrad Heiden subtitled his first biography of Hitler "Das Zeitalter der Verantwortungslosigkeit." Salomon's volume is grim testimony of the consequences of living in the "Epoch of Irresponsibility" and of wallowing in self-pity, fear, hate, cowardice, and escapism. These diseases are universal in our time. Germans merely enjoy the dishonor of having carried this pathology of a sick

---

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN holds the Woodrow Wilson Professorship of Government at Williams College and is the author of "The Commonwealth of Man," "Night over Europe. The Diplomacy of Nemesis, 1939-40," and other works on current world affairs.

civilization to its logical conclusion. No people has more to teach us of these disorders. "Fragebogen" is a priceless clinical document. No people has shown itself to be more incapable of facing the issue posed by Caliban. Salomon himself has learned and forgotten nothing. No people has less to contribute to the defense of civilization against the barbarism within us all. Most Germans know this. If the rest of us do not, we may be forced to learn again the hard way. "All young people of good families!" recalls Salomon of the early years of Weimar. "And there they sat and discussed murder in cold blood, not just one murder, a whole series of murders. It's sinister and uncanny." It is.

A Fine Public Servant

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF A HAPPY LIBERAL. A Biography of Morris Llewellyn Cooke. By Kenneth E. Trombley. Harper and Brothers. $4.

By Stephen Raushenbush

THE hero of this book has long been Philadelphia's outstanding envoy to Washington. In addition he has served as liaison between the engineering profession and the public interest. In the process he became a distinguished public servant in many fields. Since the spirit that moves Mr. Cooke and the ability he displays are both basic social requirements in this day, the story of his struggles and success is important.

In approaching his job the author, a fellow-engineer, yielded to two temptations that might better have been resisted. The first was hero-worship. This is thoroughly understandable. Llewellyn Cooke has remarkable personal appeal and has led an extremely useful life. He has been able to cover wide circles of interest and service. He took with him everywhere a pragmatic willingness to try new ways and an engineer's interest in seeing that the gears of society meshed smoothly.

So, the author tells us, "this book was developed in the glow of the subject's irrepressible personality and soul-stirring inspiration." In consequence the picture at times fails to achieve roundness or to give adequate credit to all. Instead of being one man working with others who doubtless often disagreed with him violently, Mr. Cooke seems to wander by himself from cause to cause. The author also passes over the cultural influences that helped shape his subject. We are told of associations with Frederick W. Taylor, Brandeis, Frankfurter, Joseph Eastman, and others, but only one book is mentioned—"An American Citizen" by J. G. Brooks.

The other temptation to which the biographer yielded is indicated in the title, the desire to sell the idea that other men too can be happy although liberal. Actually, like other men, Mr. Cooke met with a succession of frustrations. That he was happy is as much related to his unusual competence and opportunities as to his liberalism. His slogan, "Never lick your wounds after defeat—get on to something constructive," is quoted, but the reader is never persuaded that defeat was deeply felt, as it certainly was.

THE story itself is full of interest. Here is the descendant of an old Pennsylvania family gaining from his work as an engineer a feeling about the hardship of workers' lives. Personal experience of the inefficiency of steel mills and publishing concerns, plus the influence of Taylor, led to creative activity in the field of scientific management. Then came the leap into public service with a reform administration in Philadelphia. Encounters with shady contractors, with the Vares, and finally with the local electric utility ended with Cooke's winning a million-dollar victory for the people in lower rates. The fight over Scott Nearing's ouster from the University of Pennsylvania led to a struggle for freedom of thinking in other colleges. During this period Cooke developed one of his major themes, that engineers owe some obligation to the public interest as well as to their clients.

The record of service piles up. Work with Hoover on the "Waste in Industry" study (clothing) led to work on converting the steel industry to the eight-hour day. In the 1920's came a report on giant power for Governor Pinchot and the beginning of an interest in rural electrification. In 1931 Governor Roosevelt appointed him to the New York State Power Authority and in 1935 he was reporting to President Roosevelt on the devastation in the Dust Bowl and devising remedies. That year Cooke became chief of the Rural Electrification Administration, using the agency to combat human erosion on the farms. In 1940 he and Philip Murray published their "Organized Labor and Production." When World War II came he went back to his World War I job of getting efficiency in shipbuilding, but soon he was off to Mexico to negotiate a price for the oil fields taken over by the government, and then off to Brazil on a combined good-will and procurement mission.

By 1950 he was chairman of the Water Resources Policy Commission for President Truman. It was in the conservation field that he made many of his greatest contributions and met with some of his major disappointments.

STEPHEN RAUSHENBUSH is consultant to the Public Affairs Institute, Washington, D. C.

"Tender and sweet, charmingly humorous." —HAROLD CLURMAN, *Nation*
"A WINNING PLAY"—ATKINSON, *Times*
THE NEW ROMANTIC COMEDY HIT
WEDDING BREAKFAST
Lee GRANT • Harvey LEMBECK • Virginia VINCENT • Anthony FRANCIOSA
48th STREET THEATRE, East of Broadway
Evgs. 8:40. Mats. WED. and SAT. 2:40

BOOK MANUSCRIPTS INVITED

If you are looking for a publisher, send for our free, illustrated booklet titled *To the Author in Search of a Publisher.* It tells how we can publish, promote and distribute your book, as we have done for hundreds of other writers. All subjects considered. New authors welcomed. Write today for Booklet 103. It's free.

VANTAGE PRESS, 120 West 31 St., New York 1
In Calif.: 6253 Hollywood Blvd., Hollywood 28

Southerners Look at Desegregation

A roundup of responsible opinion by educators and writers of both races, on the practical realities and long-term implications of the Court decision.

This group of articles is a feature of the Winter Issue of "one of America's best quarterlies." Also in this issue: a study of James Madison in relation to the current conservative vogue, an analysis of Negro political and voting patterns in Florida, short stories, poetry, reviews.

single copy 75¢ one year $3.00

The ANTIOCH REVIEW
Xenia Avenue, Yellow Springs, Ohio

The Role of American Jews

THE JEWS IN AMERICA: A HISTORY. By Rufus Learsi. World Publishing Company. $6.

By J. Milton Yinger

THE history of Jews in America cannot be written, as this timely and thoughtful book well shows, without careful attention to the world situation. This was as true in 1654, when twenty-three Jewish refugees from Portuguese Brazil landed in New Amsterdam, as it was in 1881 or 1933 or 1947.

Running through Mr. Learsi's book, rich with detail and commentary, is the story of the pull of two opposite forces. One is the continuing strong sense of community between Jews in America and their coreligionists abroad, a feeling rooted in religion and reinforced by crisis after crisis, from Inquisition to pogrom to genocide to war for a national homeland. Among American Jews this sense of community has expressed itself in continuous efforts to help their fellows abroad and to maintain their religious identity at home.

But the forces of absorption are also at work. If vicious persecution in Europe and patchwork discrimination in the United States, interacting with the sense of religious unity, have slowed the process of assimilation, they certainly have not stopped it. "Thus, by the mid-twentieth century the interpenetration of American Jewry with every area of the nation's life had become the outstanding fact about the community." Learsi does not, perhaps, document this last point fully enough. There is a danger that the detailed account of Jewish struggles, of Jewish successes and failures, will give a sense of separateness that is too sharp to be accurate. Having been brought up in small towns where there were no Jews—or if there were a few families, this was a matter of indifference to all—the reviewer finds it difficult to acquire the habit of identifying this or that person as a Jew. Since this probably duplicates the experience of a great many other Americans outside the metropolitan areas, it is a datum relevant to the question of assimilation.

Many of the patterns of European Jewry were functional adaptations to situations very different from those faced by Jews in the United States. Change was and is inevitable, as Learsi well shows. Efforts to establish a Jewish community in New York, for example, after the pattern of authority in the Old World, were bound to fail. And the continuing divisions among Jews—not, of course, without important cooperative activity—reflect the impact of a mobile, democratic society with free religious choice. "The social sources of denominationalism" are as influential among Jews as among Christians. In view of the recency of immigration—the great majority of Jews came to this country after 1881—and the cohesive effect of the crises faced by Jews, the really remarkable fact is the extent of their absorption. This has meant a reduction in their religious and cultural distinctiveness—a happy development to some but to Learsi unfortunate.

In the latter part of the book the author's admitted value stands come more prominently into play, particularly in his description of Zionism and the battle for Israel. This reviewer would have been better rewarded by an objective study of the period. Dramatic clarity is perhaps served, but history is somewhat obscured, by drawing issues too sharply, by designating the heroes and the villains of the piece without qualification.

All in all, this is a highly rewarding book, a substantial and artistic development of the theme: the role of American Jews in the world struggle for equality of treatment, a national home, and survival, and their vital place in the whole of American life.

J. MILTON YINGER is professor of sociology and anthropology at Oberlin College and co-author with George Eaton Simpson of "Racial and Cultural Minorities: An Analysis of Prejudice and Discrimination."

Theater

Harold Clurman

THE week before Christmas offered two new plays which have already closed and a revival of Barrie's "What Every Woman Knows" with Helen Hayes at the City Center.

Only one of the two new plays is worth a backward glance. "Portrait of a Lady," a stage adaptation by William Archibald of Henry James's novel, was, as everyone agreed, dramatically flaccid, tenuous, and without definite contour. No matter how it had been acted or staged, it was doomed to fail. Yet—and this is the only reason for my referring to it at this date—I was not entirely indifferent to it.

I was somehow pleased and, at odd moments, even moved to find myself in the presence of characters who had some dignity of demeanor, of dress, and of speech. I was glad to be reminded of a world where delicate issues of conscience were expressed in graceful language. People spoke softly and said even inconsequential things with refinement. This manner may often be enervating, but in view of the vulgar clamor, the stupid energy, of so much that is shown nowadays on the stage and heard in the streets, I am grateful for the importance which James's characters, even when presented through the medium of a hapless dramatization, give to their every gesture and reflection.

One character was trying to choose a worthy life; another was capable of love and self-sacrifice; the most trifling of the play's personages was sharp of wit and word. They all looked superb—it is true that sometimes one could not tell whether the actors were wearing Cecil Beaton's clothes or the clothes were wearing the actors; still, it is pleasant to see people look like stage figures—like people worth remark.

The play seemed to lack a story—that is, action and situation; yet the seeds of a grand story were there, a romantic story. The theater loses much of its attraction when its story aspect is neglected or abandoned. The painter Juan Gris, whose cubism was once deemed as "controversial" as Picasso's, used to beg his artistic mentor to assure him that his (Gris's) "experiments" were truly pictures. A painting, he felt for all his interest in abstraction, had to make a *picture*. In the same way, for all our modern appetite for psychology, atmosphere, and color, we yearn for a play to retain some element of the fabulous, to tell an entrancing story.

THERE is a good, old-fashioned story in Barrie's comedy "What Every Woman Knows." When the play was revived in 1946 by the American Repertory Theater—in which Eva Le Gallienne, miscast, gave a most engaging performance as the Comtesse de la Brière—some of the reviewers spoke almost disdainfully of Barrie's sentimentality. They forgot, these up-to-the-minute ignoramuses, that Barrie's sturdy sentimentality has outlasted the spurious realism of most contemporary examples of our ruggedness.

There is nothing wrong with sentimentality: it is one form of emphasis, one way of approaching and telling the truth, or at least a sufficient portion of the truth to be respected. Sentimentality is bad where there is not enough substantial matter in a play to sustain it. Just as romantic heroism is not only tolerable but enjoyable when the nature of an artist's talent proves that this trait really exists in him—through his story, his style, his mode of thinking and feeling—so sentimentality is sound where the artist seems to be able to live, function, and make sense with it. Such was the case with Barrie.

"What Every Woman Knows" is shrewdly contrived; it says something we recognize as valid; it has a pretty humor, magnetic good nature, and is a wonderful vehicle for a good acting company.

Helen Hayes plays it with abundant skill and sureness. Though she treats her part now with more detachment than she did in 1926, when she was more naively involved in it, she is still adorable. To see the play now is like receiving a nosegay in a dismal season.

Films

Robert Hatch

AND so, as the sun of another morning warms the golden walls of Verona, we take leave of this loveliest city of the Italian plain and of its noble families, who were taught a sad lesson by two star-crossed lovers and a meddling friar. We had come to see a play; perhaps we should not complain that we were shown a sumptuous travelogue.

There is no objection, from the point of view of entertainment, to filming "Romeo and Juliet" in the streets, palaces, and churches of the most beautiful cities in Italy. That way it makes a spectacular melodrama with erotic overtones and a catch at the heart. This J. Arthur Rank version, directed by Renato Castellani with taste and a fine appreciation of the architectural possibilities, is certainly better amusement than the Biblical screen circuses which it frequently resembles. But there is no use pretending that much of Shakespeare survives the panoramic opulence, and it is nonsense to say that this is what he would have done if he had had a camera. He might have concocted spectaculars, but he would not have made the mistake of stretching a compact stage play over a large part of Italy.

The defenders of the bard are forever checking new productions against the true word, weighing the cuts and deciding which transpositions and elisions are permissible. But liberties taken with the text—and in this "Romeo and Juliet" they are considerable and often puzzling—are not so deforming as liberties taken with Shakespeare's timing and spatial relationships. When you tamper with those, you are apt to lose the whole heart and spirit of the work. "Romeo and Juliet" is a great and true play, but it is a plausible one only when played at Shakespeare's pace and with his juxtapositions and transitions. The script which Castellani has used runs as smoothly as a piece of tape, but the contrasts are lost, the climaxes fail, and the dramatic action is so slowed up and thinned out by physical action—it takes time to get around the great chambers and through the narrow, terraced streets—that the tragedy collapses and is swept away in a visual flood. One comes from this very expensive picture grateful for a museum tour conducted with excellent discrimination, but without caring much whether the incidental narrative was "Romeo and Juliet" or "The Taming of the Shrew."

Reprints Available

WAYS TO COEXIST

by D. F. Fleming

NOW YOU can secure reprints of Professor D. F. Fleming's important article which appeared in *The Nation* November 27, 1954.

Coexistence is the crucial issue in American politics today and we believe Professor Fleming makes an important contribution to the national debate on this question.

Here's what readers are saying about the article: **Frank F. Potter, Pullman, Washington:** "Offers to the makers of our foreign policy the logistics of peace in place of the logistics of war." **Dr. A. Gubar, Hempstead, New York:** "I want to commend you on Professor Fleming's article. It's tremendous." **David L. Weissman, New York City:** ". . . the sanest and wisest statement of our situation. Boldly, he points to the only way to salvation open to us."

Order your copies now at the special rates set for single and bundle orders. (See coupon below.)

THE NATION
333 Sixth Avenue, New York City 14

I enclose $________ for ________ copies of D. F. Fleming's "WAYS TO COEXIST."

Single copies 10¢
50 copies.... $2.50
100 " $4.00
500 " $16.00
1000 " $21.00

NAME________________

ADDRESS________________

CITY________ STATE________

1/8/55

In this context it is not very important to settle how good the performers were—certainly they were decorative, and that was most important. Susan Shentall, a new actress, played Juliet at a good school level. She spoke and moved with no errors and no distinction, seemed very healthy, and handled dirks and baleful potions as though she had no notion of the harm they could do. Laurence Harvey was too light of voice for Romeo—or any other Shakespearean hero; he seemed young and heedless, which is fine, but he also seemed trivial, which is not so good. Mervyn Johns, as that foolish man, Friar Laurence, gave perhaps the best performance. He made something quite moving out of the fellow's catastrophic good nature. Flora Robson seemed more a nanny than Shakespeare's Rabelaisian nurse, but the scissors were working prudishly on her part. Everyone else looked magnificent and behaved well. This "Romeo and Juliet" is a pretty thing.

INSPIRED by Ronald Searles's *Punch* drawings of small progressive-school horrors, "The Belles of St. Trinian's" is a screaming farce in which the participants scream rather more than the spectators. The producers have made the mistake of thinking that the idea was so good it required no execution. Alastair Sim plays two parts—headmistress of the school and that lady's bookmaker brother. Sim's talent does not extend to female impersonation—he is about as convincing as Charley's Aunt—and considering the number of funny women about the English studios, the stunt seems peculiarly pointless. In the second role he looks bored, which he unquestionably was. Joyce Grenfell, a policewoman masquerading as games mistress, throws herself with her usual gawkish determination into a typical Joyce Grenfell part. She has done it before with much better material. That is the whole trouble with "The Belles of St. Trinian's"—the English have done it often before ("Passport to Pimlico," "Tight Little Island," etc.) with much better material.

"TONIGHT'S THE NIGHT" seems a cynical attempt to exploit Barry Fitzgerald's notorious charm; it is a wicked waste of his talent. The legend that the Irish are a childish race of sweet-voiced drunkards and murderers attracts the British, but they should avoid it. It always betrays them into a show of sahib mentality. "Tonight's the Night" is a vulgarized recollection of "The Quiet Man," a picture which was not itself excessively refined. David Niven, Yvonne de Carlo, and a crowd of greasepaint Hibernians assist in the embarrassment.

Music

B. H. Haggin

PART of the pleasure in seeing the New York City Ballet's production of "The Nutcracker" again this year and seeing it a number of times came from the renewed experience of what was familiar: the beautifully imagined and executed Tchaikovsky score; the work of theater art beautifully imagined and executed to go with that score. There was variety even in this experience of the familiar: one heard and saw each time things one hadn't noticed the previous time. Last year, for example, I had been engrossed in Balanchine's new pas de deux for the Sugar Plum Fairy and Her Cavalier—the freshness and originality of the quietly lovely beginning of the supported adagio before its gradual crescendo of impassioned brilliance, and of the Fairy's solo variation with its quiet, almost casual intricacy; this year I became aware of the intricate counterpoint of the solo Marzipan Shepherdess and her companions. But one noticed also things that were new. In the Christmas party of the first act there were new and enriching details—in addition to the major contribution of Dollar's remarkable characterization of the at once sinister and benign Herr Drosselmayer (a point of interest at each performance was what fantastic shape his nose would have this time). And in the dream party of the second act there were new dancers in the leading roles.

As a matter of fact there were such changes of dancers also in September's repertory season, which I will say something about now. They resulted from the absence this year not only of Tallchief but of Mounsey; and so I saw Adams not only in "Scotch Symphony," in which she danced with a beautiful lyricism, but in the two performances of "The Prodigal Son," in which she achieved what my guest at the first performance—an actor and director—characterized as "the most antiseptic siren ever seen on the American stage" (but for John Martin, for whom a ballet comes to life when it is danced in by a former member of Ballet Theater, Adams's Siren made this the outstanding performance of "The Prodigal Son" in many a season; after which he could concede merit to Moncion—that is, characteristically, the merit of a newly acquired effectiveness in what actually was one of Moncion's less effective performances—less effective than his more controlled and contained performance later in the week). In "Swan Lake" too Mounsey's part in the Dance of the Little Swans lost its sharpness and clarity of outline when it was danced by even as lovely a dancer as Jillana. And when Jillana and d'Amboise danced "The Afternoon of a Faun" one discovered how many overtones of presence and expressive point LeClercq and Moncion had enriched the piece with. On the other hand Allegra Kent was an increasingly effective replacement for LeClercq in "The Four Temperaments." As for LeClercq's Swan Queen, its growth was evident, on the one occasion that I saw it, in the more detailed miming, the more assured and authoritative execution of the dance movements, the new smoothness and continuity, as well as assurance and authority, in the entire operation; but strangely enough—since LeClercq is one of the dancers who, the moment they step onto the stage, move in an aura of projected presence—she did not on this occasion create about her the aura in which the Swan Queen moves in this ballet.

But making her first entrance in "The Nutcracker" to receive and welcome the children and summon their entertainment, LeClercq radiated graciousness and warmth and pleasure in the situation; and so again when she appeared later for the grand pas de deux that is the climax of the entertainment. And here the powers of projection operated also in the dancing: in that quietly intricate solo variation she presented the movements in a way that let one see how wonderful they were. This she did the very first time in the role; and she also carried off the spectacular passages in the coda brilliantly. D'Amboise too, in his solo and the coda, executed his soaring leaps and dazzling entrechats with beautiful accuracy and grace, engaging good manners, and an appearance of effortlessness amusingly belied at one point by a sudden grim gritting of his teeth for a climactic series of turns. And together LeClercq and d'Amboise made the quiet beginning of the supported adagio very lovely that first time; but it took the additional weeks of practice and performance to achieve security and ease and brilliance in working together in the spins and lifts later in the dance.

Adams's Sugar Plum Fairy, on opening night, had loveliness and sweetness in the welcoming of the children and in the grand pas de deux, and lacked only the bravura needed for the coda. In this performance LeClercq was the Dewdrop in the Waltz of the Candy Flowers, and defined herself clearly and exquisitely in space in quiet progression across the stage. In subsequent performances Adams's Dewdrop had similar clarity of definition, which Jillana's, blurred at first, approximated later on. Fallis, alternating with high-powered Wilde, danced the Marzipan Shepherdess with suitable delicate charm. But Thomas produced nothing resembling Barnett's combination of dazzling speed, clarity, sharpness, and delicacy in the Dance of the Candy Canes.

I spoke of the pleasure from Tchaikovsky's score: it was of course the pleasure from this score as it was played by the orchestra under Barzin and Fiorato. But there was also the discomfort of hearing the solo flute and solo clarinet lag behind the rest of the orchestra in the overture; and an early performance conducted by Fiorato sounded as though he had taken over without rehearsal (his later performances had the integrated execution and tone this one lacked). All this apart from Barzin's fast tempo for the second-act pas de deux one night, and his slow tempo another night, which didn't bother the audience but must have been hell for the dancers.

PURPOSE OF THE RELIGIOUS ADVERTISEMENTS

Belief in God Robbed of Social Justice by Ancient Orthodoxy.—Social Justice overshadowed by "Righteousness."—Reversal of Emphasis Inevitable and Imperative.—Previous advertisements have emphasized that the Hebrew prophets preached a God of social justice (not socialism or communism), and that they were endorsed repeatedly by Jesus of Nazareth. But it is appalling to consider that when *Belief in God* came down from the hills of Palestine and entered the stream of World History, social justice faded from the religious pattern and was overshadowed by "righteousness."

That God requires righteousness is very familiar to all of us from childhood. We were all told, in forceful generalities, that God would punish us if we did not "do right". And yet, very few people, even today, know that the Hebrew prophets proclaimed a God of social and economic justice, and that the prophets were endorsed repeatedly by Jesus. All church people today—orthodox and liberal alike—are honest and sincere. The transformation of Belief in God from its earlier sense of social justice to a merely individual righteousness was accomplished in the far-away Past by orthodox authorities unknown to the masses of the laity today.

Return of Religious Emphasis to Social Justice Inevitable and Indispensable.—No reflection upon the sincerity of present-day church people is implied by the religious problem that has thus come to us from the far-away Past. Nevertheless, if the churches do not choose to follow the prophets and Jesus, and put social justice (not socialism or communism) at the foundation of their belief in God, they will inevitably invite disaster at a time when social problems are pressing upon us as never before, and when social consciousness is rapidly replacing the ancient rugged individualism of orthodoxy and Herbert Hoover.

It is impressive to look back into the hills of Palestine, and to study the great struggles which destroyed paganism and endowed the term "God" with social justice. But it is appalling to think how the insidious propaganda of "righteousness" has been so successful in banishing the sense of social justice from religion, and in reducing the highest concept of the human mind (i. e.,"God") to the state of conventional respectability with which it circulates in our churches, Sunday schools, law courts, colleges, current literature, etc.

Free Material Available.—A free circular is being sent out, upon request, giving additional information. Its title is, *Bulletin of Bible and Hebrew History.* If you have already seen it, please do not ask for another copy, because it is in short supply. But if you have not seen it, you may send a three-cent stamp to cover postage on one copy.

In Addition to Above Circular, Further Material in Preparation.—The title of the new circular is, *Restoration of Social Justice to Religious Belief.* It emphasizes that the process of restoration has already begun, and that these advertisements and circulars are intended to promote the process. The new material will not be ready for some time, however. But if you wish to have a copy, send an additional stamp at once, so as to be in line for it when ready. A request *not* accompanied by a three-cent stamp (or two three-cent stamps in case both circulars are desired) will necessarily bring no results. The great majority of those asking for the printed matter have carefully included postage. And please try not to confuse the two circulars; the first being, *Bulletin of Bible and Hebrew History,* already printed; and second, *Restoration of Social Justice to Religious Belief,* in preparation. You do not incur any responsibility (financial or otherwise) in requesting the printed matter.—L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, N. Y.

(ADVERTISEMENT)

LITERARY SERVICES

HOW TO BECOME A SUCCESSFUL WRITER!

Have you ever asked yourself if you had the talent and ability to become a successful writer? Have you always wished for a complete book which would give you the professional "know-how" so that you could participate in the $25-$500—being currently paid for short and long writing pieces?

NOW YOU HAVE IT!

"YOUR ROAD TO WRITING SUCCESS" (over 50,000 books sold) enables you to learn quickly the secrets of the writing game—professional "know-how" which you cannot obtain from any other source. The scope of the book is truly amazing! Testimonials from leading writers, educators, tv producers, etc., upon request.

Short stories, articles, books and tv plays are fully explained. Additional chapters deal with true stories, juveniles, science-fiction, slicks, biography and copyright, etc. There are 39 information-packed chapters in all!

Send for **"YOUR ROAD TO WRITING SUCCESS"** today! The price is $1.98 postpaid to all countries of the world. This is our guarantee: the book must be worth twice the purchase price to you, else return it for immediate refund, no questions asked. Could anything be fairer? Order today!

MEAD: PUBLISHER, 419 Fourth Avenue
Dept. NJ, New York 16, N. Y.

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE

Buy Your Books through THE *Nation*

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular retail price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the retail price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D. No C. O. D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to
Miss O. LePach

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
833 SIXTH AVENUE NEW YORK 14, N. Y.

Letters

Let's Learn About Africa?

Dear Sirs: We have followed in your magazine several important articles on the African scene, especially those in your special issue of January 1 on colonialism. You are to be commended for your interest in these matters over a long period of time, when other American periodicals seem only now to be discovering Africa.

Our committee feels that the awakening American interest in African affairs can have a very significant effect upon that continent provided we use our power in an enlightened manner to the benefit of the emergent peoples rather than in support of the colonial powers and white supremacy. The American record on colonial affairs at the ninth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations was definitely not an enlightened one. Only after much persuasion did we agree to return to the committee on Southwest Africa. Aside from this reluctance our abstention on key votes regarding Morocco, Tunisia, Cyprus, and South Africa, coupled with the statements of our representatives, gave the clear impression that the United States was lining up on the side of the colonial powers. This is nothing short of tragic in a world struggle whose outcome will be determined far more by the sincerity of our allegiance to basic democratic principles than by our armed might.

We invite the support of all men who enjoy freedom and would like to see it extended to the dependent peoples of Africa and the world. Through our bi-monthly bulletin, *Africa Today*, a subscription to which costs $2 a year, we hope to develop an enlightened American opinion. It is published at our headquarters, 28 East Thirty-fifth Street, New York 16.

GEORGE W. SHEPHERD, JR.,
Executive Director, American Committee on Africa
New York

The Sobell Case

Dear Sirs: On the eve of Thanksgiving Day, Morton Sobell, serving a thirty-year prison sentence following his conviction on charges arising out of the Rosenberg case, wrote to his wife, Helen: "This is the fifth Thanksgiving that marks my time in prison. And even though I am here on this barren rock I am grateful for ever so much. . . . I am grateful for all those who feel that I am worth saving. . . . I am thankful that our children are growing up into real people, like their mother. That a friend bore false witness against me, that a prosecutor betrayed the trust placed in him for his own selfish gain, that a politician fought to elevate himself on my shoulders, none of this can weaken my faith in unspoiled man, in his goodness of heart. . . ."

Dr. Harold C. Urey, after studying the trial transcript, stated: "Sobell's sentence of thirty years is completely out of line with any evidence of wrongdoing which the government was believed to present."

Will readers of *The Nation* join me in writing to James V. Bennett, Director of Prisons, Washington, D. C., demanding that Sobell be removed from Alcatraz, a fortress prison designed for uncontrollable desperadoes, to a federal prison near New York so that his mother and his devoted wife may visit him without incurring the crushing expense of a cross-continent trip.

Brooklyn MURIEL I. SYMINGTON

China Flood Victims

Dear Sirs: The Fellowship of Reconciliation has launched a campaign to induce President Eisenhower to make available a generous portion of America's surplus food to the victims of last summer's record-breaking floods in China, which inundated most of that country's vital rice bowl. The Fellowship is urging that local Food for China committees be organized. It does not want to see political conditions attached to the offer. It hopes not only that the mountains of food jamming America's storehouses may be drawn on to save the lives of hungry people but that in the process of giving we may discover a different approach to those who have been labeled our enemies than the bombs and other weapons with which we are so preoccupied. Headquarters of the Fellowship are at 21 Audubon Avenue, New York.

ALFRED HASSLER
New York

YOU CAN NOW PLACE SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR THE FOLLOWING MAGAZINES IN ENGLISH TO BE MAILED TO YOUR ADDRESS FROM NEW YORK CITY.

SOVIET UNION

Multicolored monthly pictorial. **LIFE IN THE U. S. S. R. THROUGH THE CAMERA EYE.** Each issue gives an illustrated review of the most important events in the U. S. S. R. Large format.

SOVIET WOMAN

Richly illustrated monthly devoted to social, political, industrial, scientific and cultural activities of Soviet Women.

SOVIET LITERATURE

Illustrated monthly. Offers the best in contemporary writing in English translation of Soviet prose, poetry, dramaturgy and literary criticism.

NEW TIMES

Authoritative weekly devoted to foreign policy of the Soviet Union and other countries and current events in international life.

NEWS

Published in English only. **FORTNIGHTLY TORCHLIGHT OF WORLD EVENTS.** Surveys and discusses daily international developments. Devoted to promotion of closer understanding between the Peoples of the U. S. S. R. and the rest of the world.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Monthly. A new addition to the list of magazines from the U. S. S. R. in English. Devoted to news analysis as related to major international developments.

HUNGARY

A multicolored, illustrated monthly, depicting life in Hungary, its cultural, economic, social developments and achievements. Published in Budapest.

ISSUES MAILED OUT AS SOON AS THEY REACH US. MISSING COPIES REPLACED.
In order to receive the Jan., 1955 issues please place your order within the next 30 days.
Ask for our D-Rate Card.

FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORPORATION

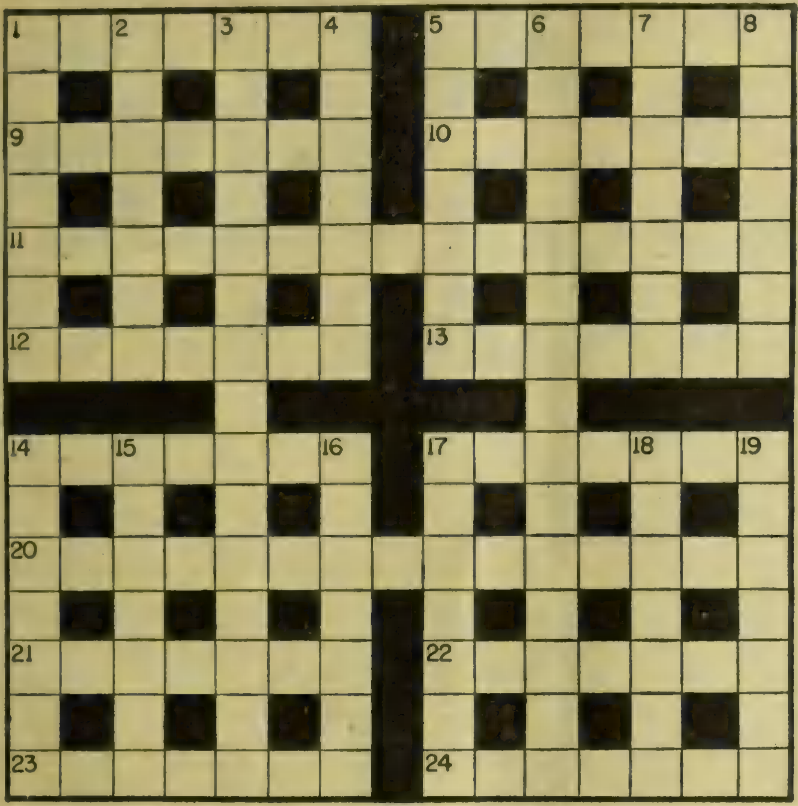
55 WEST 56 STREET
New York 19, N. Y.

GRamercy 3-2018-19

822 BROADWAY (Cor. 12 St.)
New York 3, N. Y.

Crossword Puzzle No. 601

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 No I. C. C. in the London street for this sort of floater. (4, 3)
5 On guard in fencing? (7)
9 The maiden of the house of the head of 11 was all this. (7)
10 Camera shot to an expert, and a remedy for everything. (7)
11 Money in the thing that makes the paper, it seems, to be in the plant. (4–2–3–6)
12 "That ______ mood, in which the burthen of the mystery . . . is lightened. (Wordsworth) (7)
13 Plunked down in Japan. (7)
14 Roomy? (7)
17 Dries up on horseback. (7)
20 It wouldn't be appropriate to find the U. N. O. and U. S. confused in where a Senator is supposed to be. (15)
21 To rise stiffly. (7)
22 Coward's lives? (7)
23 Abstracts. (7)
24 Mislead. (7)

DOWN

1 Is such a thrust forgotten? (Perhaps not by the receiver.) (4, 3)
2 A recoil of corselets. (7)
3 Not loveletters exhibited in court. (10, 5)
4 Indeed not! (7)
5 Seasons pelts. (7)
6 Study a problem touching husband-and-wife murder? (The job isn't bungled, by implication.) (10, 5)
7 Escapades? Take no notice! (7)
8 Mineral color, rather austere. (7)
14 Rose. (7)
15 Acting like Biblical wine? (7)
16 Do they put on fat? (7)
17 Archaic way of determining the one granting admission? (In a very loud voice, no doubt!) (7)
18 Red meal, stone-ground. (7)
19 Those who don't give a hang, might not. (7)

• • • • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 600

ACROSS:—1 INFINITESIMAL; 10 and 21 down OUT OF ORDER; 11 EBULLIENT; 12 INFURIATE; 13 MADAM; 14 CADDY MASTERS; 19 HEAVY DRAGOON; 22 LOINS; 24 TRICKSTER; 25 CHARIVARI; 26 IRENE; 27 MINOR PROPHETS.

DOWN:—2 NOTIFY; 3 INFIRMARY; 4 ICELANDER; 5 EXUDE; 6 ISLAM; 7 ABERDEEN; 8 DORIC; 9 ATOMISM; 15 MAGNIFICO; 16 STOCKFISH; 17 CHALICE; 18 BALI-BALI; 20 ATTEST; 23 SLIGO; 24 TRAMP.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York.

RESORTS

50 Miles to *FOREST HOUSE*
Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes. All sports.
FOREST HOUSE
Lake Mahopac, N. Y. • Tel. Mahopac 8-3449

For Your YEAR-ROUND Vacation Plans
CARAN LODGE
Sylvan Lake • Hopewell Junction • New York
60 miles from New York on Taconic Parkway
Tennis. Folk Dancing and Singing. [illegible] cozy fireplaces. 10 minutes from James Baird Golf Course. Children's Day Camp. Food . . . Superb and Abundant.
Take a drive and have Sunday Dinner with us
Reservations:
New York HI 6-7506 Hopewell Junction 6-2632

THE PINES. Modern year-round retreat for adults in the Blue Mountains of Pennsylvania Dutch Country. Continental cuisine. Intimate group of congenial people. 95 miles from N. Y. C., 60 miles from Philadelphia. Write: Mrs. Ann Wunthal, Danielsville, R. D. 1, Penna. Tel.: Bath Te 7-6501.

RESTAURANT

BALALAIKA
157 West 56 Street
New York City
Gypsy Orchestra
Dining—Dancing
Two Shows Nightly
Banquet Department
For reservations call PLaza 7-2334

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS by professionally trained psychologist-graphologist. Commercial and industrial personnel selection. Vocational guidance. Marital, personal, emotional problems. Fee $3.00. **Dr. Hans Weil, 7½ Jane St., N. Y. C. 14. Telephone: CH 3-7880.**

AUDIO

HI FIDELITY
RADIO-PHONOGRAPH
sales, installation and service
VECTOR LABS
217 3rd Ave. • N. Y. C. 3 • GR 3-7686

PERSONALS

ENGLISH BICYCLE, 3-speed, fully equipped, **expertly assembled—$44.95—unassembled $39.95.** Standard Brand Dist., 143 Fourth Ave. (13th & 14th Sts.), N. Y. C. GR 3-7819. **1 hour free parking or 2 tokens.**

ON YOUR next trip east or west on U. S. Highway 80 stop at Guilbert's Pharmacy, Gila Bend, Arizona. An oasis in the desert.

Advertising Rates

CLASSIFIED
74¢ a line (6 words)
Three-line minimum
•
CLASSIFIED DISPLAY
$7.42 per inch (minimum)
Remittance must accompany all orders
•
The NATION
333 SIXTH AVENUE
New York 14, N. Y.
CHelsea 2-8400

Printed in the U. S. A. by Steinberg Press, Inc., Morgan & Johnson Aves., Brooklyn 6, N. Y.

To Introduce You to the Pleasures of Belonging to

Around-the-World Shoppers Club

You are invited to join for a

3 MONTH TRIAL PERIOD for only $5.00 (A SAVING OF $2.50)

Now you too can share this wonderful around-the-world shopping adventure in search of beautiful and unusual gifts—and at the lowest rates we have ever offered! The special $5 Trial Subscription Offer will save you $2.50 . . . and bring you 3 exquisite, valuable discoveries of real distinction direct from their countries of origin—if you act now! Just imagine, every month this unique, world-wide shopping club will send to your door a surprise gift package from across the seas . . . perhaps from the colorful native bazaars of North Africa, or from an island paradise in the Pacific, or perhaps from a sophisticated metropolis on the Continent, or from almost any exciting faraway corner of the globe.

A Thrilling Surprise For You Every Month From an Exotic Land Across the Seas!

Yes, being a member of Around-the-World Shoppers Club is like having Aladdin's Lamp for your very own—with far-ranging genies bringing you fabulous gifts from the remotest countries of the earth! You won't know what your gift will be until you open the package. The only hint will be the stamps from some far-off land! We never know what we will send you until it is on its way—there is no telling from month to month just what unexpected find our representatives will happen upon. But this we do know: when you join the Around-the-World Shoppers Club, life becomes a more exciting, a more rewarding experience for you than it has ever been before.

Think of it—the days of pulse-quickening anticipation . . . and then month after month the great thrill of discovery when you take your gift from its wrappings, only a few days removed from exotic places and distant shores! It may be an example of fine Florentine leather work from that historic city of the Renaissance, or it may be a package from mysterious India, containing a strangely beautiful work of hand-wrought silver in symbolic design. Other shipments may bring you an old-world wood carving from Switzerland, a handwoven creation from South America, or a sparkling piece of Swedish glassware, or a chic product of France.

Conversation Pieces From Abroad

Discoveries like these are not "flashes in the pan." Our shoppers are masters at searching out the most characteristic and striking examples of every culture. They not only attend the great international fairs and exhibitions, but they travel the highways and byways of foreign lands to discover the unique, the unusual.

With each package will come the fascinating story of the origin and significance of the article you receive, adding its own special glamour to every shipment.

3 Exotic Treasures For Less Than $2 Each!

Ordinarily, the cost of each gift would be $2.50, or $7.50 for three. By taking advantage of the Special Introductory Offer, you save $2.50—so that the cost to you is an amazingly low $1.67 apiece! How can we do it? The secret is known to every experienced traveler—the magic of the American dollar. Foreign nations are in urgent need of American dollars to support native industries. They are glad to offer tremendous merchandise values in exchange. Thus you get more for your money—and at the same time you are doing your bit to improve world conditions by lending a helping hand to our neighbors around the world. In addition, of course, our representatives are prepared to buy up complete stocks and often do. This invariably permits enormous additional savings which we are able to pass on to you.

You Pay Nothing Extra For Membership

It costs nothing to join the Around-the-World Shoppers Club. There are no membership fees or dues. You pay only for the regular monthly selections of merchandise. Your Special Introductory Membership pays for 3 monthly shipments from abroad, each from a different country.

Read This Remarkable No-Risk Guarantee

We are so confident that you will be more than delighted with your membership that we offer you this unprecedented guarantee: If you wish to cancel your membership after the first shipment, we will refund your $5 in full, and you may keep your first package free of any cost to you whatsoever!

Join Now and Save!

Better start your membership right now while this special money-saving offer is still in effect. Use the coupon below. If subscribing for Gift Memberships—a grand idea—enclose names and addresses of recipients (they will receive handsome cards announcing your gift). But by all means, get your subscription in the mail at once.

NOTE: The gifts are shipped directly to you from points of origin all over the world, prepaid. Thus, you become an importer without any of the headaches which usually attend importations. We guarantee that the gifts will be delivered to you without damage and that they will be worth much more than the price you pay.

READ WHAT MEMBERS SAY ABOUT THE CLUB:

"It's such fun! When the mailman brings my exciting packages with foreign stamps on them, I become so excited as a little child on Christmas. I am never disappointed in the contents."
—*S. E., Milwaukee, Wisc.*

"I must tell you how thrilled I was with the gifts I have received. They are exquisite and a joy to own."
—*A. H. O., Indianapolis, Ind.*

"All my gifts are very lovely and unusual. They all come carefully packed and in good condition. I am deeply grateful to you for your prompt and efficient service."
—*B. A. P., Ann Arbor, Michigan*

"I thoroughly enjoy reading, more than once, the leaflet enclosed with each gift. It takes me, for a while, to the very spot where the article was created."
—*O. W. L., Akron, Ohio*

GIVE A MEMBERSHIP TO SOMEONE SPECIAL!

What could make a more interesting and out-of-the-ordinary gift than a membership in the Around-the-World Shoppers Club? Who would imagine that such delightful and unusual gift items from abroad cost so little in American dollars? Month after month they are delivered to the recipient from overseas to serve as continuing reminders of your thoughtfulness.

Around-the-World Shoppers Club

71 CONCORD ST., NEWARK 5, N. J.

Around-the-World Shoppers Club, Dept. 606-Y
71 Concord Street, Newark 5, N. J.

I accept your introductory offer and enclose $5.00. Please enroll me as a member and send me three monthly shipments of the Club's selections of foreign merchandise to be sent to me direct from their countries of origin.

Name.. (Please Print)

Address..

City, Zone, State..

(NOTE: All shipments come to you postpaid and duty-free. However, the U. S. Post Office Dept. charges a service fee of 15c for delivering foreign packages; collected by your postman and cannot be prepaid.)

CANADA: 3 mos. $5.50. Delivered to your home without payment of additional duty or postage. Address: 971 Timothy St., Montreal 24, Quebec.

Introducing a New Weekly Column

Washington in Focus

by Max Freedman

BURLINGAME PUBLIC LIBRARY Burlingame, Calif.

THE Nation

January 15, 1955
20¢

Little Man, Watch Out!

Notes on the Bull Market

by Carey McWilliams

Malice in Blunderland *Paul Blanshard*

Charter Revision? No *Merle Kling*

Sedition in Louisville *Jennings Perry*

EVERY
WEEK
SINCE
1865

The Salt of the Earth

Ye are the salt of the earth: but if the salt have lost his savour wherewith shall it be salted? it is thenceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out, and to be trodden under foot of men.

—Matthew. v. 13

A Parable for 1955 . . .

. . . A New Punishment for an Old 'Crime'

This Was the Crime:

FOR sixty-one years men have labored to bring forth the salt of the earth—its mineral riches. Which is more precious: the mineral wealth of the earth or the men who mine it, smelt it, mill it?

For sixty-one years these men have been organized in the International Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers and they have fought many bitter battles to earn their daily bread; to earn the salt wherewith to salt it.

For sixty-one years those who own the minerals these men dig in the sweat of their brow have tried vainly to steal from the miners, the millworkers and the smelterers that precious "salt" which makes the difference between life and mere existence: their wages, their security, their hopes for an expanding standard of living.

The latest attempt to break this union takes the form of the Taft-Hartley indictment of Maurice Travis, national secretary-treasurer of the union. Like many an honest union leader before him—Bill Haywood, Tom Mooney, Moyer and Pettibone—Travis is being framed. The device this time—the allegation that he falsified the Taft-Hartley "non-Communist" affidavit required of all union leaders.

This Is the Punishment:

MAURICE TRAVIS is well known to the 100,000 men who are organized in the union he heads, and who have elected him in secret ballot for the last eight years. They speak of him as "salt of the earth."

Travis has signed the Taft-Hartley affidavit every year since 1949. Why did the Attorney-General wait five years to issue this indictment?

Why did Vice-President Richard Nixon resort to the most degrading kind of red-baiting in the Rocky Mountain states, where Mine-Mill membership is strong and was active in the recent elections in defeating many Republican candidates?

Why did the Attorney-General issue the indictment exactly six days before the elections?

Why did the National Labor Relations Board hold hearings on Travis' affidavit when the courts have repeatedly held that it had no authority to investigate the validity of such affidavits?

What stoolpigeons will be brought forth at the impending trial, and for what purpose? All these questions can be answered in a single sentence:

The purpose of the NLRB hearings, the indictment, the impending trial, the whole frameup—is to try to smash Mine-Mill once and for all; to accomplish what sixty-one years of trying could not accomplish.

Webster defines 'Salt of the Earth' as: 'The sprinkling of people who preserve and give tone to the rest.' Such are the 100,000 men of Mine-Mill; such is Maurice Travis, one of their elected leaders.

PROTEST TO ATTORNEY-GENERAL HERBERT J. BROWNELL, DEMANDING THAT HE DROP THE INDICTMENT OF MAURICE TRAVIS. CONTRIBUTE TO THE MINE-MILL & SMELTER WORKERS DEFENSE COMMITTEE: TABOR BUILDING, SIXTEEN AND CURTIS, DENVER 2, COLORADO.

(Advertisement)

Volume 180, Number 3
New York, Saturday, January 15, 1955

THE *Nation*
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

Little Man, Watch Out! . . *by Carey McWilliams*

THE Federal Reserve Board's decision to raise margin requirements on stock purchases from 50 to 60 per cent made page one from coast to coast and was the editorial theme-of-the-week. The public's interest in the announcement is a measure not so much of its importance as of the number of "oldsters" still about who remember what happened in October, 1929. Judging by the excitement, it takes very little to activate the ghostly fears that have haunted the investing public for the last twenty-five years. This boom, unlike that of 1929, seems to frighten nearly everyone.

Last week's extensive discussion, however, left some important questions unanswered. For example, what has induced buyers to enter the market in such numbers and with such enthusiasm in recent months? The market has been going up since September, 1953, but about half the rise has been recorded in the last two months. The upturn in the earlier period has been variously accounted for—reduction of inventories, a good dividend picture despite reduced sales and unused capacity, relaxation of international tensions, a general feeling that the 1953 "shake-out" was nearly over, and many other factors. Explanations of the post-November upsurge are less numerous and less plausible. True, "full recovery" has been promised for 1955, but the most optimistic forecasts suggested a recovery only to 1953 or perhaps slightly higher levels. One important forecaster found "encouragement" in the curious data that investment for new plant and equipment in 1954 had declined only 8 per cent and that projections for 1955 showed a decline of only 5 per cent. Despite variations in emphasis, analyses of the short-range economic outlook offered scant inducement for massive speculation.

For the last few months, however, the long-range picture has been painted with a radiance so daring that the prospects for the immediate future have apparently been forgotten. The long-range optimism has in turn largely rested on what T. Balogh, in our issue of October 23, characterized as "voodoo prosperity," or prosperity by incantation. The optimistic projections may or may not be sustained—they are not inherently incredible—but there is little in the short-range outlook to justify them. The American economy is not an arrow shot into the sky; its underpinnings are real and tangible. Sooner or later, therefore, the gap between stock prices and production indices must narrow, unless of course the pattern of 1929 is to be repeated.

In the wake of the elections discreet warning signals began to go up. *Business Week* reported on December 25 that the "Fed"—meaning the Federal Reserve Board—would not "keep pressing down on the accelerator as it has since the reversal of the hard-money policy in May, 1953." Merely by dropping an adjective, "active," from the phrase "active ease" used to describe its policy of keeping the banking system supplied with ample reserves of credit, the board had waved a flag. But what special significance, if any, is to be attached to the fact that the warning signals began to appear *after* the elections? Did the Administration fear that it might be held responsible for another 1929 stock-market débâcle?

WITTINGLY or unwittingly the Administration had set the stage for the broker's field day which lasted from early November to January 5. The President had inaugurated the holiday, so to speak, when he announced on October 25 that he could foresee the likelihood that within less than a decade the national output would increase from today's $336,000,000,000 to $500,000,000,000. The next day his rosy vision was officially confirmed by a special report of the Joint Committee on the Economic Report which might best be described as an exercise in statistical muscle-flexing. By projecting various trends the staff of the committee produced an estimate of gross annual output for 1965 of $535,000,000,000. At about the same time McGraw-Hill released a report estimating the gross national output for 1970 at $562,000,000,000. Then Henry Luce's *Fortune* came up, in a mood of jingle bells and Santa Claus, with predictions of an average annual cash income, after taxes, of $6,000 per family in 1980.

The President's October statement was prompted, no doubt, by the pending election. It was not deliberately aimed at the stock market. But words have wings, and the rhetoric of confidence is contagious, even competitive. Soon the monthly reviews and newsletters issued by the citadels of hard money and sound finance were repeating the "golden future" theme, adding an extra gloss here and there. Thus the National City Bank Monthly Letter for December devoted about half of its twelve closely printed pages to a review entitled Progress

In This Issue

EDITORIALS

Little Man, Watch Out! by *Carey McWilliams* 41

The Shape of Things 43

ARTICLES

Washington in Focus by *Max Freedman* 44

Charter Revision: No Debate Now by *Merle Kling* 46

Sedition in Louisville: The Braden Affair by *Jennings Perry* 50

Malice in Blunderland: Report on the Foundations by *Paul Blanshard* 51

BOOKS

Sixty-five Days in Russia by *Ernest J. Simmons* 54

Fiction Roundup by *Stanley Cooperman* 55

ART by *S. Lane Faison, Jr.* 56

THEATER by *Harold Clurman* 57

RECORDS by *B. H. Haggin* 59

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 602 by *Frank W. Lewis* opposite 60

Editorial Board

Freda Kirchwey — *Editor and Publisher*
Carey McWilliams — *Editorial Director*
Lillie Shultz — *Director, Nation Associates*
Victor H. Bernstein — *Managing Editor*
J. Alvarez del Vayo — *Foreign Editor*

Martin Solow — *Assistant to the Publisher*

Harold Clurman — *Theater*
B. H. Haggin — *Music*
Gladys Whiteside — *Copy Editor*
Caroline Whiting — *Assistant Literary Editor*
Mary Simon — *Advertising Manager*

Contributing Editors: Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus, Keith Hutchison, H. H. Wilson, W. Macmahon Ball, Maxwell Geismar, Bruce Catton.

The Nation, January 15, 1955. Volume 180, No. 3

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1955, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Company, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

Unlimited. Conclusion: "If we progress at as high and consistent a rate in the next eighty years as in the past, our grandchildren or great-grandchildren will have average family incomes of about $25,000 of 1953 purchasing power—a level now attained by only the top 1 per cent of the nation's families." Cited with approval were the President's forecast and the McGraw-Hill and Joint Committee reports. But approval was withheld from an earlier report by the Conference on Economic Progress which had sinned grievously by declaring a national output of five to six hundred billion was necessary to maintain full employment in 1960. To quote: "The use of unemployment as a bad word carries over from the harsh days of the depression."

In the same high holiday spirit, the survey issued by the Guaranty Trust Company reviewed the report of the Joint Committee in its December issue under the heading Toward New Frontiers. The new frontier is Industrial Progress, which, like population growth, is without end or limitation. True, growth brings bothersome problems. For example, additional schools, roads, and "other necessary public services . . . increase the financial pressure." But we need not worry overtime about disagreeable items of this sort since "there is an increasing tendency to make some of these services self-supporting by requiring direct pay for their use, as in the case of toll roads, bridges, and tunnels."

THE repetition at the highest levels of government and finance of these optimistic long-range forecasts certainly did not interfere with the brokers' well-organized efforts to lure "little people" into the market in droves. "The talk in Wall Street," reports the New York *World-Telegram*, "doesn't go far before the 'little investor' comes into the conversation, and some have even gone as far as to dub this the 'era' of the small investor." Sylvia F. Porter estimated that 2,000,000 buyers had purchased stocks for the first time since the start of 1952. Most of these new buyers fall in the income bracket between $5,000 and $25,0000, and the New York Stock Exchange reports that the "less than $10,000 bracket" is as important as the "over $25,000." To some extent, no doubt, this invasion of the market by an army of little buyers has been stimulated by the "monthly plan" initiated about a year ago which enables the investor to come in on a basis as low as $40 every three months. Both brokerage houses and exchanges have increased the tempo of their sales activities by larger mailings, heavier advertising budgets including radio spot announcements, more door-to-door solicitation, and various programs to encourage small-scale speculation. The mutual funds have also played a major role in this process. Aided by lyrical visions, not of a chicken in every pot, but of pots of gold at the rainbow's end in 1960, 1970, and 1980, and using new sales techniques, the brokers have succeeded in shepherding the little lambs to the market.

The Federal Reserve Board's decision may check but is not likely to stop the bull market. Quickly tagged in the financial papers as merely "a slap on the wrist," it applies only to new purchases. If the board were to raise margin requirements to 100 per cent, this would not be absolute assurance that the current speculative boom would be halted. Not only can margin requirements be evaded, but stock-market credit is hard to isolate from other forms of credit. As the *Wall Street Journal* notes, "If you insist on flooding your yard, it is next to impossible to keep the tennis court dry." The board's action will have—indeed, has had—a deterrent effect, but it should be followed by the "friendly" and "informative" study of the market's rise in these last few months which Senator Fulbright, who will head the Senate Banking Committee during the next two years, has proposed. More than "a tap on the wrist" will be needed to discipline the powerful forces promoting this most recent broker's field day to a larger measure of social responsibility. The "optimism" that prevails in these quarters is hard, cynical, and professional.

The Shape of Things

Swan Song?

In his last appearance as chairman of the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, Senator McCarthy was in fine fettle, wisecracking about his "swan song," exchanging caustic comments with obdurate "Fifth Amendment" witnesses, and praising General Electric and Westinghouse for their "very cooperative" attitude in "releasing" employees who had declined to cooperate with him. The atmosphere, however, did not suggest a retirement or swan song. Senator John L. McClellan, who succeeds McCarthy as chairman, appeared to go out of his way to demonstrate that the committee is no longer riven with conflict. "The session was marked by a harmony between the two men," reported the New York *Times*, "a situation that seemed to indicate there would be no lessening of anti-Communist investigations in the new Congress." Even the Peress case, it appears, is still very much alive.

On the same day that McCarthy made his final appearance as chairman, Jack Steele of the Scripps-Howard staff reported from Washington that the House Committee on Un-American Activities has prepared an investigation of "the far-flung and growing legal network set up to defend Communists." The committee wants to know how much is being collected for the legal defense of Communists. It also wants to inquire into the professional standing of lawyers who have invoked the Fifth Amendment when called as witnesses. In view of the fact that several of the witnesses who appeared at Senator McCarthy's "swan-song" session complained that they had been unable to get counsel, the Steele story is of especial interest. If Congress investigates the few lawyers who have been willing to risk their professional reputations, even their right to practice, by accepting retainers from alleged Communists, will not the right to counsel, guaranteed by the Sixth Amendment, be robbed of meaning?

International Gag?

So quaintly ludicrous are the travel restrictions Washington has imposed upon Soviet citizens in the United States that reporters have tried to treat the whole thing as some sort of gag intended to point up the absurdity of Russia's own restrictions. Much as we would like to believe it, we question this theory. The State Department is not famous for a light touch; nor has its cold-war strategy been aimed at kidding the Russians out of their suspicious, ill-humored ways. So when it describes the new rules as "retaliatory" one can assume they are just that: a sample of tit-for-tat diplomacy of a normally heavy-handed kind. Apparently the lines were not even drawn in the interests of security, but merely to mark off areas roughly equivalent to restricted areas in the Soviet Union. The result is a map that might have been designed by an intoxicated June bug.

Secretary Dulles, in his note announcing the restrictions to Ambassador Zaroubin, hints that if Moscow should liberalize existing regulations "this government would in turn be disposed to reconsider in the same spirit its own security requirements." But several facts make this solemn maneuver inopportune. As Mr. Dulles himself points out, the Soviet government considerably loosened its travel controls in June, 1953. This coincided with the general relaxation which followed Stalin's death—and which continues. The result has been a great increase in visas granted to outsiders and in the freedom enjoyed by travelers in Russia, as witness the journey of Marshall MacDuffie, whose frank report is reviewed on page 54 this week.

Instead of suddenly making grim faces through the curtain, it would be more sensible for the State Department to encourage Russians to visit this country, the better to see that we are not getting ready to launch an atomic cataclysm upon the "peace-loving countries" of the Soviet world. This would be a subtler form of reprisal, and one not devoid of political humor.

The Dragon's Tail

Ugly witch hunts are currently under way in Louisville and Miami. (See page 52 for a story on the first; a full report on the Miami scandal, which has been virtually blacked out by the wire services, will appear in an early issue.) Throughout the South the Supreme Court's decision outlawing segregated public schools has temporarily exacerbated racial tensions, particularly over housing. Behind the Braden case in Louisville lurk forces of racial bigotry that formerly marched under the banner of the K. K. K. but today shrewdly parade as "anti-seditionists." The deception is crude but immensely effective. Louisville and Miami are of major interest for other reasons. As Jennings Perry points out, the sting is now in the dragon's tail. Abating at the national level, the virulence of the witch hunt is now greatest at the grass roots.

High on the list of issues to watch in 1955 is anti-subversive activity in the various states. This year forty-four state legislatures convene, in contrast to the fourteen which assembled in 1954. Already organized labor is deeply concerned over state "right-to-work" laws, with a major test coming up shortly in Maryland; but what labor is not yet prepared to recognize is the close connection between state right-to-work laws and state anti-subversive activities—a connection made clear by the article That Boston Labor Probe, in last week's issue.

Come Again, Mr. Caffery!

It was news when Secretary of State Dulles instructed his top representative in Moscow that he should try occasionally to engage the Russians in informal conversation. This sort of thing just isn't done nowadays, and well deserved were the headlines it got.

Still we think that Jefferson Caffery, retiring Ambassador to Egypt, was carrying the new Dulles line to extremes when he issued his advice to aspiring young diplomats: "Don't just sit in the capital, but get to know the country and the people. . . . In the old days it was enough to know the king and people at court, but that is not true any more." What then becomes of the doctrine of guilt by association? Surely Mr. Caffery must know more than one budding young diplomat who has been blighted by hobnobbing with the masses instead of with kings (in good standing).

We find more candid the words of Dr. Henry N. Wriston, who studied the problem for Mr. Dulles and later wrote in *Foreign Affairs* that the Foreign Service officer "requires courage to report a situation as a man sees it, and then to take the consequences." He recognized the existence of young diplomats who lack Don Quixote's chivalrous love of high peril. Such men, cherishing their careers above tilting with bureaucratic or Congressional windmills, will be inclined to avoid "the people"—so often turbulent and non-conservative—and the dangerous intelligentsia, and let the reporting job go hang. Only thus do they have at least a half-chance of fending off "consequences." Ask John Carter Vincent. Ask John P. Davies. Come again, Mr. Caffery!

Washington in Focus

by Max Freedman

A New Weekly Column

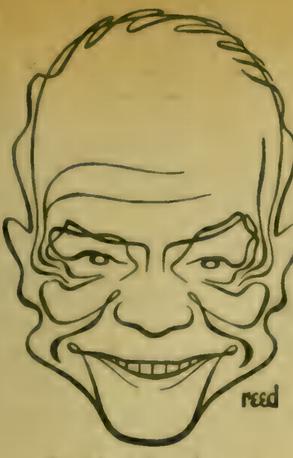
Coincident with the opening of the Eighty-fourth Congress The Nation *introduces a new weekly feature, Washington in Focus, by a veteran Washington correspondent whose job it will be to explore and interpret as well as report. Readers will want to follow Washington in Focus regularly for the fresh slant it will give on what is going on in the White House, on the Hill, in the State Department, and on the other news frontiers of this "newsiest" of the world's capitals. For more about the author see page 55.*

Washington

SOMEONE called the State of the Union message a mixture of platitudes and beatitudes. It certainly raised a clouded ensign before Congress. In one sense it resembled a miscellany more than a message. It contained everything from a rather incoherent tribute to virtue to a plea for clean rivers. Even when seeking the glory of compassion it struck a false note. After speaking of farmers who drudge along on less than $1,000 a year, President Eisenhower said he would submit measures "to assure the steady alleviation of their most pressing concerns." Men who wish to give hope to burdened hearts do not talk this jargon. Here was the President's own extended definition of a "progressive moderate." It proved that he was much more of a moderate than a progressive.

All week the White House had remained curiously aloof from the excitement which always marks the opening of a new Congress. The prophetic little hints given to reporters suggested that the President would do his best to weave old straw into a new pattern. But the sedate calm of the Administration was suddenly disturbed when it found itself entangled in the squalid scurrilities of the Ladejinsky affair.

It is one of the tragedies of Washington that so many officials have had the courage of Scott McLeod's convictions on security problems. By some



President Eisenhower

blundering mischance it was reserved for the Department of Agriculture to see goblins where even Mr. McLeod, that uncertain guardian of the Bill of Rights, saw no cause for alarm. The Administration solved its dilemma by the old trick of speaking with two voices. An embarrassed but unrepentant Mr. Benson was rescued, somewhat reluctantly, by the coerced generosity of Mr. Stassen. As if to complete the confusion, Dr. Ladejinsky, after being certified as a security risk by the Department of Agriculture, was chosen to help save Viet-nam from slipping under Communist rule. This is more than government by paradox; it is government by bungle. It provided a sour prelude to the President's message.

There were other disturbing noises off stage. With almost effortless precision Republicans in Congress confirmed the leadership of their Old Guard. It is much easier for the President to praise unity before the country than it is for him to win unity in his own party. The Republican divisions fell like a sudden defacing shadow across the image of President Eisenhower as a leader above the battle.

But the worst blow came from an unexpected quarter. It was struck by Canada, this country's closest friend and greatest trading partner. The President gave pride of place in his message to the Randall report and the long-delayed opportunities of the reciprocal-trade program. Yet the very day on which he went to Congress, a delegation from the Canadian government arrived here almost breathless with anxiety to plead with the Administration to allow more imports from America's allies and save the Geneva trade agreements from extinction.

It really was rather naughty of the Canadians to make this ill-timed though desperately urgent trip to Washington. They rubbed the bloom from the President's message. For they suddenly gave us a glimpse of the painful problem long discussed in many embassies here. While the Administration has been praising the Randall report, a pallid and tentative document, America's friends have become uneasily aware of new problems quite beyond its limited horizons. Many diplomats are saying that it is not enough for the Democrats to save the reciprocal-trade program from being mutilated by the Republicans. The Democrats must also move beyond the Randall report and design a policy adequate to America's new interests in world trade. There is little sign that the Democratic Party is ready for this adventurous thinking, but at least its attitude is better than the supine satisfaction with which the President's entourage regards the passage in 1955 of a program which should have been indorsed two years ago.

HERE, in short, was no Teddy Roosevelt guarding the public domain against plunder, no Woodrow Wilson lifting men's hearts with a vision of the future, no F. D. R. making the common man feel his voice counted in national affairs, no Harry Truman bravely skirmishing on the frontiers of prejudice. But it would be wrong to judge President Eisenhower's message by these standards. He had a different task and different aims.

The great assumption on which this Administration is charting its policies is that the country is stirred by no impatient fervor of reform and wants no abundant harvest of new legislation. Republican leaders believe voters will be grateful for a period of repose. This makes them value efficiency in administration more than the challenge of reform. A tired nation is always a Tory nation, said Lloyd George, and this reluctance to accept the high adventure of leadership in government may well suit the present temper of Republicanism; but its acceptance would mean the fatal eclipse of the Democratic spirit.

As the President's statement of policy is discussed here, it is gradually being recognized that the Administration has chosen its fighting ground with great skill. The deliberate blurring of sharp edges, the bulging confusion of the message, the ethical overtones masking an intellectual timidity, the appeal to partnership, the easy welcome to Congress as a colleague in government—all these are carefully designed to thrust the Democrats into an awkward defensive position. Until now the Democrats in Congress have allowed President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles to speak as if the Republicans had started a new policy in trying to reduce the armed hatreds that curse and divide the world. To begin with, the Administration has done little more as yet than make an ambiguous tour of the obvious in proclaiming its belief in a policy of coexistence. We still must discover what this policy means in national decision and mutual concession. Yet it remains almost unbelievable that the Democrats have allowed the Eisenhower Administration to parade this policy as a Republican monopoly. If it succeeds at all, the policy will succeed only because the Administration, in changing world conditions, is the fortunate beneficiary of programs conceived and executed long years ago by the Democrats.

The State of the Union message proved yet again that President Eisenhower has far more significance as a personal political force than either his philosophy or his achievements would justify. He thinks the Democrats will hesitate to attack him and, thus hesitating, will paralyze themselves for 1956. As he stood before Congress he wrapped himself in a mantle of good intentions as a shield against criticism.

CHARTER REVISION

No Debate Now . . *by Merle Kling*

[*This year the United Nations must decide whether to hold a "review conference" to discuss revision of the organization's Charter. In last week's* Nation *John Henry Merryman, assistant professor of law at Stanford University, argued in favor of a conference. Herewith Merle Kling, associate professor of political science at Washington University, argues the negative.*

The letters column of this journal is open to the many readers who, we are certain, will want to participate in this discussion of one of the great issues of 1955.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

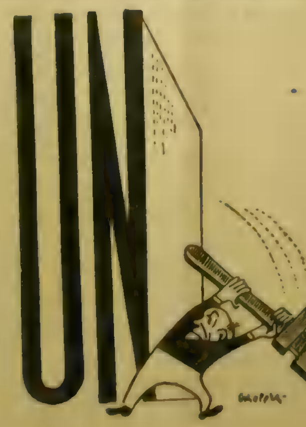
THE Charter of the United Nations (Article 109) provides that the proposal to call a general conference for the purpose of reviewing the Charter shall be placed on the agenda of the tenth annual session of the General Assembly. The conference is to be held if the proposal receives a majority vote in the General Assembly and the vote of any seven members of the Security Council. Thus the veto cannot be exercised on the issue of convening a revisionary conference.

Secretary John Foster Dulles has announced that the Department of State "will favor the calling of the review conference when the question is put to the 1955 session of the United Nations General Assembly," and the Senate has created a special subcommittee to make a study of proposals to amend, revise, or modify the Charter. Encouraged by this official impetus, private organizations, such as church commissions on international peace, women's organizations, and other civic groups, have begun to sponsor institutes and conferences to promote public discussion of the merits and demerits of schemes of Charter revision.

The opportunity to occupy ourselves with the detailed problems of Charter review is a tempting one to those of us who were brought up in the American political tradition. For a significant part of the American heritage, handed down with enthusiasm by school teachers, is the role of documentary revision in American history. A nation on the verge of political disintegration and economic collapse, generations of school children have learned, decisively changed the course of its development by abandoning an unsatisfactory document, the Articles of Confederation, and substituting, in Gladstone's phrase, "the greatest work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man"—the Constitution of the United States. Exploiting this element of the American tradition, supporters of world-government movements have been eager to draw an analogy between the improvement effected by the American Constitutional Convention of 1787 and the potentialities of the U. N. for the reformation of the world in 1955.

DESPITE its attractiveness, however, a "great debate" on Charter revision is precisely what our country does *not* need today. There are several reasons why such a debate would serve no constructive purpose.

1. *Discussions regarding Charter revision are doomed to legal sterility.* However enchanted those who study Charter review may become with devices which will alter the voting procedure in the Security Council and abolish the veto, and however suggestive and original plans of "weighted" voting, in contrast with the legal principle of equal voting rights for sovereign states, may appear, the contemporary political atmosphere will make any substantial modification of the Charter legally impossible. For the Charter itself (Article 108) requires that amendments must be "ratified in accordance with their respective constitutional processes by two-thirds of the members of the United Nations, including all the permanent members of the Security Council." Amendments to the Charter, consequently, are themselves subject to veto by any of the Big Five powers—the United States, Great Britain, France, China, and the U. S. S. R. Thus the legal abolition of the veto is itself subject to veto. In positive terms, an amendment to the Charter of the United Nations requires both the approval of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R. and a two-thirds' majority of the members present and voting in the United States Senate.



Pertinent to any realistic analysis of plans for Charter revision, therefore, is the fact that the Soviet Union has been consistently antagonistic to contemplated changes in the Charter. Actually Soviet hostility toward documentary revision antedates the formal establishment of the United Nations: at the San Francisco Conference of 1945 which drew up the Charter delegates from the Soviet Union spoke in favor of requiring a three-fourths' majority in the General Assembly in order to convene a Charter-review conference. Andrei Vishinsky, on September 21, 1953, told the General Assembly that "those who want to revise the Charter would like to turn the United Nations Organization not into an effective instrument for the defense of peace . . . but into an instrument of an aggressive policy which, in itself, constitutes a threat to the peace." Exhibiting the usual Soviet concern for the preservation of existing voting procedures in the Security Council, Vishinsky also declared that "the question of the revision of the Charter will doubtless be utilized by some powers in new attempts to subvert the United Nations, and particularly the Security Council, and, *ipso facto*, to subvert the very cause of peace." Obviously, the lapse of nine years has brought no shift in the Soviet position on Charter revision, especially as it might impinge on voting procedure in the Security Council.

The prevailing state of Soviet-American relations makes it possible to predict with confidence that no significant change in the Charter of the United Nations will obtain the agreement among the Big Five required by the Charter's provisions for amendment.

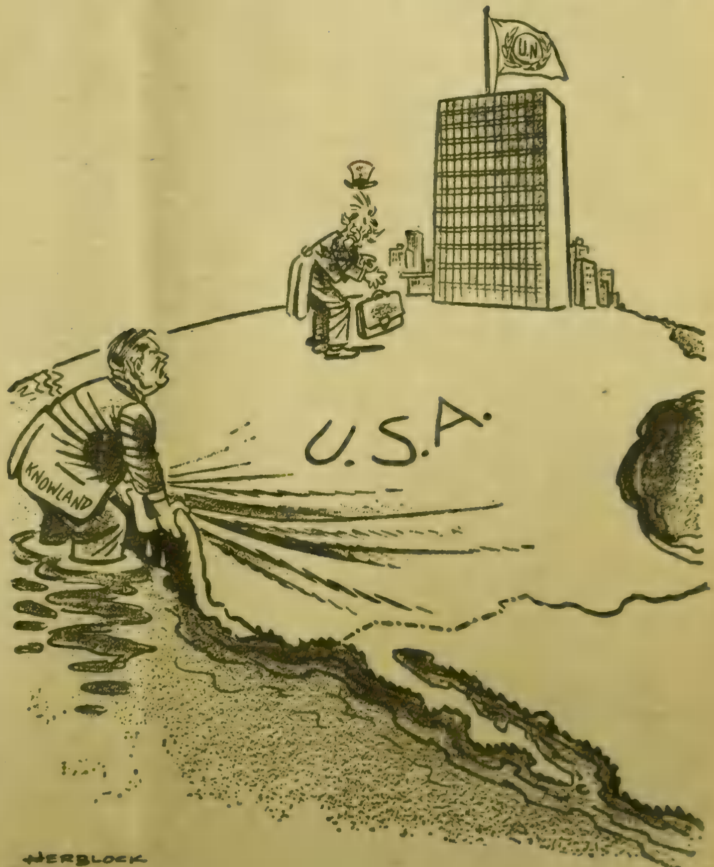
2. *A "great debate" on Charter revision will not educate the American people in the realities of international politics.* The political environment and the enormous symbolic significance and prestige enjoyed by the Constitution encourage our citizens to translate issues which are essentially social, economic, and political into constitutional and legalistic controversies. This predisposition finds striking expression in our tendency to look to the Supreme Court for the resolution of some of our most bitter and delicate controversies. We ask the Supreme Court, through its interpretation of the First Amendment, to determine whether or not the Communist Party is a legal party. We ask the Supreme Court to participate in the ultimate disposition of tidelands oil. We regard the Supreme Court as the proper agency to ban segregation in the schools.

In the arena of international politics and international organization, this constitutional and legalistic bias of American politics distorts our perspective. Decision-making in international politics fundamentally reflects the distribution of power among the various sovereign states in the world. Written agreements which conform to the configuration of power tend to be respected; treaties, charters, and covenants—regardless of the solemnity of the ceremonies marking their conclusions—which attempt to ignore the distribution of power in the world tend to be disregarded or discarded. In view of the American proclivity for the constitutional formulation of issues, an intensive discussion of detailed proposals for Charter revision would undoubtedly give rise to expectations which could not possibly be realized. No change in the language of the Charter can nullify the realities of Soviet industrial and military power. And no juggling of words, no feats of legal draftsmanship, can dissipate the clouds which hang over Soviet-American relations.

Consideration of proposals for Charter revision, by catering to the American predisposition to constitutional solutions, would focus attention on an approach to international affairs which is fraught with potentialities for disillusionment. By failing to aid Americans to understand the role of power in world politics, by diverting energies to pseudo-issues, the incipient debate on Charter review, in so far as educational accomplishments are concerned, will be largely futile.

3. *The international-propaganda rewards of a debate on Charter review are likely to prove dubious.* It is sometimes argued that even if no tangible changes in the Charter are effected, the debates on the proposed amendments will enlist world opinion on the side of the United States. The available evidence, however, does not warrant the view that the United States can achieve a cheap and striking propaganda triumph through its vociferous advocacy of Charter revision. Important non-Communist and anti-Communist states have expressed skepticism regarding the outcome of a Charter-review conference. Oesten Unden, Foreign Affairs Minister of Sweden, for example, at the eighth session of the General Assembly, declared:

> I believe that a scrutiny of the suggestions for significant amendments to the Charter would reveal that they either reflect illusions as to the political reality in which we are living or have some other aim than the realization of the proposed changes.
>
> In conclusion, I should like to summarize my remarks by expressing the opinion that a revision of the basic parts of the Charter constitutes no immediate or important goal. As a matter of fact, the Charter is, on the whole, satisfactory. Provided that there is sufficient will to cooperate, the machinery of the present Charter can render excellent service. . . .
>
> The demands for revision . . . would render the contents of the Charter more utopian; they would remove its provisions still further from reality. The general public should not, however, have the illusion that such proposals would constitute



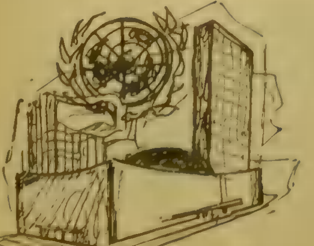
"I may just yank out the whole thing."

a short-cut to a more secure world and a more stable peace. The prospects for lasting peace depend on the international policies pursued by the states, particularly by the great powers, and not on the drawing up of perfect provisions in the Charter of the United Nations.

With a caution not unusual in the conduct of British foreign affairs, Selwyn Lloyd advised delegates to the General Assembly "to refrain from taking up rigid positions." However, he added: "I am sure that all of us should ponder very carefully indeed the wise words spoken in the Assembly this morning by the representative of Sweden . . it must be remembered that any proposals for the revision of the Charter are subject to the exercise of the veto." Perhaps voicing the British attitude with greater frankness, the London *Times* has commented: "It is not easy to see how the revision of any document can change the awkward facts of international life." An Indian delegate, possibly reflecting "neutralist" sentiments, has informed the Assembly that India neither supports nor rejects the idea of revising the Charter. And Hugo Hergel, representing Denmark, has expressed the belief that present difficulties cannot be solved merely by a legalistic revision of the Charter.

Given the preoccupation of peoples with local issues, given the present conditions of literacy, education, and access to information in the world, a debate on Charter revision, except in a very few countries, will not penetrate below a thin veneer of government officials. A spectacular propaganda coup with the world's millions is beyond the grasp of the supporters of Charter revision. And sophisticated diplomats are likely to discount the value of the unrealistic, sanctimonious, and inevitably fruitless concentration on verbal formulations which a debate on Charter review will stimulate.

4. *A debate on Charter revision will once again focus attention on the veto—a straw man in international politics.* A favorite object of attack for Charter reformers is Article 27 with its requirement of unanimity on substantive matters among the United States, Great Britain, France, China, and the U. S. S. R. It is rare that indifference toward the United Nations extends so far as to include ignorance of the problem of the veto. Were it not for Soviet manipulation of voting procedure in the Security Council, some appear convinced, the United Nations could operate as an effective agency for the maintenance of international peace.



Examination of the actual use of the veto, however, points to the conclusion that the veto is primarily a symptom of international friction. The number of times that resolutions have failed of adoption in the Security Council because of the negative vote of a permanent member, despite seven affirmative votes, and the issues affected, are shown below:

Number of Vetoes	*Issue*
4	U. N. policy toward Franco government of Spain.
6	Balkan conflict, involving Greece and neighbors.
1	British and French troops in Syria and Lebanon.
1	Corfu Channel dispute between Albania and Great Britain.
2	U. N. investigation of Communist assumption of power in Czechoslovakia.
1	Atomic-energy control plan.
3	Disarmament plans.
3	Indonesia.
2	Israeli-Arab conflict.
1	Berlin question.
1	Peace Observation Commission for Thailand.
1	Reference to Guatemalan complaint to Organization of American States.
7	Korea, China, germ warfare, etc.
2	Secretary Generalship of U. N.
28	Admission of new members.
63	

Of these sixty-three vetoes, the Soviet Union alone has been responsible for sixty-one; France and the Soviet Union together insisted that a resolution dealing with the Franco regime of Spain was substantive and not procedural; and France alone vetoed a resolution to establish a commission to supervise fulfilment of a Security Council resolution on the cessation of hostilities between Indonesia and the Netherlands. Obviously, the U. S. S. R. has been the state most concerned with the veto.

But in the light of this record what would the United Nations have accomplished which it failed to accomplish because of Article 27? With United States indorsement the General Assembly originally approved a resolution that chiefs of mission should be withdrawn from Madrid; later, again with United States indorsement, it rescinded the resolution. Would United Nations policy toward the Franco government of Spain have differed in the absence of Soviet vetoes?

The decisive factor in the Greek civil war and Balkan border conflicts, of course, was the enunciation and implementation of the Truman Doctrine by the United States rather than any action or failure of action on the part of the United Nations. A Soviet veto of a resolution expressing confidence that foreign troops would be withdrawn from Syria and Lebanon did not hinder the subsequent withdrawal of British and French troops. The Soviet veto of a resolution finding Albania guilty of laying unnotified minefields in the Corfu Straits was superseded by a decision of the International Court of Justice.

Could the U. N. have sent an investigating team into Czechoslovakia over Soviet opposition, regardless of the voting provisions in the Charter? Do we wish to subscribe to an atomic-energy control plan not adhered to by the Soviets? Do we want to disarm if the Soviets are uncommitted to disarmament? Obviously, in all these cases Soviet agreement is indispensable, and the requirement of agreement by Article 27 of the Charter merely recognizes political and military realities.

The Soviet vetoes on Indonesia, including the veto of a resolution extending congratulations to the Dutch and Indonesians, in no substantial way affected the transfer of sovereignty from the Netherlands to Indonesia. In view of Arab opposition to the proposals supported by most states in the Security Council, Soviet vetoes of resolutions dealing with the Israeli-Arab conflict had little tangible significance. The issue of the Berlin blockade could not have been settled peaceably without Soviet approval, and ultimately agreement was reached in direct negotiations between American and Soviet diplomats on United Nations premises. The Soviet veto of a proposal to dispatch a Peace Observation Commission to Thailand, in connection with the conflict in Indo-China, has not forestalled achievement of the objectives of the proposal by means of a General Assembly resolution. The Soviet veto on the Guatemalan issue, while undoubtedly irritating to the United States, neither restricted the functioning of the United Nations nor barred participation by agencies of the Organization of American States. Again in these cases, it is apparent, Soviet vetoes did not materially influence the outcome in a direction other than that dictated by the current distribution of power among the states involved.

Korea and its associated issues reveal the futility of attributing our political frustrations to the exercise of the veto in the Security Council. Clearly, the United Nations, without resorting to war, could not investigate plane incidents and germ-warfare charges in China in the face of the opposition of the Chinese Communist government. Soviet vetoes on these issues simply registered Chinese Communist opposition. And as for dispatching troops to Korea, members of the United Nations could act in accordance with General Assembly resolutions after Soviet vetoes made continuance of the Korean issue on the Security Council agenda impracticable. Soviet vetoes do not account for the fact that no members of the United Nations except the United States sent troops in large numbers to Korea. It was not the voting procedure which made it necessary for us to carry the main burden of the war.

Actually only two issues brought before the Security Council might have been decided otherwise if a different voting procedure had obtained there. When Trygve Lie's first term as Secretary General expired, the General Assembly circumvented a Soviet veto of a second term for him by adding three years to the original five-year term. Lie, however, embarrassed by the Soviet refusal to recognize the legality of his occupancy of office, resigned before the expiration of his lengthened term. In the absence of a Soviet veto the Security Council would thereupon have recommended Lester Pearson of Canada for the post rather than Dag Hammarskjold of Sweden.

The second issue on which Soviet vetoes have been exercised with practical effect is that of the admission of new members into the U. N. Soviet vetoes have kept out Jordan, Ireland, Portugal, Italy (vetoed five times), Austria, Finland, Ceylon, the Republic of Korea, Nepal, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Libya, and Japan. But would the admission of these areas and the election of Lester Pearson as Secretary General have substantially altered prospects of world peace or the role of the United Nations?

This analysis shows that when the majority of states have been unable to act through the United Nations it has usually been because they have lacked the objective components of power—economic, military, moral—necessary to impose their will; the source of the difficulty has not been the language of Article 27 of the Charter.

The availability of the "Uniting for Peace" resolution further emphasizes the symptomatic rather than causal role played by the veto: this resolution, adopted by the General Assembly in 1950, makes it possible to convene the General Assembly in emergency special session within twenty-four hours after a measure has been vetoed in the Security Council. Under the terms of the resolution the General Assembly may make recommendations for collective measures. A majority thwarted in the Security Council, therefore, may establish a U. N. "umbrella" for its actions in the General Assembly.

The Swedish delegate, Oesten Unden, appropriately reminded the General Assembly in September, 1953:

> The political situation in the world is not such that either of the two most powerful states is prepared to accept in advance important and binding political decisions which may be dictated or influenced in a decisive way by the other. . . .
>
> It is well known that as the United Nations Charter is now drafted no revision can be made without the affirmative vote of the five permanent members of the Security Council. The abolition of the right of veto constitutes a change which has no chance of obtaining the approval of all the permanent members of the Security Council. This profound revision of the Security Council's voting rules cannot, therefore, legally be attained at the present time.

5. *An irresponsible debate over Charter revision, by dividing and confusing public opinion in the United States, may dangerously weaken domestic support for the United Nations.*

Much of the criticism of the United Nations has been of a reckless and uninhibited nature. Charges have been made in the United States that the United Nations constitutes a world government, that it undermines American sovereignty, that specialized agencies of the organization such as UNESCO propagandize for a world state, and that the U. N. poses a persistent threat to the domestic jurisdiction of our government. These charges have not been without effect on public opinion. The serious and protracted consideration accorded the Bricker amendment, the declaration by Secretary of State Dulles that the Genocide Convention would not be submitted to the Senate for ratification, the disassociation of the United States from efforts to draft a covenant of human rights (despite Mrs. Roosevelt's prolonged identification, as an official United States representative to the U. N., with such efforts), all testify to the telling force of propaganda directed against the United Nations and the false specter of world government.

A general debate on Charter revision in the United States today may effectively undermine recent painstaking efforts to reassure critics of the United Nations. Proposals to transform the U. N. into a genuine world government capable of enacting binding legislation, proposals to modify the one-state, one-vote principle of sovereignty are likely to revive and intensify some of the fears regarding the U. N. which have been calmed by patient factual education. Hence the possibility of "strengthening" the U. N. substantially by means of a Charter-review conference is not great; but there is a real possibility of weakening the U. N. by a debate which will deprive the organization of some of its American support. When vociferous threats of American withdrawal from the existing U. N. are made by powerful Senators, a debate over Charter revision is a debate we do not need.

SEDITION IN LOUISVILLE

The Braden Affair . . *by Jennings Perry*

Nashville, Tennessee

FOR helping the underprivileged ancients to a little piece of sacred fire, Prometheus was bound to the rock for the rest of time. Last month, for helping a Negro buy a decent little house in a white neighborhood, Kentucky newspaperman Carl Braden was locked up for only fifteen years. [See editorial comment on page 43.]

Of course Braden was not charged with that offense. The color line in housing no longer is law. The charge against Braden was "sedition" under a blunderbuss Kentucky statute designed to cover every kind of thought, association, or deed tending to overthrow by force and violence the state government and/or the government of the United States. He was convicted on fantastically ridiculous grounds. The worst the state attempted to prove was that Braden was or had been a Communist. The "crime," however, which brought him into court was that he bought a "white" house under his own name and sold it to his friend, Andrew Wade, Negro.

That was last May. In June, after a sordid cross-burning, the house was blown up with dynamite. Pestered for an investigation by Braden and a few other persons aroused by the vandalism, Commonwealth's Attorney A. Scott Hamilton took the case to the grand jury in September—with strange results. Braden, his wife, and several others of the group that had demanded the investigation were indicted on the sedition charge. Hamilton claimed to have evidence that the whole thing was a plot, Communist inspired or directed, to cause racial tension.

Braden was tried in Criminal Court in Louisville in December. A studious, serious young man, a native Kentuckian, he had always been interested in sociological problems. His father had been a labor organizer. Braden himself was formerly labor editor of the Louisville *Times;* at the time of his indictment he was a copyreader on the Louisville *Courier-Journal.* None of his newspaper associates believed that he could have had any part in a "plot" to blow up the home of the man he had befriended.

The state did not try to link him with the one act of violence that had occurred, the dynamiting, either by participation or by connivance. Instead, with copious help from the F. B. I. and the use of nine shopworn witnesses who had been either Communist Party members or F. B. I. plants in the party, it set out, in a sad familiar pattern, to damn Braden by the literary company he kept. None of the "expert" witnesses—among whom were Matt Cvetic, Leonard Patterson, Benjamin Gitlow, Manning Johnson, and James W. Glatis—even pretended to know the defendant; all were book critics, ready to testify to the guilt of some of Braden's volumes.

Braden had many books on his shelves, for the most part quite "innocent" ones, including a number of volumes of poetry. While he was in jail, the state raided his apartment and seized certain books and papers which it produced as evidence at the trial. A great deal was made of the fact that one of the books was a compendium of the constitution and laws of the U. S. S. R., which, some witnesses declared, was given only to "favored members" of the Communist Party.

This business of the books went on for three days, after which Braden took the stand to admit that as a scholar he read books, all that he could, and that as a student of political science and a writer on labor affairs he read works on these subjects. His attorney, Robert W. Zollinger, drew from the state's witnesses the admission that none of the seized books advocated, suggested, or even mentioned violent overthrow of the government of the United States or of the Commonwealth of Kentucky. Braden said he was not and never had been a member of the Communist Party, but that he saw much in socialism that was good and had always cherished peace.

Asked if he had been active in the movement to assist colored people, Braden replied: "In the course of my labor activities and as a boy I saw that Negro people were denied the rights they should have both as human beings and as working people. . . . I felt that was not right . . . I worked with them to help improve conditions."

That statement, given freely by the defendant, implied more strongly than anything adduced by the prosecution the possibility of some act on Braden's part which might have been disturbing to the established order. But the lead was not pursued, and up to the eleventh day of the trial the state's case against Braden for "sedition" never got off the ground. Then Commonwealth's Attorney Hamilton sprang his surprise witness, Mrs. Alberta Ahearn, a seamstress, who testified that she had been a Communist for the F. B. I. since 1951, that Carl Braden had recruited her into the party, and that she had attended cell meetings at the Braden home where they discussed how "to promote peace in the United States and things of that sort."

Mrs. Ahearn, who has been on the F. B. I. pay roll at a rising rate of pay, gave her testimony under oath. Under oath, Braden denied it all. Closing the state's case, Assistant Commonwealth's Attorney Laurence E. Higgins told the jury they had only a "simple issue" before them: "Sedition is communism and communism is sedition—there is no distinction."

For three hours and nineteen minutes the jury thought that over and finally decided Braden ought to be punished with fifteen years in the penitentiary plus a $5,000 fine; worked out at $2 a day the fine could mean seven years more in prison.

Braden will appeal. Disinterested

JENNINGS PERRY, former newspaper columnist, is the author of "Democracy Begins at Home."

legal minds in Louisville have assured him that the trial record contains at least forty-seven "reversible errors." A successful appeal would have more significance, however, if based on other than purely technical grounds: the law itself needs now to be put on trial.

Under the circumstances it cannot be argued that the verdict of the jury was not honestly arrived at. If the jurors were convinced that Braden was or had been a member of the Communist Party or that he was a Communist merely for having in his possession a copy of the Russian constitution, and that "communism is sedition," then they could hardly have found him not guilty under the statute. And if the fact that Braden lent Marx's "Capital" from his library to someone who asked to read it is equated with "advocacy," the jurors, mindful of their instructions and bound by the letter of the law, understandably could have felt themselves compelled to find the man guilty. But these are and ought to be tremendous if's in the Land of the Free, and but for the miasma of the times Braden should have every reason to expect that the absurd Kentucky law will not in the end prevail.

Carl Braden is a newspaperman of considerable experience. He has served as correspondent for the Chicago *Tribune*, the New York *Herald Tribune* Syndicate, *Newsweek*, and the Federated Press, a labor news service. On the day of his conviction in the sedition case he was fired from the *Courier-Journal*, and Barry Bingham, president of the paper, issued the statement: "This newspaper has gone on the time-honored principle, rooted in our American Constitution, that a man is innocent until proved guilty. Since Braden was charged by the grand jury on October 1 he has performed no work for this organization but has been continued on our pay roll. His conviction now puts a permanent end to his connection with the *Courier-Journal*."

That Carl Braden ever by any act or word committed or "advocated" sedition or sought the improvement of government by other than peaceful means was not proved. Unquestionably he did aid a Negro to purchase a home in a "white" neighborhood—and thus conceivably sinned against "property rights." Had he not done this to oblige a friend, it is reasonable to assume that he and his books would never have been pounced upon by the police power of the state.

MALICE IN BLUNDERLAND

Report on the Foundations . . *by Paul Blanshard*

THE Reece committee of the House of Representatives, by a vote of two and one-half to two and one-half, has discovered that the great American philanthropic foundations are tainted. They are tainted not with reaction but with socialism. Two Republicans on that committee, B. Carroll Reece of Tennessee and Jesse P. Wolcott of Michigan, assert that some of our larger foundations "have directly supported 'subversion' in the true meaning of that term. . . . They have actively supported the attacks upon our social and governmental system of socialism and collectivist ideas." And they have conducted a "vast propaganda" promoting internationalism "directed toward 'world government'" in derogation of American nationalism.

The two and one-half Representatives who supported this view were Reece, Wolcott, and one-half of another Republican, Angier L. Goodwin of Massachusetts. Goodwin let his name be used by Reece and Wolcott in getting out a so-called majority report, but he publicly repudiated the most important findings of his associates. The two and one-half Representatives who opposed the report were the left half of Mr. Goodwin and the two Democrats, Gracie Pfost of Idaho and Wayne L. Hays of Ohio. Mrs. Pfost and Mr. Hays found that "the proceedings of this committee placed an ugly stain on the majestic record of the United States House of Representatives." Whatever may be thought of the "majestic record" of the House, all reasonable citizens must agree with the minority's conclusion. The foundations under fire in this inquiry were not even given an opportunity to testify in their own behalf. They were railroaded to censure by a fanatically reactionary committee staff whose "evident opposition to foundation activity may well be characterized as pathological"—to quote the minority report.

How could two supposedly respectable and sane members of Congress reach such crackpot conclusions? One explanation is that Reece, as a bitter-end Taft Republican and former chairman of the Republican National Committee, was using his post for political vengeance. But before he could announce these conclusions he had to have on the record some shadow of reality to support them. That shadow of reality is contained in a 943-page book paid for by the taxpayers and called "Hearings of the House Committee on Tax-Exempt Foundations, Part I."* This book may well go down in history as a classic of moronic Americana, an irruption of malice in blunderland, and certainly the worst book of 1954. Its genesis goes back to the action of the Eighty-second Congress in appointing a committee to investigate possible radicalism in great tax-exempt foundations, under the chairmanship of Eugene Cox of Georgia. Mr. Cox started his inquiry with a strong prejudice against foundations but ended with a very mild report. There had been a few leftist "mistakes," he discovered.

PAUL BLANSHARD, author of the much-discussed "American Freedom and Catholic Power," is now at work on a study of literary censorship in the United States.

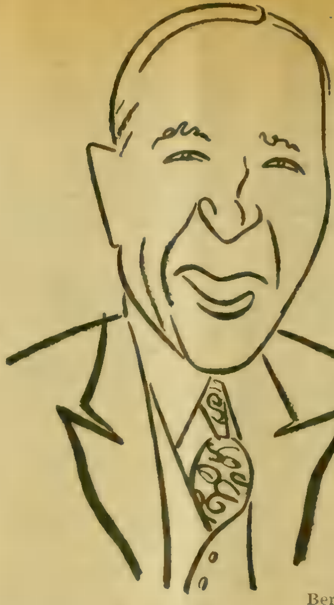
*For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., for $2.50.

but they were trifling in the total picture.

Although Mr. Reece had been a member of the Cox committee, he was not willing to stop with its conclusions. Probably he saw himself as the Great Exposer and the Great Protector, elevated to that rank by TV—it was in the days of McCarthy's ascendancy. In the Eighty-third Congress he dragged out again the apparition of red-tainted billions and maneuvered through the House a bill for a new inquiry, "especially to determine which such foundations or organizations are using their resources for un-American and subversive activities." "There is evidence," he shouted, "to show that there is a diabolical conspiracy back of all this. Its aim is the furtherance of socialism in the United States . . . these Communists and Socialists seize control of fortunes left behind by capitalists when they die and turn these fortunes around to finance the destruction of capitalism."

Reece then proceeded to hire an investigating staff of the "right" people. Two of them were so unsuitable that the minority succeeded in having them rejected. Among the others were two New York tax lawyers, a young man who had worked for the McCarran committee, and an electrical engineer who had served as a kind of volunteer F. B. I. worker with the old American Protective League. None of the staff members appeared to be specialists in education or social science. They decided to concentrate on the educational divisions of the big three—Ford, Rockefeller, and Carnegie. Apparently unable to find anything wrong with the foundations themselves, they based their whole case on selected paragraphs from books and magazine articles by scholars belonging to learned societies financed by tax-exempt organizations.

THE star witness located by the staff and brought in from California at taxpayers' expense was Aaron M. Sargent, a San Francisco lawyer who was known in California as a kind of professional reactionary; he was a leader in the fight against Harold Rugg's social-science textbooks and a former chairman of the Americanization Committee of the Sons of the American Revolution. In this Reece hearing he sits down at page 189 and does not leave until page 410. Here are some of his nuggets of wisdom:



Berger

B. Carroll Reece

> The Rockefeller Foundation . . . has aided the introduction of Communist practices in our school system and is defending and supporting the continuance of these practices in the schools.
>
> The Ford Foundation used its financial power to attempt to resist the will of the people of Los Angeles in connection with a pamphlet known as the "E in UNESCO." This pamphlet was put out by the Los Angeles City School Department, and it promotes various UNESCO activities, and it includes the international declaration of human rights. Mr. Paul Hoffman, the president of the Ford Foundation, personally appeared before the Los Angeles Board of Education and sought to prevent the removal of these pamphlets.
>
> Fabian socialism . . . developed into the movement which has undermined and almost destroyed the economic system of Great Britain. . . . When the beachhead was established in our country . . . the radical intellectuals attacking that system relied upon propaganda and brainwashing. They organized an attack upon patriotism. . . . They sought to create a blackout of history by slanting and distorting historical facts. They introduced a new and revolutionary philosophy—one based on the teachings of John Dewey. As early as 1892 they sought to establish the federal income tax to pave the way for national federal socialism.
>
> I say that John Dewey's philosophy struck a mortal blow at natural law, and that is the cement which binds this country of ours together from the standpoint of religion, philosophy, and governmental policy.

If these utterances of Mr. Sargent seem slightly jaundiced, they are no more so than the utterances of Chairman Reece himself. Before the hearings started, Reece declared publicly that the "Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences," financed by the Rockefeller, Carnegie, and Russell Sage foundations, was "to a large extent propaganda for communism and socialism. . . . The articles on Fabianism and guild socialism were written by the Socialist G. D. H. Cole. . . . The article on Individualism and Capitalism was written by Charles Beard, who at the time he wrote this article was a leftist." Sure enough, the committee staff "confirmed" Reece's view and came up with the names of twenty-one authors of articles in the "Encyclopedia" who were alleged to be "Marxian," "Socialist," or connected with front organizations. Mr. Reece's investigators also "discovered" that the National Education Association had issued a book called "Education for Understanding in American Schools" which said "the world-minded American knows that unlimited national sovereignty is a threat to world peace and that nations must cooperate to achieve peace and human progress."

THESE startling discoveries were confirmed and amplified by several right-wing professors, two of whom had been witnesses before the McCarran committee. Kenneth Colegrove, retired professor of political science at Northwestern University, was a much more restrained witness than Mr. Sargent, but his testimony managed to come out at the right place. He described Charles Beard's "Economic Interpretation of the Constitution" as "pathological" and declared: "There is undoubtedly too much money put into studies which support globalism and internationalism." To sustain the latter thesis he filed with the committee a long list of books circulated by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, condemning those which he considered harmful in the following terms:

> Pearl S. Buck, "The Good Earth"—slightly leftist.
>
> Sir Arthur Salter, "Recovery, the Second Effort"—globalist.
>
> Percy E. Corbett, "Britain: Partner for Peace"—extremely globalist.
>
> Allen W. Dulles and Hamilton Fish Armstrong, "Can America Stay Neutral?"—ultra-globalist.
>
> Nathaniel Peffer, "Basis for Peace in the Far East"—leftist.
>
> R. M. McIver, "Toward an Abiding Peace"—extremely globalist and careless of the American national interest.

Harold J. Laski, "Studies in the Problem of Sovereignty"—opposed to the national interest; inclined toward extreme left.

Raymond Leslie Buell, "International Relations"—globalist.

Clarence K. Streit, "Union Now"—globalist and submersion of national interest. Fallacious in his analogy of Union of American States in 1781 with world federation.

Mr. Reece found in A. H. Hobbs, an assistant professor of sociology at the University of Pennsylvania, just what he wanted, an egghead who was critical of nearly all other eggheads. Hobbs is a man who has spent much time in recent years dredging in the field of social science to discover some works left of center which can be smeared by calling them "unscientific." In 1951 he produced a book entitled "The Claims of Sociology" in which he analyzed the content of eighty-three sociology textbooks and discovered that a large proportion of them underemphasized the virtues of our competitive economic system and exalted collectivism and loose morals. His analysis was greeted with amused silence in most places except Arkansas, where it produced last year an investigation of sociology textbooks used in state institutions which turned out to be a complete dud.

At the Reece hearing Mr. Hobbs included among his targets Alfred C. Kinsey and Stuart Chase, since they had both received foundation funds for research. Chase, it seems, had "definitely indicated his leanings toward collectivism and social planning" and had afterward produced a book called "The Proper Study of Mankind" in which he tried to apply scientific methods to the problems of human relations. This, it seems, is unscientific; social phenomena cannot be measured like physical phenomena. Those wishing to follow up this important discovery may purchase, the testimony indicated, the latest and most authoritative work in this field, "Social Problems and Scientism," by no less an authority than A. H. Hobbs. It is published by a printer in Harrisburg, sells for $5, and is warmly indorsed by Raymond Moley.

This did not produce many headlines; so Mr. Hobbs attacked Dr. Kinsey. Kinsey was supported by foundation funds; Kinsey tried to apply science to sex; Kinsey revealed "the supposed beneficial effects of pre-marital sexual experiences" for females. Ergo, there must be something unscientific and immoral in foundations. This line quickly produced headlines.

FORTUNATELY there was one man on the committee who pricked these oratorical bubbles as fast as they were blown up—Wayne L. Hays, a Democrat from Ohio. When Hobbs got through with Stuart Chase, Hays asked: "Do you think Stuart Chase or Mickey Spillane has done more damage to America?" When Sargent attacked the small and academic League for Industrial Democracy with its honorable record of sympathy for Fabian socialism in order to smear Senator Paul Douglas, who had once belonged, Hays said: "I think we have a responsibility as members of Congress not to bring in any obscure character assassins and dignify them by letting them use this as a forum to assassinate right and left."

Hays's neatest job of deflation was done when the above-mentioned electrical engineer, Thomas McNiece, employed by the committee as a researcher in social science and education, took the witness stand and began to pontificate on the nature of revolutionary thought. Hays was politely sympathetic with Mr. McNiece's amateurish efforts to find the truth in so complex a field. Would Mr. McNiece give him the benefit of his wisdom in identifying the sources of three obviously questionable statements? Then he handed the witness three passages, one of which, typical of all three, read:

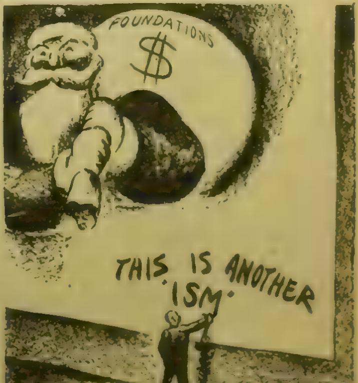
> Every effort must therefore be made that fathers of families receive a wage sufficient to meet adequately ordinary domestic needs. If in the present state of society this is not always feasible, social justice demands that reforms be introduced without delay which will guarantee every adult working man just such a wage. In the connection we might utter a word of praise for various systems devised and attempted in practice by which an increased wage is paid in view of increased family burdens and a special provision made for special needs.

Mr. McNiece, unabashed, said: "All of these—I do not know your source—are closely comparable to Communist literature that I have read."

"I can identify them," said Mr. Hays. "The first and last were from the encyclical of Pope Leo XIII on labor. The middle one [quoted above] was from the encyclical of Pius XI."

After this incident it was scarcely necessary for Pendleton Herring, president of the Social Science Research Council, to present to the committee the only testimony for the defense. It was so effective that Chairman Reece declared an adjournment before Mr. Herring was through.

To the credit of American scholarship it should be noted that the Reece committee actually did find a few foundation-financed studies expressing a reasonable hope in the possibilities of collective planning. The great foundations do not always buy professorial minds with their dollars. When they subsidize a learned society they frequently get a conclusion quite critical of the status quo. Perhaps the best study of this type which was "exposed" by the committee is the sixteen-volume report of the American Historical Association's Commission on Social Studies in the Schools, begun in 1927 and only recently completed. According to the committee's research director, it "demands a radical change in many of the major premises underlying our economic, social, and cultural life." Such horrifying "propaganda," according to Mr. Reece, must not be subsidized in the future by tax-exempt foundations. "It is clear to us," says his report, "that all support of socialism, collectivism, or any other form of society or government which is at variance with the basic principles of ours should be proscribed." Mr. Reece favors a law. It will protect our "happiness and safety" from such ideas in the future.



Courtesy St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*

Christmas Spirit of Congressman Reece

BOOKS

Sixty-five Days in Russia

THE RED CARPET: 10,000 MILES THROUGH RUSSIA ON A VISA FROM KHRUSHCHEV. By Marshall MacDuffie. W. W. Norton and Company. $4.50.

By Ernest J. Simmons

THE beginning of the trip was cloaked in that atmosphere of mystery which surrounds all relations with the Soviet Union nowadays. A cable to Krushchev, First Secretary of the Communist Party, whom Marshall MacDuffie, as chief of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation (UNRRA) mission, had met in the Ukraine in 1946; then the long wait, and finally a strange foreign-sounding voice on the telephone in September, 1953: "Mr. MacDuffie, do you want to go to the Soviet Union?" Next the precious visa and a trip to Mrs. Shipley: " 'Where did you get this? Where did you get this?' she cried in a flurry. 'At the Soviet Embassy, where else could I?' . . . 'Put that stamp on it; put that stamp on it,' and quicker than you could say Soviet Union her secretary had stamped my passport in large red letters: 'Void.' " Then came a visit to "one of the most important officials in the State Department," who said: "I think you're safe with that visa in the Soviet Union. But let's face it. They'll try to use you for their own purposes, and they can be very ruthless if it suits them. If they choose to frame you as a defector to communism—or label you as an enemy agent, they will." So Mr. MacDuffie took no chances—he left behind him several notes and affidavits indicating that he loved his country, just in case he was represented later as having "uttered" statements to the contrary.

Mr. MacDuffie entered the Soviet Union, spent sixty-five days there, and traveled 10,000 miles, from Leningrad to Moscow, then to the Ukraine and eastward to Alma-Ata, and back by way of Samarkand, Ashkhabad, Tiflis, and Stalingrad. He took 11,000 photographs, interviewed Krushchev and scores of other people, inspected numerous institutions, factories, collective farms, and homes of families, and brought back with him safely to America 2,100 pages of uncensored notes. Apart from a few brushes with polite policemen over taking photographs—the Soviet police seem never to catch up on the new regulations on the taking of photographs—Mr. MacDuffie seems to have experienced no oppressive surveillance or tense atmosphere in all his wanderings over the Soviet Union, except in the American embassy in Moscow, where, he writes: "A visiting American like myself, even one who has served in the Department of State, cannot walk from room to room without an escort. Once or twice I forgot myself and rushed from the room of one official to the room of some friend, only to have a deadly serious marine pounce upon me and telephone both officials involved, in just rebuke. Nobody could step out of his room to the bathroom and leave me in his room alone."

As an observer Mr. MacDuffie never stirred from his hotel without camera and notebook in hand. Apparently with future speeches, articles, and a book in mind, every detail is recorded and often tiresomely reiterated as the traveler moved from city to city—each article for sale in shops, with its ruble equivalent in dollars at the official rate; the pictures on the walls in offices and institutions; the salaries of officials and workers he talked to; the items of dress people wore; the furnishings in rooms he visited; the questions asked him and the answers to questions he asked. The emphasis is on straight and accurate reporting with little attempt at economic, political, or social generalization. The generalizations he does make are those of an honest reporter caught between the conflicting propaganda claims of two nations engaged in a cold war.

With maddening monotony, testifying to the effectiveness of Soviet propaganda, the same questions were asked by citizens from all walks of life and in every district of the vast country Mr. MacDuffie visited: Why does the United States government surround the Soviet Union with bases? Why do Americans persecute Paul Robeson? Why didn't your government allow our chess team to enter your country without restrictions? Certain elements of these uniform questions even appeared in Mr. MacDuffie's interesting interview with Krushchev. And when Mr. MacDuffie pointed out the government's control of the press, the conformity it imposes on the minds of Soviet citizens, and the fact that he encountered no criticism of the government, the invariable, stereotyped, and familiar answers he received—even from Krushchev—were that the Republicans control most of the press in the United States; that such is the control of the capitalists over the minds of Americans that they have been able to create an air of hysteria in the United States; that if someone says anything good about the Soviet Union, he is called a Communist; that the Soviet press serves the interests of the people and reports the news from the workers' point of view.

DESPITE this discouraging kind of verbal fencing, Mr. MacDuffie emerged from his extensive sightseeing and numerous interviews with certain positive reactions. He was impressed by the tremendous physical rehabilitation of the country and the improvements in living standards over the low points he observed in these respects during his tour of duty in the Soviet Union at the end of the war. He warns against the popular American misconception that every Soviet worker "is a pitiful case, starved for food, dying of exhaustion, with the spirit of a whipped dog." Despite their obvious poverty, he declares, "these people are strong and vigorous and many seem happy." Though he deplores the uniformity of thought endlessly reflected in the answers to his questions and the astonished disbelief that greeted him everywhere when he tried to explain to Soviet citizens that American war fears are prompted by the Soviet government's actions abroad, all to whom he talked, plain citizens as well as officials, seemed passionately devoted to peace. Yet, Mr. MacDuffie cautions, "I believe the Kremlin leaders may be counting on

---

ERNEST J. SIMMONS, chairman of the Department of Slavic Languages at Columbia, is the author of "U. S. S. R., a Concise Handbook," and other books.

their ability to switch this obsessive desire for peace into a feeling of righteous rage in the future emergency by charging that some nation has broken the peace that every Russian holds dear."

It is no criticism of the zeal and good intentions of Mr. MacDuffie to say that there is an ancient dulness about these books of American visitors to the Soviet Union. We had a huge spate of them in the 1930's, mostly by authors who apologized for the bad things in the country. Now, with the bars let down somewhat on the granting of visas and the prohibition on wide travel, we may anticipate a growing list of books that will apologize for the good things in the Soviet Union. Indeed, Mr. MacDuffie has been somewhat "scooped" by recent books of returning diplomats and correspondents whose newspaper serials will probably become books. Thousands of people from Western Europe are visiting the Soviet Union these days, and hundreds of Soviet citizens are traveling to the countries of the West. Whatever ulterior motives the Soviets may have in promoting such cultural interchanges, it would be well for the United States to take the same attitude on this matter as their allies in Western Europe. Perhaps some of the profound ignorance of each other, which undoubtedly contributes to the present tension between the two countries, would be dissipated by such widespread cultural exchanges. Then the day may even come when a Marshall MacDuffie may not feel it necessary to leave behind him in safekeeping affidavits and notes testifying to the fact that he is a patriotic American and that anything he may be forced to say in the Soviet Union under duress against his country is not to be taken seriously.

Fiction Roundup

MUSEUM PIECES. By William Plomer. Noonday Press. $3.50. An urbane novel, very British and very amusing. William Plomer, however, is not all wit and narrative trickery; he presents a moving portrait of charming if obsolete people, and their vanishing world of "fine things, of marble and wood and silk and glass; things hand-made as they are never likely to be made again."

GALA DAY. By Robert De Vries. Vanguard Press. $3.95. Powerful treatment of two themes—medical corpsmen in battle and religious hypocrisy in one sector of American life. A bitterly effective book.

BENTON'S ROW. By Frank Yerby. Dial. $3.50. Frank Yerby has written another novel. This sample speaks for itself:

"Oh damn you!" Sarah got out. "I hate you, I hate . . ."

"No you don't, Sary-gal," Tom murmured. "You love me with every living inch of that smooth 'n' silky hide o' yourn; and you ain't never gonna git shut o' me—'cause you can't!"

THE CROSS AND THE SWORD. By Manuel de Jesús Galván. Translated from the Spanish by Robert Graves. Indiana. $3.75. A romantic novel about Caribbean Indians during the Spanish settlement, sponsored in English translation by UNESCO as one of its Latin American Classics series. The book has considerable historical interest but not much else to offer a modern reader.

A VIEW OF THE TOWN. By Jan Hilliard. Abelard-Schuman. $3.50. Quiet, neatly turned story-telling in a novel of small-town Nova Scotia life. Miss Hilliard knows her people and is generally fond of them; her book is pleasant but bland.

SOMETHING TERRIBLE, SOMETHING LOVELY. By William Sansom. Harcourt, Brace. $3.50. Fragile short stories by William Sansom, who crochets fiction quickly and beautifully until even horror seems charming. Here is paradox, metaphor, irony, and image—everything but the strength of life itself. Sansom approaches his material like one of his own characters "who had become obsessed with the pattern of flies on a glass roof."

THE LAST HUNT. By Milton Lott. Houghton Mifflin. $3.95. A powerful first novel about the slaughter of the American buffalo herds, offering valuable insight into some neglected—and tragic—aspects of the "noble West." No indictment here, but probing of men who lived close to the smell of death and were able to accept as something quite natural "a tobacco pouch made from a squaw's breast."

ONLY FADE AWAY. By Bruce Marshall. Houghton Mifflin. $3.50. An affectionate portrait of the type of British army officer made obsolete by the growing impersonality of modern war. The author, a competent workman, maintains interest and sympathy for his Colonel Blimp hero. He writes with considerable wit and presents a sharp account of army politics.

THE BRIDGE OVER THE RIVER KWAI. By Pierre Boulle. Translated from the French by Xan Fielding. Vanguard. $3. Colonel Blimp again, this time seen through Gallic eyes. The result is devastating: a tragi-comic and highly readable story of a courageous but obtuse career officer who builds a bridge for the Japanese because he "likes to see a job well done."

ACQUAINTED WITH THE NIGHT. By Heinrich Böll. Translated from the German by Richard Graves. Holt. $3. Poverty and love in post-war Germany recreated with somber prose. Heinrich Böll ends his book on a note of mild affirmation, but the dominant moods are submission and hopelessness. There is also the persistent and still unanswered question: how was it possible for these appealing, sensitive folk to become the "good citizens" of a murderous regime?

SUT LOVINGOOD. By George Washington Harris. Edited with an Introduction by Brom Weber. Grove Press. $4. Harris's "Sut Lovingood," popular American character of the nineteenth century, returns in a bright new edition. Pungent philosophy and wild exaggera-

— Beginning This Week —
"Washington in Focus"

MAX FREEDMAN

Max Freedman, Washington correspondent for the Manchester *Guardian*, will report on political developments in Washington each week for *Nation* readers. Mr. Freedman has been a member of the editorial board of the Winnipeg *Free Press* and commentator for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. He was assigned to the United Nations for six years and has covered important international conferences here and abroad. In 1944-46 he was assistant to Canada's Minister of Trade and Commerce. During the war years he served in England with the Royal Canadian Engineers. In addition to his work as a correspondent Mr. Freedman is writing a book on the Supreme Court.

The life . . . the spirit . . . of a great genius, in words and photographs

THE WORLD OF

Albert Schweitzer

160 photographs by
ERICA ANDERSON

Text and captions by
EUGENE EXMAN

"Easily the most intimate and most knowledgeable personal portrait yet to appear of the man who is widely regarded as the greatest non-political figure of our age."—NORMAN COUSINS

144 *pages*, 9" x 11"
$5.00 *at all bookstores*

HARPER & BROTHERS, N. Y. 16

MAKE MONEY WRITING
. . short paragraphs!

You don't have to be a trained author to make money writing. Hundreds now making money every day on short paragraphs. I tell you what to write, where and how to sell; and supply big list of editors who buy from beginners. Lots of small checks in a hurry bring cash that adds up quickly. No tedious study. Write to sell, right away. Send for free facts. BENSON BARRETT, 1751 Morse Ave., Dept. 136-A, Chicago 26, Ill.

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE

Buy Your Books through THE *Nation*

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular retail price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the retail price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D. No C. O. D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to

Miss O. LePach

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
333 SIXTH AVENUE NEW YORK 14, N. Y.

tion are churned into a potpourri of dialect richness. A treat for those who enjoy broad folk humor.

THE BEGGARS IN THE SUN. By Paul Darcy Boles. Macmillan. $3. Lilting prose in a novel that comes close to a folksong and has the satisfactions as well as limitations of a ballad. Everything Boles touches turns clean. His book hardly needs to be read at all, but breathed like fresh country air.

PETER DOMANIG IN AMERICA: BRASS. By Victor White. Bobbs-Merrill. $3.95. Part three of a sprawling series concerned with a successful young immigrant who does considerable soul-searching about America, love, and life. Pleasant, but less profound—both [illegible] art and social document—than its pretensions. Readers accustomed to denser fiction may find Victor White's parochial approach too transparent.

STANLEY COOPERMAN

Art

S. Lane Faison, Jr.,

THE condition of sculpture in America today offers little encouragement to the earnest beginner. To put it mildly, the sculptor's lot is not a happy one. A few sculptors will survive the triple attrition of neglect, economic need, and the passage of time. A few will sell one or two works to five or six museums and a clutch of daring collectors. Meanwhile, public commissions will continue to go to a coterie of walled-in 3-D illustrators and Beaux Arts ghosts handy with dead allegory. State Senators and national Congressmen will continue to authorize the expenditure of public moneys for marbleized mementos of the victory of Pennsylvania over New Jersey or the entry of G. I. Joe into Valhalla.

All this is possible because almost nobody looks at sculpture.

More than painting, sculpture is rooted in the physical existence of things—their displacement of space, their weight, density, texture, perforation, ductility, tensile strength. It is not detached or set on a wall but something engaged in the same space in which we live and move. It claims our attention in the same terms as other objects, and yet its whole meaning is expressed in absolutely different terms. More than painting, sculpture breaks the Second Commandment. Thomas Eakins won the battle of the nude (posthumously) for American painting, but nude sculpture still has to overcome the folklore of the sideshow, whether it be Hiram Powers's Greek Slave, touring the country a century ago propelled by churchly certificates of respectability, or Jacob Epstein's Adam of the day before yesterday.

In the English-speaking world sculpture and ethics have long been mortal enemies. The outcome of their combat provides a way of distinguishing whole cultures. Maillol's greatest masterpiece, a slumberous seated woman, plastic as Poussin and silent as Cézanne, is with utmost exactness entitled Mediterranean. Between the Middle Ages and Henry Moore it is difficult to name a single British sculptor except Sir Christopher Wren's helper, Grinling Gibbons, whose work is largely confined ot decorative woodcarving. (Even Gibbons was born in Amsterdam, though probably of English parents.)

It is tempting to account for sculpture's difficulties in America in economic terms. We have it from Bea Lillie that the best things in life are very expensive. On that basis sculpture should rate high, but the folklore lowers a curtain between our sculptors and our millionaires. Still another threat has recently emerged—reproductions, real painted plaster ones, of approved masterworks from the past. Our national cemetery at Arlington is the home of the newest and most monstrous memorial to a moment of greatest American heroism. It would be more appropriately placed at the entrance to the Rose Bowl, or even on a platform of the I. R. T.

How sculptors with a fresh and penetrating view of life keep going in the face of all these obstacles is a story of another kind of heroism. At least two of our best sculptors are dentists; some others are teachers (teaching is a profession, not a refuge); and some have private incomes. This is less heroic, but in our culture it is certainly no sin. The probable outcome is that many fine minds and talents go in other directions altogether. Arthur Pope's remark, made years ago to his classes at Harvard, that Titian would be a fine banker today still holds generally true for the arts, and particularly so for sculpture.

THE occasion for these comments is two exhibitions of the best work being done in the United States. One, by Isamu Noguchi, closed at the Stable Gallery on January 8; the other, by Herbert Ferber, will open at the Kootz Gallery about February 1.

Noguchi's art is of course rooted in Japan, where he spent his childhood, but he was born in California and he has worked in America as much as anywhere else. He has successfully avoided all those pitfalls of kitsch which entrap most persons who aspire to achieve a meeting of East and West. His art is personal, international, powerful, and very modern. It is tense, spare, daring, and often humorous. His animal caricatures belong with Toba Sojo's agile rabbits. His children, half lost in shredded ponchos, are more concentrated symbols, more poignant waifs, than Tchelitchew's. His vases—for reeds and rushes—are as sculptural as Marcel Breuer's stone fireplaces. He can make baked clay look as hard as sheets of bent iron, and as durable. His rock slabs rival Egypt and Mexican grinding stones. Taken as a whole, the exhibition was the most beautifully displayed sculpture show it has been my privilege to see in years, partly because of the spatial arrangement—Noguchi's own—partly because the Stable is New York's most beautiful gallery.

Since his last show, which exploited to the full the potentialities of bush forms, Herbert Ferber has been mining a new vein. His theme is the root and the pressures it exerts between the limits of horizontal and vertical planes. A greater compactness results, with a necessary sacrifice of the ingratiating lift of upward movement. Ferber fans, of whom I am in the lead, will have to get used to his new "roofs," but if they will apply the principles of Michelangelo's crowding of the frame as a way of expressing vitality, I freely predict that they will agree with me that Ferber's living art is continuing to evolve.

There was a heartening scatter of little red stars at the Stable Gallery. I profoundly hope that Ferber's new show will also be more than a *succès d'estime.*

Theater

Harold Clurman

SOME plays possess so much quality that all their faults are absorbed and purified by it. Clifford Odets's "The Flowering Peach" (Belasco Theater) is such a play. It is warm-hearted, tender, sweet, and very funny with the best sort of comedy—the kind that makes one cry.

While "The Flowering Peach" is thoroughly enjoyable simply on the level of its freshness and endearing folksiness, it may be useful to understand it on another level. For in a sense Odets's latest work is not so much a play as a protracted *musing* in which the author appears to be trying to take some measure of himself. "What am I now?" he is asking himself. "Where am I in my life's journey? What do I believe? What attitude is proper and truthful for me? For I have been tried, and I have changed, and I must get clear about myself in relation to the world, so what I say henceforth may be clear to the world."

That is the way with poets: no matter how hard they try to be impersonal, they always speak of themselves. "The Flowering Peach" is an allegory, conveniently timed as "then—not now." Odets has taken the story of Noah and his family and by picturing them in terms of an American Jewish family given voice to all his present preoccupations. The most objectively drawn characters are Noah and his wife as father and mother. Ideologically, Odets has embodied himself in Noah and his youngest son, Japheth. Noah is the essential, instinctive Odets; Japheth the rational, thinking Odets. The others are sketchy types representing the world.

Noah was once a man of great gifts, a destined man—he invented the hoe and the rake. But somehow in the hectic

THE Atlantic
ERNEST HEMINGWAY
The Young Years by Charles A. Fenton

HALF PRICE

for a trial subscription

that brings the world's foremost writers into your home each month

For a fraction of its regular price you can "discover" and enjoy America's most distinctive magazine. The world's best writers, and great thinkers and doers make THE ATLANTIC America's most fascinating and informative periodical. Thousands of smart ATLANTIC readers enjoy each month the best combination of news, fun, information and adult entertainment available anywhere today. Invite THE ATLANTIC into *your* home for a few months at a spectacular saving, and see for yourself how much real reading enjoyment is packed between the covers of each issue.

RECENT CONTRIBUTORS INCLUDE:

Agnes De Mille
Walter Lippmann
Thornton Wilder
Robert Moses
Sir Osbert Sitwell
Sumner H. Slichter
Archibald MacLeish
Agnes Newton Keith
Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr.
Frances Parkinson Keyes
Catherine Drinker Bowen
John Hersey
John Masefield
Bertrand Russell
J. Frank Dobie
James B. Conant
Christopher Fry
Rebecca West
Al Capp
Paul Hoffman
Clarence Randall
John P. Marquand
and Many Others

SEND NO MONEY MAIL THIS COUPON TODAY

OFFER EXPIRES IN 20 DAYS

HALF PRICE TRIAL— *The regular subscription price of The Atlantic is $6 per year, or 50¢ per copy. By accepting this offer now, you will receive 8 issues at just 25¢ per copy — a $4 value for only $2!*

Because of its unusual nature this offer can be kept open for only 20 days. It is, therefore, to your advantage to return this coupon to The Atlantic, Boston 16, Mass., TODAY!

The ATLANTIC, 8 Arlington St., Boston 16, Mass.

Please enter my half price trial subscription to The ATLANTIC for 8 months and bill me for $2.

Name ______________________

Address ______________________

______________________ Y63

PURPOSE OF THE RELIGIOUS ADVERTISEMENTS

Belief in God Robbed of Social Justice by Ancient Orthodoxy.—Social Justice overshadowed by "Righteousness."—Reversal of Emphasis Inevitable and Imperative.—Previous advertisements have emphasized that the Hebrew prophets preached a God of social justice (not socialism or communism), and that they were endorsed repeatedly by Jesus of Nazareth. But it is appalling to consider that when *Belief in God* came down from the hills of Palestine and entered the stream of World History, social justice faded from the religious pattern and was overshadowed by "righteousness."

That God requires righteousness is very familiar to all of us from childhood. We were all told, in forceful generalities, that God would punish us if we did not "do right". And yet, very few people, even today, know that the Hebrew prophets proclaimed a God of social and economic justice, and that the prophets were endorsed repeatedly by Jesus. All church people today—orthodox and liberal alike—are honest and sincere. The transformation of Belief in God from its earlier sense of social justice to a merely individual righteousness was accomplished in the far-away Past by orthodox authorities unknown to the masses of the laity today.

Return of Religious Emphasis to Social Justice Inevitable and Indispensable.—No reflection upon the sincerity of present-day church people is implied by the religious problem that has thus come to us from the far-away Past. Nevertheless, if the churches do not choose to follow the prophets and Jesus, and put social justice (not socialism or communism) at the foundation of their belief in God, they will inevitably invite disaster at a time when social problems are pressing upon us as never before, and when social consciousness is rapidly replacing the ancient rugged individualism of orthodoxy and Herbert Hoover.

It is impressive to look back into the hills of Palestine, and to study the great struggles which destroyed paganism and endowed the term "God" with social justice. But it is appalling to think how the insidious propaganda of "righteousness" has been so successful in banishing the sense of social justice from religion, and in reducing the highest concept of the human mind (i. e.,"God") to the state of conventional respectability with which it circulates in our churches, Sunday schools, law courts, colleges, current literature, etc.

Free Material Available.—A free circular is being sent out, upon request, giving additional information. Its title is, *Bulletin of Bible and Hebrew History.* If you have already seen it, please do not ask for another copy, because it is in short supply. But if you have not seen it, you may send a three-cent stamp to cover postage on one copy.

In Addition to Above Circular, Further Material in Preparation.—The title of the new circular is, *Restoration of Social Justice to Religious Belief.* It emphasizes that the process of restoration has already begun, and that these advertisements and circulars are intended to promote the process. The new material will not be ready for some time, however. But if you wish to have a copy, send an additional stamp at once, so as to be in line for it when ready. A request *not* accompanied by a three-cent stamp (or two three-cent stamps in case both circulars are desired) will necessarily bring no results. The great majority of those asking for the printed matter have carefully included postage. And please try not to confuse the two circulars; the first being, *Bulletin of Bible and Hebrew History,* already printed; and second, *Restoration of Social Justice to Religious Belief,* in preparation. You do not incur any responsibility (financial or otherwise) in requesting the printed matter.—L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, N. Y.

(ADVERTISEMENT)

and sinful times he has lived through he has gone to seed. He has suffered for his dreams—dreams of universal comradeship in which all beings were to be sacred to one another—for, as he says, "evil is a thick wall, I have hurt my head many times." He finds himself old, tired. He drowns his confusion in aids to forgetfulness. But God has appeared to him once more, and because the world is threatened with total destruction he is asked—so he imagines—to go out in this lonesome time "to become a nuisance again."

His first and greatest service is to prophesy to the heedless world that it is threatened with doom. His youngest son refuses to countenance the thought of a vengeful, destructive God. The son believes in the power of the individual will, in a reasonable righteousness, in man's capacity to guide his own fate, in decency and goodness. He would rather die than continue to live in the senselessly cruel universe that Noah's cosmology implies. Noah, challenged by the new situation, becomes young again. He knocks Japheth out in order to get him aboard the Ark to safety.

The rest of the story takes the form of a dispute between Noah, who believes that God will save the Ark without the use of any special interference or "method" on Noah's part, and Japheth's view that the Ark must have a rudder, a systematic mode of approach to salvation through which the human will may exercise itself and shape its own destiny.

Because of the mother, who with the wisdom of nature itself plays the part of loving mediator in this struggle, there is a reconciliation. The rebel Japheth learns that his idealism is too absolute, that forbearance is necessary, while Noah concedes certain points to Japheth about God's need of man's courage, intelligence, work. Japheth must not believe he is too good to live; Noah must accept man's frailties, some of which, like his son Shem's money-grubbing, arise from healthy sources of resolution and sharp faculties. Japheth has been too arrogant, Noah too rabid a moralist. Japheth is told that truth is sometimes a luxury, and people wonder whether Noah is a saint or a fool.

What, then, are the play's conclusions? Noah's moral sense is needed to inspire the world; Japheth's strong arm and reason are necessary to fulfil some part of that inspiration? Even the business man Shem's canniness may be useful if he will employ it for the family, the community. Men must have humility, for the reality's substance sets the rules. In a time of upheaval it may be idealism enough simply to survive. When Noah is asked with whom he would like to spend his remaining days, he answers, "I'll go with Shem: it's more comfortable."

Is all this the beginning of wisdom or an apology for surrender? Does it bespeak resignation? compromise? defection? We cannot say; we must not be sure. What is certain is that "The Flowering Peach" represents Odets in spiritual transition. The play's honesty and value in this respect consist in not coming to more specific answers than the conciliatory ones it illustrates. For all its ideas—which are abstracts of the pull and tear of the author's impulses—it is not really a "philosophical" play. It sometimes drifts as if it did not know where it meant to go. Yet in this looseness there is a certain advantage: the play never lies. Odets improvises on a theme and through the ambiguities, stutterings, pronouncements, and random jokes we feel a man—immensely sensitive to the experience of his life and time. In the future Odets must turn away from allegory and return to the concrete and the contemporary. Still, we should not forget that his contribution to our theater does not lie in any intellectual or social position he has taken or may take but in the kindness and intuitive brother-feeling he brings to all the themes he treats.

If I pass over the stage aspects of "The Flowering Peach"—the enormously effective performances of Menasha Skulnik and Berta Gersten, the creative bareness of Mordecai Gorelik's sets, the flaws in direction—it is, as with the play's own occasional crudities, that the whole is so much more significant than the parts.

Records

B. H. Haggin

COLUMBIA SL-203 offers the Budapest Quartet's performances of Haydn's six Quartets Op. 76; and inevitable comparison with the Schneider Quartet performances on Haydn Society HSQ-L reveals the major difference to be the refinement and smoothness of the Budapest playing as against the Schneider's more detailed, more energetic, more sharply rhythmed, and therefore more enlivening inflection. As a matter of fact the Budapest Quartet itself plays with more life in the old performance of No. 4 on ML-4216. In addition there is the difference in recorded sound; and here again it isn't only the Schneider performances that are more agreeably and beautifully and faithfully reproduced than these new Budapest performances, but the old Budapest performance of No. 4 that sounds more natural and agreeable—though it is far from having the beauty of the sound that comes off the first side of the Budapest recording of Dvorak's Piano Quintet Op. 81. (With each additional year and each new failure it becomes more astounding that in all the years of recording the Budapest Quartet Columbia has succeeded only once—on that first side of the Dvorak record, and not to the same degree even on the second side of this record—in giving us a faithful reproduction of the dark and rich sound of Schneider's cello, the sweet sound of Roisman's violin, the warm sound of all four strings. I have more than once confessed my inability to understand the workings of the record-company mind; and I am baffled again by the minds—not only of the Columbia recording staff this time, but of the members of the Budapest Quartet—which, hearing the first playback at the first Beethoven session in the Library of Congress auditorium, decided to stay; which, having spoiled the Beethoven recordings in this way, decided to spoil the Mozart and the Schubert in the same way; and which, having heard the beautiful sound of the Dvorak piece recorded in Columbia's 30th Street studio in New York, decided to go back to the Library of Congress for the Haydn Op. 76.)

The Haydn Society meanwhile has issued on HSQ-B the Schneider Quar-

COLLET'S

YOU MUST READ
THIS BOOK BY

HOWARD FAST

PEEKSKILL
U. S. A.

vivid eye-witness account
of the notorious attack on
a Robeson concert

ILLUSTRATED
Price 25 cents

ALSO NOW AVAILABLE

the world-famous
autobiographical trilogy by

MAXIM
GORKY

CHILDHOOD
Price 80 cents

MY
APPRENTICESHIP
Price $1.00

MY
UNIVERSITIES
Price 65 cents

In three volumes of uniform size and binding

•

All the above prices
include postage from
England

COLLET'S BOOKSHOPS
44 & 45 MUSEUM STREET
London, W.C.1, England

FORUM

★ Friday, Jan. 21—8:30 ★
I. F. STONE
Direct from Capitol Hill — First
Eyewitness Report on New Congress:
"WASHINGTON CLOSEUP 1955"
Questions ★ Refreshments
YORKVILLE COMPASS FORUM
Yorkville Temple, 157 E. 86 St., N. Y.
Contrib: 85¢

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS by professionally trained psychologist-graphologist. Commercial and industrial personnel selection. Vocational guidance. Marital, personal, emotional problems. Fee $3.00. **Dr. Hans Weil, 7½ Jane St., N. Y. C. 14. Telephone: CH 3-7880.**

tet's performances of Haydn's Op. 2, with Weldon and Kathleen Wilber playing the horns in Nos. 3 and 5. These are early works, engaging for the most part, and with individual movements that are more than that—e. g., the impressive first movement and Adagio of No. 4, the lovely trios of minuet movements in Nos. 1, 2, 5, and 6.

Engaging too are the Telemann Quintet in G, Quantz Trio Sonata in C minor, and Alessandro Scarlatti Quintet in F on Haydn Society HSL-117, "Baroque Chamber Music"; but the Johann Christian Bach Quintet in D and Handel Trio Sonata in E flat I find less interesting. The performances by Rampal (flute), Pierlot (oboe), Gendre (violin), Hongne (bassoon), and Veyron-Lacroix (harpsichord) delight one with their beauty of sound, liveliness of inflection, and ensemble integration.

Outstanding is London LL-963, with a number of Domenico Scarlatti's harpsichord sonatas played by George Malcolm, the superb harpsichordist of London's recent recording of Handel's "Messiah." The pieces include several of the finest—notably Longo 33, one of those that build up powerful tensions in slow tempo; and Malcolm produces on his lovely-sounding instrument the best performances I can recall hearing—performances with, among other things, a continuity of impetus and tension that is equally exciting in the brilliant fast pieces and in the powerful slow ones.

The Gabrieli motets on Vox PL-8830 are very beautiful; but the voices of the boys in the Capella di Treviso conducted by d'Alessi are not agreeable to the ear.

On the other hand the Choir of the Choral Academy of Lecco sounds good; but as conducted by Camillucci on Vox PL-8930 it sings in Victoria's fine "Missa pro Defunctis" and "Magnificat IV Toni" with heavy accentuation that I have never before heard in music of this kind and that I find unconvincing and disturbing this time.

The performance of Berlioz's Requiem by the Rochester Oratorio Society under Theodore Hollenbach doesn't attain the minimum of competence that would explain Columbia's issuing it to the public on EL-53.

But Columbia ML-4906 gives us a superb performance of Musorgsky's "Songs and Dances of Death" by George London with Ulanowsky at the piano—the first, moreover, to use the original Musorgsky text since Rudinov's performance on Gamut many years ago. I note one curious difference: "Trepak" begins on the Gamut record with a bare fifth from the piano; on the Columbia record the fifth is filled in with the third that makes it a major triad. And I haven't yet been able to investigate which of the two is in the printed music. London also sings a group of songs by Duparc, which are hardly the predestined companion-pieces for the Musorgsky songs.

Tobacco vs. Office Equipment Stocks in 1955

IN today's market, cigarette stocks sell only 9½ times earnings to yield on average over 7%. On the other hand, business machine stocks sell 15 times earnings to yield in most cases less than 4%.

Is this wide variance justified by such a marked difference in the futures of these two individual groups? The future prospects of both groups are carefully analyzed by Value Line specialists and definite conclusions are brought to you in the new edition of Value Line Ratings & Reports.

This issue brings you a full-page analysis of each of 20 leading tobacco and office-equipment stocks, including specific estimates of 1955 earnings, dividends and normal prices for each stock. Also included are fully-disclosed projections for the 1958-60 period. The objective Ratings show which stocks are in a buying zone, which are in a selling zone.

SPECIAL: You are invited to receive this 64-page issue covering 56 Tobacco, Office-Equipment, Machinery and Machine-Tool stocks [illegible] bonus at no extra charge under this Special Introductory Offer. In addition, you will receive in the next 4 weeks new reports on over 200 major stocks and 14 industries to guide you to safer and more profitable investing in 1955. Your bonus issue analyzes 56 stocks, including:

Amer. Machine & Fdry.
American Tobacco
Bullard
Burroughs
Caterpillar Tractor
Food Machinery
Int'l Business Mach.
Liggett & Myers
Lorillard
Nat'l Cash Register
National Supply
Niles-Bement-Pond
Philip Morris
Remington Rand
Reynolds Tobacco
Sperry
Underwood
and 39 others

$5 INTRODUCTORY OFFER*

Includes 4 weekly editions of Ratings & Reports—covering 200 stocks and 14 industries. It includes also a Special Situation Recommendation, Supervised Account Report, 2 Fortnightly Letters and 4 Weekly Supplements. (Annual subscription $120.) **New subscribers only.*

Plus the 64-page Tobacco, Machinery, Machine-Tool and Office-Equipment issue at [illegible] extra charge.

Name ______________________________

Address ______________________________

City ____________________ *Zone* ______ *State* ______

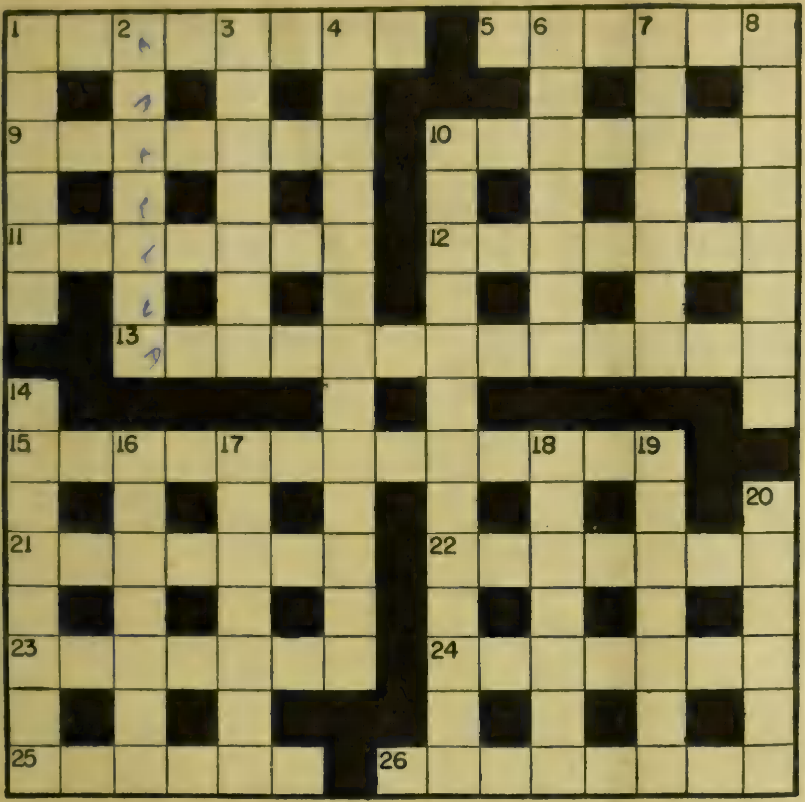
The Value Line Survey is now used by 12,000 individual and institutional subscribers throughout the world, including banks, trust companies, insurance companies and universities.

Send $5 to Dept. NA-4

THE VALUE LINE INVESTMENT SURVEY
Published by **ARNOLD BERNHARD & Co., Inc.**
THE VALUE LINE SURVEY BUILDING
5 EAST 44th STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Crossword Puzzle No. 602

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Without reserve. (8)
5 Short measure cut off at a rapid rate. (6)
9 Certainly not static. (7)
10 Held creation in the twenties. (7)
11 Would one find such a type in a select role? (7)
12 Longed to be back home after a time? (7)
13 Put vans here, but not Black Marias. (7, 6)
15 Non-pareil. (6, 7)
21 One of the things Farragut condemned. (7)
22 It's a hot vice that might keep one warm. (7)
23 Rachel's boyfriend? (7)
24 Incipient. (7)
25 She gets mixed up with the wrong men. (6)
26 See 8 down.

DOWN

1 The current changes of Messrs. Fisher and Cantor. (6)
2 Parts of cars that shift for themselves? (7)
3 Add a skill up in the proper place. (7)
4 Did the thing which made the saying "We are not amused" make this? (8, 5)
6 A place where a scientist works to take a degree? (7)
7 No plate for the gulf! (7)
8 and 26. Michener was a few centuries too late to claim this. (8, 8)
10 Josephine was invited to come with it. (6, 7)
14 You can't keep close tab if you're looking for the bar. (8)
16 One too many feet and one two few arms for a sound body, as a sailor knows. (7)
17 Use the French plural form for it. (7)
18 A bad crime a country covered up. (7)
19 A number of impressions, perhaps. (7)
20 Pig-headed, by implication? (Turned out properly, however.) (6)

• • • • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 601

ACROSS:—1 LILY PAD; 5 PICKETS; 9 FORLORN; 10 PANACEA; 11 JACK-IN-THE-PULPIT; 12 BLESSED; 13 SAMISEN; 14 CAMERAL; 17 WITHERS; 20 INCONGRUOUSNESS; 21 BRISTLE; 22 PRIVATE; 23 DIGESTS; 24 DELUDED.

DOWN:—1 LEFT JAB; 2 LORICAE; 3 PROMISSORY NOTES; 4 DENOTED; 5 PEPPERS; 6 CONSUMMATE SKILL; 7 ESCAPES; 8 SPARTAN; 14 CLIMBED; 15 MOCKING; 16 LARDERS; 17 WHOOPED; 18 EMERALD; 19 SUSPEND.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York.

RESORTS

50 Miles to *FOREST HOUSE*
Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes. All sports.
FOREST HOUSE
Lake Mahopac, N. Y. • Tel. Mahopac 8-3449

For Your YEAR-ROUND Vacation Plans
CARAN LODGE
Sylvan Lake • Hopewell Junction • New York
60 miles from New York on Taconic Parkway
Tennis, Folk Dancing and Singing, 4 cozy fireplaces. 10 minutes from James Baird Golf Course. Children's Day Camp. Food . . . Superb and Abundant.
Take a drive and have Sunday Dinner with us
Reservations:
New York HI 6-7506 Hopewell Junction 6-2632

AUDIO

HI FIDELITY
RADIO–PHONOGRAPH
sales, installation and service
VECTOR LABS
217 3rd Ave. • N. Y. C. 3 • GR 3-7686

PUBLICATIONS

CORRESPONDENCE
A NEW KIND OF WORKERS PAPER
Written–Edited–Circulated by its readers
$2.50 per year, bi-weekly
Write for [illegible] free issues
5050 Joy Rd., Detroit 4, Mich

SOCIALIST BOOKS. Catalog, literature, Free. **New York Labor News Company, Dept. M, 61 Cliff Street, New York 38, New York.**

FREE catalogs on Social-economic Movements, etc. regularly from: **The Hammersmith Bookshop, Beadon Rd., London, W6, England.**

YARROS, VICTOR S.: **The Essence of Our Abiding Isms.** Capitalism, Socialism and Communism impartially considered. 15¢, 10 for $1. **Progressive World, P. O. Box 143, Chicago, Ill.**

PERSONALS

ENGLISH BICYCLE, 3-speed, fully equipped, **expertly assembled—$44.95—unassembled $39.95.** Standard Brand Dist., 143 Fourth Ave. (13th & 14th Sts.), N. Y. C. GR 3-7819. **1 hour free parking or 2 tokens.**

ON YOUR next trip east or west on U. S. Highway 80 stop at Guilbert's Pharmacy, Gila Bend, Arizona. An oasis in the desert.

VISUALLY HANDICAPPED MAN desires employment in the Texas-Louisiana area. However, I will consider anything, anywhere. I am most interested in social welfare. Box 388, c/o The Nation.

Advertising Rates

CLASSIFIED
74¢ a line (6 words)
Three-line minimum

CLASSIFIED DISPLAY
$7.42 per inch (minimum)
Remittance must accompany all orders

***The* NATION**
333 SIXTH AVENUE
New York 14, N. Y.
CHelsea 2-8400

Printed in the U. S. A. by Steinberg Press, Inc., Morgan & Johnson Aves., Brooklyn 6, N. Y.

AN ATHEIST MANIFESTO

A DECLARATION of INTELLECTUAL INDEPENDENCE

By Joseph Lewis

MANY ask what difference does it make whether man believes in a God or not.

It makes a big difference.

It makes all the difference in the world.

It is the difference between being right and being wrong; it is the difference between truth and surmises—facts or delusion.

It is the difference between the earth being flat, and the earth being round.

It is the difference between the earth being the center of the universe, or a tiny speck in this vast and uncharted sea of multitudinous suns and galaxies.

It is the difference in the proper concept of life, or conclusions based upon illusion.

It is the difference between verified knowledge and the faith of religion.

It is a question of Progress or the Dark Ages.

If you believe that there is a God; that man was "created"; that he was forbidden to eat of the fruit of the "tree of knowledge"; that he disobeyed; that he is a "fallen angel"; that he is paying the penalty for his "sins", then you devote your time praying to appease an angry and jealous God.

If, on the other hand, you believe that the universe is a great mystery; that man is the product of evolution; that he is born without knowledge; that intelligence comes from experience, then you devote your time and energies to improving his condition with the hope of securing a little happiness here for yourself and your fellow man.

That is the difference.

If man was "created", then someone made a grievous mistake.

It is inconceivable that any form of intelligence would waste so much time and effort to make such an inferior piece of life—with all the "ills that flesh is heir to," and with all the misery and suffering that is so essential a part of living.

If man is a "fallen angel," by the commission of a "sin," then disease and sorrow are part of God's inscrutable plan as a penalty imposed upon him for his "disobedience," and man's entire life is devoted to the expiation of that sin so as to soften the indictment before the "Throne of God."

The inevitable result is that Man devotes his life, not to the essentials of living and the making of a happy home, but to the building of temples and churches where he can "lift his voice to God" in a frenzy of fanaticism, and eventually he becomes a victim of hysteria.

His time and energy are wasted to cleanse his "soul," which he does not possess, and to save himself from a future punishment in hell which exists only in his imagination.

We do not believe that Man is a depraved human being. We do not believe that there is a tyrant God, or that there is a hell, and that man will suffer the pains and penalties of eternal torment. We do not believe that you should make yourself as miserable as possible Here in the hope of securing some happiness Hereafter.

We do not believe that disease is a punishment for sin.

We believe that disease is a natural consequence of the processes of life, and that the "ills of the flesh" inevitably follow where one form of life lives upon another, and where "at the banquet of life each in turn is a guest and a dish."

It is only by understanding the nature of disease that man has been responsible for epidemics that have, on many occasions, almost wiped out the human race. Prayer has had no more effect upon disease than it has upon health. It merely permits the disease to continue its course and increase the suffering of the victim.

If priests—of all clans—were free of disease and immune to death, then there might be some basis for the claim of the religionists. But these "men of God" are victims of the natural course of life, "even as you and I." They enjoy no exemptions. They suffer the same ills; they feel the same sensations; they are subject to the same passions of the body, the same frailities of the mind, are victims of circumstances and misfortune, and they meet inevitable death just as every other person.

* * *

They are not free from a single rule of life; what others must endure, they likewise must experience. They cannot protect themselves from the forces of nature, and the laws of life, any more than you can. What they can do, you can do, too. Their claims of being "anointed" and "vicars of God" on earth are false and hypocritical.

If they cannot fulfill their promises while you are alive, how can they accomplish them when you are dead?

* * *

As long as there is one person suffering an injustice; as long as one person is forced to bear an unnecessary sorrow; as long as one person is subject to an undeserved pain, the worship of a God is a demoralizing humiliation.

* * *

No believer in God would have spent his energies to discover anesthesia. He would have been in mortal fear of the wrath of his God for interfering with his "divine plan," of making man suffer for having eaten of the "Tree of Knowledge."

* * *

It is needless, I think, to tell you why the study of the human body is so recent. Until the emancipation of the mind of man from the thraldom and shackles of religion, it was taught and believed as a "religious truth," and maintained under the penalty of eternal damnation, that if the human body was dissected, God would not be able to recognize you on the day of resurrection!

* * *

When theology ruled the world, man was a slave.

The people lived in huts and hovels.

They were clad in rags and skins; they devoured crusts and gnawed bones; the priests wore garments of silk and satin; carried mitres of gold and precious stones, robbed the poor and lived upon the fat of the land!

* * *

Here and there a brave man appeared to question their authority.

These martyrs to intellectual emancipation slowly and painfully broke the spell of superstition and ushered in the Age of Reason and the Dawn of Science.

Man became the only god that man can know.

He no longer fell upon his knees in fear. He began to enjoy the fruits of his own labor.

He discovered a way to relieve himself from the drudgery of continuous toil; he began to enjoy a few comforts of life—and for the first time upon this earth he found a few moments for happiness.

It is far more important to learn how to live than to learn how to pray.

* * *

Remember this: You are not a depraved human being.

You have no sins to atone for.

There is no need for fear.

There are no ghosts—holy or otherwise.

Stop making yourself miserable for "the love of God."

* * *

Be brave enough to live and be brave enough to die, knowing that when the Grim Reaper comes, you did the best you could and that the world is better for your having lived.

A God could do no more.

I will stand between you and the hosts of heaven.

I am not afraid.

I will act as your attorney before the Bar of Judgment.

I will assume all responsibility.

Put the blame on me.

Break the chains of mental slavery to religious superstition.

Arise and become a free and independent human being.

Dignify yourself as a Man, and justify your living by being a Brother to All Mankind and a Citizen of the Universe.

(A few paragraphs taken from this 61-page book.)

FREETHOUGHT PRESS ASSOCIATION, Dept. N-1
370 West 35th Street, New York 1, N. Y.

Please send me, postpaid ______________ copies of AN ATHEIST MANIFESTO by Joseph Lewis at only $1.00 each. I enclose ☐ check ☐ money order in full payment.

☐ A limited edition of only 250 copies of AN ATHEIST MANIFESTO, of which 195 are for sale, have been bound in genuine flexible leather, printed on specially made laid paper, each copy is numbered and autographed by the author. If wanted, check square and remit $3.

Name______________________________________
(Please Print)

Address____________________________________

City______________________ Zone______ State______

NOTE ON THE AUTHOR. Joseph Lewis, long-time foe of organized bigotry in America, gives us a new work great enough to stand comparison with his "Tyranny of God" (35,000 copies sold) and "The Bible Unmasked" (over 250,000 sold). If you would like a copy, send $1.00 with the coupon. Your money back if you are not intensely moved and enlightened by this powerful message.

FREETHOUGHT PRESS ASSOCIATION
370 WEST 35th STREET NEW YORK 1, N. Y.

THE NEW CONSERVATISM BY H. H. WILSON

BURLINGAME
PUBLIC LIBRARY
Burlingame, Calif.
JA 22 55

THE Nation

January 22, 1955
20¢

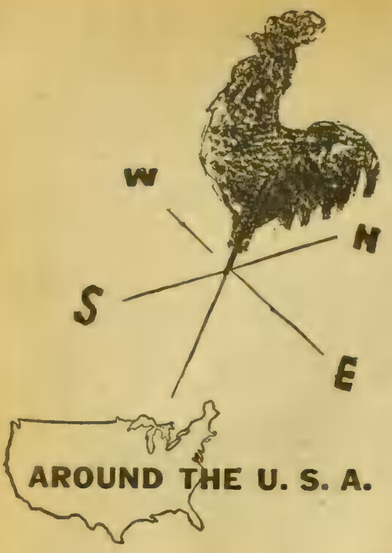
Frank Donner

The Miami Formula

An Exposé of Grass-Roots McCarthyism

Warnings from Bonn	*Carolus*
Slump in Textiles	*Bernard Nossiter*
Costa Rican Crisis	*J. Alvarez del Vayo*

**EVERY
WEEK
SINCE
1865**



AROUND THE U. S. A.

"The Enemies of My Children . . ."

Tacoma, Washington

WHEN the House Un-American Activities Committee met in Seattle last June, Margaret Jean Schudakopf, a fifty-year-old elementary-school counselor in Tacoma, invoked the Fifth Amendment and refused to say whether she had ever been a member of the Communist Party. On July 9 she was asked by the Tacoma School Board to explain her refusal to testify. "As I understand it," she said, "you start to say something and there is no point you can stop. You are directed to name names. . . . I didn't want to commit myself to any procedure that would compel me to name names." She said she was not a member of the Communist Party and had signed a state loyalty oath to that effect every year since 1951, but she declined to tell the board of her past associations. Her competence as a child counselor was not in question.

The school board withheld its decision until July 23; then it voted, three to two, to retain Mrs. Schudakopf. County School Superintendent Ruth Bethle reported that she was "swamped with protests" at the board's decision. The Schudakopf case has been heatedly discussed in Tacoma ever since.

The battle was really joined when the Edward B. Rhodes Post of the American Legion formed Citizens for America and passed the following resolution: "If the board fails to alter its decision, steps will be taken to recall those board members whose thinking is opposed to the committee. . . . We will devote every effort toward the elimination of any influence of doubtful quality from our schools." Colonel James Stack, chairman of the Legion committee, opened his campaign to save the minds of Tacoma school children with a letter to the editor of the Tacoma *News-Tribune* which said: "The asinine, arbitrary, and shocking decision of the school board is a tragic mistake. . . . My wife and I ask that you rally to the defense of Tacoma's youthful Americans. The enemies of my country are the enemies of my children." Another letter-writer said: "Mrs. Schudakopf has the American privilege of intellectual exploration. She knows the boundary line. She knew when she ceased to explore and stepped into foreign territory." Another declared of "Fifth Amendment teachers": "We don't need them in or near our schools. . . . Wake up, Daddy and Mommie." One letter ended: "God bless Colonel Stack and all those good Americans who flock to the defense of our children."

The Legion was supported by the Tacoma Rotary Club, the Young Men's Business Club, and the Temple Baptist Church, which passed appropriate resolutions urging the dismissal of Mrs. Schudakopf. It met no organized opposition until seven ministers issued a public statement which ran in part: "Our school board and the American public it represents must continue faithful in its obligation to respect the law and freedom it guarantees; and that must include the use of the Fifth Amendment as well as the respect for a person's right to a secret ballot and freedom of thought and speech without inquisition. Our first job is to assure all school personnel freedom from fear. Only then can we have the value of their creative thinking."

A MASS-MEETING called by Citizens for America attracted 360 people. Colonel Stack told the audience that the committee would take the case to the United States Supreme Court if necessary and asked for a free-will offering. A resolution was passed urging the revocation of Mrs. Schudakopf's certificate. The flag was saluted, the national anthem sung. Board members James Boze and Ray Kelly, who had voted to retain Mrs. Schudakopf, were impressed by the Legion's campaign and asked for an investigation by the state attorney general to determine whether Mrs. Schudakopf had committed perjury when she signed the loyalty oath. Kelly asked that she be suspended from her duties pending the investigation.

The Attorney General, Don Eastvold, suggested that neither Mrs. Schudakopf nor any other of Tacoma's one thousand teachers had taken a valid loyalty oath. They had failed, he ruled, to raise their right hand before a notary and had signed oaths not containing the words "under penalty of perjury." A thousand Tacoma teachers thereupon raised their right hands and reswore their loyalty. Mrs. Schudakopf signed the oath.

The Legion submitted petitions with 23,000 signatures to State Superintendent of Schools Pearl Wanamaker, asking that Mrs. Schudakopf's certificate be revoked—"after a hearing." The Tacoma school board then transferred Mrs. Schudakopf from her counseling position to a clerical post in which she would have no contact with children.

Opponents of the $6,000,000 school bond issue which was on the September-election ballot based their argument on the Schudakopf case, urging a vote of no-confidence in Tacoma's un-American school board. County Superintendent Bethel, seeing her own reelection in danger, discovered an old state law that authorized her to dismiss a teacher without a hearing provided there was reason. Mrs. Bethel applied the law and suspended Mrs. Schudakopf. The reason she gave was that the public had "lost confidence in Mrs. Schudakopf to the extent where she is no longer of use to the school district, and her continued employment would be detrimental to the best interests of the district." Mrs. Bethel won reelection, but the bond issue failed.

The suspension has been appealed to State Superintendent Wanamaker. Meanwhile, the seven ministers who upheld Mrs. Schudakopf's invocation of the Fifth Amendment have formed a Committee for Basic Freedoms and resolved to carry on the struggle.

Mrs. Schudakopf considers her stand a matter of principle. She will not drop her fight, nor will she reveal her past associations. Her attorney, Kenneth MacDonald of Seattle, is prepared to take the case through the courts if necessary. "If we give in to the Legion on this," he says, "next time it will be a Legion investigation of textbooks, and the Legion will get its way."

JAY G. SYKES

[Jay G. Sykes is a Seattle attorney and free-lance writer.]

New York, Saturday, January 22, 1955

THE *Nation*

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

Reassuring Restraint

The best omen connected with the Hammarskjold mission to Peking is the discretion so far exercised by all concerned. How long this would last was a question as the week began; Senatorial mutterings and demands for quick action were already beginning to be heard. The Administration itself had evidently been advised by the United Nation's Secretary General that release of the fliers was likely, but dependent on American restraint. The President and Mr. Dulles counseled patience, Mr. Eisenhower urging support of U. N. efforts "as long as those efforts hold out any promise of success." Mr. Lodge expressed confidence that the fliers would be freed.

All this is reassuring, for it seems to betoken, first, a genuine desire on the part of the Administration to reach agreement rather than make cold-war capital out of the imprisonment of the fliers, and, second, a willingness to strengthen the hand of the U. N. Success would be a victory for the slowly emerging policy of détente, as well as for the U. S.–U. N. position. And this, in the longer run, offers the prospect of advantages to the Chinese even though no bargain was struck in Peking. If Mr. Hammarskjold has managed to make these points clear to both Peking and Washington, important benefits may flow from his venture in U. N. diplomacy—in addition to the return of the imprisoned fliers.

Same Ticket, New Tactic

The latest of three White House stag dinners, all billed as political prayer meetings, found Mr. Dewey expressing the "prayerful hope" that the Republicans would select "the same ticket" in 1956. There are signs, too, that these helpful petitions have been given hopeful answers. The swiftness with which the President and the Republican leadership moved to check the mounting criticism of Vice-President Nixon, the President's post-election emphasis on building the Republican Party along "moderate progressive" lines, and the drift from the conservatism of his first State of the Union message reflected in his second are all signs of the continuing efficacy of prayer in Republican circles. The distance which the President has shifted from the budget-balancing conservatism of his first message may seem slight, but its significance can be measured by the quickness with which it was spotted by conservative commentators.

Mr. Eisenhower has been so successfully typed as a "middle-of-the-roader" that any shift in his stand necessarily shifts the entire political scenery. Tactically he has moved into a strong position. The Democrats must not lose any time in developing a set of issues that will sharply differentiate them from "moderate progressives" if they are to defeat an Eisenhower-Nixon ticket in 1956. The only new ground the Democrats can occupy—it is certainly vacant—is to the left of the President. But with the key Congressional posts occupied by Southerners, the Democrats cannot move left of the Mason-Dixon Line, not even by intoning Dixon-Yates on all occasions. Just as the Senate liberals were embarrassed by Senator Lehman's lonely insistence on civil rights, so the liberal Democratic National Committee technicians were embarrassed to discover that Assistant Secretary of State Walter Robertson had undercut their criticisms of the Formosa treaty by going to Senator George before the negotiations were concluded. By shifting the middle of the political road to the left, the President has increased the power of the center in both parties.

Textile Labor: Another Chapter

Bernard Nossiter's piece on page 72 of this issue will bring our readers abreast of some recent developments affecting textile labor. Having followed these developments with consistent interest (see Strife in the Textile Union by Ralph Lowenstein, April 26, 1953, and Trouble in Textiles by Keith Hutchison, May 3 and 10, 1953), we can't resist the temptation to add an editorial footnote to Mr. Nossiter's article. The textile market has a "stop-and-go" character which is related in part to the instability of raw-material prices—the natural fibers for cotton, wool, silk, have shown wide price fluctuations in the past—and in part to the relative ease with which peak production can be attained in soft goods. Raw-material costs, as well as labor costs, have been an extremely important factor in pricing textile products. But as the man-made fibers become more popular, the raw-material market may be stabilized, and at the same time new markets may be opened up, for instance, in the industrial-fabric field.

In failing to recognize the implication of technological trends in the industry and to encourage new industries in which the skilled textile worker could command higher wages, the New England mill towns made a grave error.

In This Issue

EDITORIALS
The Shape of Things 61

ARTICLES
Costa Rican Crisis *by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 63
Washington in Focus *by Max Freedman* 64
The Miami Formula: Grass-Roots McCarthyism *by Frank Donner* 65
Slump in Textiles: An Industry Goes Soft *by Bernard Nossiter* 72
Warnings from Bonn: Revolt Against Rearmament *by Carolus* 74

BOOKS
The New Conservatism *by H. H. Wilson* 76
Hotel Room *A Poem by Milton Kaplan* 76
British Medieval Painting *by S. Lane Faison, Jr.* 77
Recent Poetry *by John Ciardi* 77
Partisan of the Arts *by John R. Willingham* 78
Discoverer of Streptomycin *by A. E. Mirsky* 78
United Nations Publications *by J. V. Murra* 79
Religion and Psychology *by Waldo Frank* 79
Jews and Revolution *by Marie Syrkin* 80
Health Quacks and Faddists *by Stanley Cooperman* 80
Books in Brief 81
Books on India and Pakistan *by O. Edmund Clubb* 82
THEATER *by Harold Clurman* 83
FILMS *by Robert Hatch* 84
RECORDS *by B. H. Haggin* 86
LETTERS 86
CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 603 *by Frank W. Lewis* opposite 88
AROUND THE U. S. A. "The Enemies of My Children" *by Jay G. Sykes* opposite 61

Editorial Board

Freda Kirchwey *Editor and Publisher*
Carey McWilliams *Editorial Director*
Lillie Shultz *Director, Nation Associates*
Victor H. Bernstein *Managing Editor*
J. Alvarez del Vayo *Foreign Editor*

Martin Solow *Assistant to the Publisher*

Harold Clurman *Theater*
B. H. Haggin *Music*
Gladys Whiteside *Copy Editor*
Caroline Whiting *Assistant Literary Editor*
Mary Simon *Advertising Manager*

Contributing Editors: Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus, Keith Hutchison, H. H. Wilson, W. Macmahon Ball, Maxwell Geismar, Bruce Catton.

The Nation, January 22, 1955. Volume 180, No. [illegible]

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1955, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Company, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y. Entered [illegible] second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address [illegible] well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

textile interests may account for the strategic miscalculation. The woolen side of the industry in particular has always had a reputation for stubbornly discounting the importance of technological innovations. The management of American Woolen, for example, continued to insist that the new fibers would disappear long after it was apparent they were here to stay. For better or worse, the shift of textiles to the South is now nearly complete. It is unfortunate but not surprising that Southern textile workers should be repeating the initial experience of New England textile workers. At the outset the Irish and French Canadians did not clamor to be organized in the mills of Lowell, Fall River, and New Bedford. But Southern labor should assimilate industrial experience more rapidly. In "luring" textiles from New England the South has unwittingly affixed the union label to its future products.

Competitive Coexistence

While Russian and Indian technicians are working out the final details of an agreement under which the Soviet Union will finance and build a steel plant for the Government of India, it is reported that the British are also offering to build one. The Soviet-built plant will be larger and will cost less to build.

An earlier offer of the British was turned down in favor of the Russians, but apparently not because of the differences noted, important as they appear to be. The deciding factor was Soviet willingness to build a state-owned enterprise in contrast to Britain's interest in one privately owned. But with the Russian deal apparently set, London changed its mind and echoed the Soviet offer to build a plant directly for the government of India. The British are described as interested not in investing in the plant but in selling the steel-making equipment, and A. R. W. Low, British Minister of State now in New Delhi for trade talks, says the prospects are good that the British offer will be accepted.

So, the Indians are likely to emerge with two steel plants with benefits accruing to themselves, to the Russians, and to the British. If this is a sample of competitive coexistence, it is a welcome augury.

Default by the West

An agreement signed in Amsterdam in 1949 giving the Indonesians independence from the Dutch stipulated that the status of West New Guinea, a Dutch territory, should be decided within a year by negotiations between the new sovereign state of Indonesia and the Netherlands. Talks went on for four years, however, with nothing accomplished, and the problem was finally submitted to the last session of the General Assembly. The Political Committee recommended that "new negotiations be started, but the recommendation was defeated on the Assembly floor through the last-minute switch of a few votes. Thus the West defaulted on another opportunity to counter the powerful anti-colonial appeal of Asian communism.

This is not to say that the U. N. should have awarded the territory to Indonesia out of hand. While the Dutch do not belong in West New Guinea and have done very little for the 700,000 people who live in it, it is clear that struggling Indonesia is in no position to take on the new task of administering an area as large as France and inhabited by people of totally different race and culture. The U. N., instead of turning away from the issue, could have offered to take a hand in governing West New Guinea during this interim. The U. N. trustee system was set up for just such purposes.

Costa Rican Crisis . . *by J. Alvarez del Vayo*

AT THE moment of writing the military situation in Costa Rica still seems shrouded in uncertainty. But whatever happens, the attack on this little Central American republic, so greatly respected for its democracy, liberal ideas, and intellectual life, is of great importance as a reminder of the past and a lesson for the future.

The beginning of the episode has been widely reported. On January 11 the Costa Rican town of Villa Quesade was seized by a small but well-armed rebel force. The Costa Rican police force was dispatched to meet the rebels, but the character and the extent of the coup become evident when several rebel planes appeared over Costa Rican territory. The Costa Rican embassy at Washington declared that the attack had come from across the Nicaraguan border.

The invasion started only a few hours after the Nicaraguan chargé d'affaires at San José had been declared *persona non grata* because of his undiplomatic denunciations of the Figueres administration, his public allegation that Costa Rica was in a state of great political tension, and some absurd references to pro-Communist sympathies on the part of President Figueres. The last item was particularly ridiculous because Figueres has been in open conflict with the Communists since the day he assumed the Presidency; the Communist Party has been outlawed in Costa Rica. But the allegation proves again that the Latin American dictators are convinced that the surest way to obtain money, arms, and political and diplomatic favor from Washington is by pretending that they are busy defending the Western hemisphere against partisans of Moscow.

The Costa Rican government did not turn, as did the Guatemalan government last summer, to the United Nations, but submitted its case to the Organization of American States. It realized that, in contrast with the aggression against Guatemala, no big American private interests such as those of the United Fruit Company were directly involved and that therefore speedy action on the part of the O. A. S. might this time be expected. The O. A. S., once dubbed by a witty and cynical Latin American diplomat "la Celestina de los Dictadores," this time showed itself ready and anxious to regain its lost prestige. When the council of the organization met to consider an accusation by Costa Rica that Nicaragua was planning to attack it, some of its members suggested that one of the first points to clarify was the origin of the planes that had been sighted over Costa Rican territory, whereupon the Ambassador of El Salvador remarked: "Are we going to waste much time settling that question? Everybody knows perfectly well from where they come!"—and his eyes turned undiplomatically toward Nicaragua's representative.

Of course there are Costa Ricans in the rebel ranks. Two different groups have been opposing Figueres. One comprises the followers of Teodoro Picado, former president-dictator, whose corrupt regime Figueres overthrew in 1948 with the backing of the people. Picado took refuge in Nicaragua, where he has served as Somoza's close adviser, while his son, Teodoro, Jr., a graduate of West Point, is leading the forces which crossed the border into Costa Rica. In 1953 Figueres was chosen president by an overwhelming majority in free elections. The second group represents those whose private economic interests conflict with the progressive social program of the President. But as the Reverend B. Nunez, the intelligent Catholic priest who represents Costa Rica in the United Nations, told me in convincing detail, both groups together would never have been able to launch the revolt without the full support of the Nicaraguan dictator. Explained Father Nunez: "We are witnessing another adventure on the part of the 'International of the Saber.' The dictators of Latin America naturally want to see their numbers increased. They will feel really secure only if no free government exists in the hemisphere."

THE invasion of Costa Rica cannot be separated from the last aggression against Guatemala. Both were the inevitable result of a policy which, in Latin America as in Asia and the Middle East, confers favors on reactionary dictators who put their "sabers" at the disposal of the anti-Communist crusade. In the present case, all the Latin American delegates to the U. N. with whom I spoke agree that the United States had no hand in backing the Costa Rican rebels; the State Department cooperated with the O. A. S. observation commission and was quick to sell a couple of fighter planes to the Figueres government once Nicaraguan complicity in the revolt was established. Even so, some members of the opposition to Figueres served in the United States-backed forces of Castillo Armas against Guatemala, and after the aggression succeeded, were indiscreet enough to say publicly that the fall of Figueres ought to be "the second clean-up operation in Central America."

All those disaffected with the Figueres

government had put themselves under the protection of General Anastasio Somoza. Although the Nicaraguan dictator has for a long time been a favorite in Washington his record is a gaudy one. "Tacho" inherited violence and lust of power from his ancestors. His grandfather, to quote a Nicaraguan historian, was "a ferocious and bloody bandit who ended his career on the gallows" in 1849. On the morning of his departure from the earth he ceremoniously knotted a clean white kerchief about his throat to protect it from the scar of the hangman's knot. He said he wanted everything done cleanly. The grandfather put haciendas and coffee plantations to the torch. His grandson has put them into his pocket. Among other items, General Somoza is said to own 50 houses, 52 ranches, 46 coffee plantations, 18 farms, 8 sugar plantations and mills, 13 industrial plants, 76 urban and 16 rural unimproved properties, in addition to which he is credited with a ranch in Costa Rica, an estate in Canada, and three apartment houses in Miami. Small wonder if he lacks sympathy for a neighboring regime trying to carry out an agrarian reform.

The O. A. S. has been quick in establishing and proclaiming Nicaragua's hand in the invasion. One must wait to see whether it fulfils with equal zeal the complementary duties set forth in the O. A. S. charter and supplemented by the terms of the Rio pact, which bind its members to take collective action in case of aggression or the threat of aggression. It would be a tragedy if Costa Rica's decision to use the regional machinery instead of the U. N. were to result in a whitewash or a mere rebuke to the guilty party. The failure of the Security Council to act in the case of Guatemala last summer may well have served as reassurance—and invitation—to the promoters of the present invasion. The O. A. S. should follow up its prompt findings with appropriate sanctions. Otherwise victims of aggression in the Western Hemisphere will be likely to feel they have no place to turn in spite of all the pacts they have signed.

Washington in Focus

by Max Freedman

Washington

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S press conference this week, his first in the new year, revealed both his strength and his weakness. In discussing the President one must always distinguish between the man and the statesman. He is an easy man to like. Doubts arise only when one begins to consider him as a national leader.

Yet even here criticism must be cautious if it is to be accurate. Reporters who watch the President in Washington may fail to measure events with enough perspective. They may be irritated by his mistakes; yet the country may hardly notice them. They may complain that he fails to exercise the full powers of the Presidency; the country may think it is time that part of the initiative went back to Congress and the states. They may criticize his weakness in defending the rights of the executive branch; the country may interpret this reluctance as a dignified refusal to quarrel with every foe who wants to start an argument. The shadow cast by the White House is big enough to cover the land. Mr. Eisenhower knows that, and therefore he remains calmly indifferent to the catalogue of his incidental blunders. He has succeeded in creating standards of judgment in which only the big things are allowed to count.

There is, in fact, almost no precedent for this achievement. Neither Mr. Roosevelt nor Mr. Truman would have been allowed to play by these rules. Only once did Mr. Eisenhower lose control of his press conference. That came when the correspondents rose in anger at Mr. Brownell's attack on Mr. Truman. On that occasion the President's remoteness from the facts was just too uncomfortable to be accepted. But this was the exception.

Few reporters now expect the President to show any detailed knowledge of economic questions. They have learned to be content with mere statements of principle and, surprisingly, have become grateful for these fluent obscurities. What is still more surprising, the President has somehow managed to remain untouched by the confusions and contradictions of American foreign policy as expounded by Mr. Dulles. At best Mr. Dulles is a figure of ramshackle wisdom, and yet his mistakes never seem to rub off on Mr. Eisenhower. The President not only stands aloof from the party conflict; he also has insulated himself to an astonishing degree from the blunders of his own Cabinet.

NEVER was this habit better illustrated than at this opening press conference. His remarks on the Ladejinsky case were so confused that they later brought a statement of clarification from the White House. But the fact stands on record that he tried to force the burden of responsibility on Mr. Stassen instead of accepting it himself. That seems a curious way to run the Presidency.

Equally regrettable is his refusal to accept a commission to review the security problem. Why is the President so reluctant to appoint this commission? He showed no similar reluctance in naming other commissions. Has he been urged by some of his advisers to keep these security questions alive and embittered for political reasons? He appears unable to realize that public confidence, shaken by recent events, will be restored only when some outside judgment is allowed to operate. The executive branch no longer has clean hands in this matter.

The President fails to understand the wreckage and misery caused by this cruel system. The one thing more surprising than this failure in understanding, this defect of compassion, is his refusal to understand why so much justified bitterness should be aroused by Vice-President Nixon's performances as a merchant of suspicion and hate on the political platform.

President Eisenhower's opposition to a commission on security will of course darken the prospects for Senator Humphrey's motion. Senator Humphrey wanted to present that motion some days ago, but he decided to delay in order to get more support from the Republicans. He still thinks the resolution has a good chance of success. The White House will change its policy if Congress remains sufficiently stubborn in a just cause. Will it not be an irony and anomaly if Congress wants to review the security program while the Executive stands hesitant and perplexed?

Too much, perhaps, has been made of Senator Humphrey's motion in comparing his plan to a royal commission. Under the British system all political controversy on a specific issue must cease the moment a royal commission is appointed to examine it. Nothing like that is possible in the American system. But at least the creation of a commission, with members drawn from Congress and the executive branch and the public, would serve to put the debate on security under some measure of judicial restraint. For that reason, if for no other, the campaign by Senator Humphrey deserves support. The fate of his resolution will be watched with interest.

WEAK and confused on issues of personal security, the President was at his best in explaining his policies for national security. He has always refused to be a bully with the atom bomb. The significance of his admission that atomic weapons can never be used except when the world political situation justifies their employment was at once recognized in Washington. By this statement the President put the Pentagon on notice that no impulsive short-cuts to danger will be followed. He also reassured America's allies that he personally would assume responsibility for the use of atomic weapons in battle, for no one except the President can make this ultimate assessment of the world situation.

Some people have tried to conjure up a conflict on this point between Admiral Radford and the President. No conflict exists. Admiral Radford on his return from the Far East told reporters, it is true, that the United States would not hesitate to use atomic weapons, if necessary, to repel an armed attack. But he was thinking of a renewal of "major aggression" in Korea. The President was discussing internal subversion rather than Communist aggression, and his remarks applied to all danger points rather than to Korea alone.

Even Admiral Radford was careful to say that a blockade against China should be applied by Allied action, preferably under the standard of the United Nations. Senator Knowland has bitter emotion on his side but not the reflective judgment of this city. Neither anger nor indignation has been allowed to shape the comments of leading members of Congress. This restraint has opened the area of diplomacy to the State Department. In seeking to avoid peace with dishonor Washington is equally resolved to avoid stumbling into a war. If the mood of this city is caution without timidity, it also is resolution without provocation.

THE MIAMI FORMULA

Grass-Roots McCarthyism . . *by Frank Donner*

Miami

SINCE *The Nation* reported on the Red Hunt in Miami in its issue of August 7, 1954, events have converted this vacation land into a unique symbol of organized repression. County officials, the local press, and the Federal Bureau of Investigation, with some aid from the House Committee on Un-American Activities (the Velde committee), have produced what can be termed the "Miami formula" for making McCarthyism work at the grass roots.

More than a hundred persons have been subpoenaed to testify about their political beliefs and affiliations before the Dade County grand jury and in the office of George A. Brautigam, state attorney. Thirty-one who pleaded the privilege against self-incrimination have been convicted of contempt, thirty of them receiving jail sentences of one year. Established legal procedures were repeatedly and flagrantly violated; in one instance a judge issued orders from the bench based on events in a grand-jury room which had not yet taken place; in another, involving the disbarment of a local attorney for pleading the Fifth Amendment, the man who had instigated the action sat as judge in the proceedings. Citizens of the community who for years enjoyed excellent reputations have been smeared by the press, in some instances with catastrophic economic consequences to them and their families.

The target is not just the Communist. The current campaign originated in a grand-jury investigation in January, 1954, of the politics of a Miami Beach councilman active in the liberal wing of the Democratic Party. Witnesses have been questioned intensively about membership in such organizations as the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, the F. D. R. Club, the American Veterans Committee, and the Progressive Party. One witness was asked about postcards mailed to Florida's Senators protesting the Walter-McCarran immigration act. It is noteworthy that the first peak of the campaign of repression was reached in the months immediately following the United States Supreme Court's desegregation decision. According to the Miami *Herald* of August 29, 1954, a University of Miami research group reported to state Attorney Gen-

---

FRANK J. DONNER is a New York lawyer who specializes in constitutional law and civil-liberties cases.

eral Richard Ervin that "competent officials have been reluctant to take initial steps [toward integration] for fear of being branded Communists." W. Hayden Hamilton, president of Florida States' Rights, Inc., has charged that Communists were behind the move for immediate enforcement of the desegregation decision.

An ugly thread of anti-Semitism also runs through the campaign. Twenty-nine of the thirty-one persons convicted of contempt were Jews, including five leaders of Jewish community groups. The Miami Jewish Cultural Center has been a repeated object of grand-jury investigations and on at least one occasion of a bomb threat. In recent weeks a number of new witnesses have been subpoenaed, all of them Jewish; included among them were the cantor of a synagogue whose spiritual leaders had been actively resisting the witch hunt.

I have referred to a "first" peak in the Miami story. A second is still to come. The Miami formula can be said to have evolved in two stages, the first of which ended recently when the Florida Supreme Court completed the reversal of all thirty-one contempt convictions. The reversals were based on United States Supreme Court precedents which clearly established the right of witnesses in political investigations to invoke the Fifth Amendment. But in closing one avenue of prosecution the Florida Supreme Court opened another by suggesting in its decision that state anti-subversion statutes make it an element of a crime to be a member of the Communist Party or of a "Communist-front" organization.

Snatching victory from defeat, State Attorney Brautigam immediately announced to the press that the court's decision was "just what we are looking for. Now we can go forward and seek indictments on mere membership in the Communist conspiracy." Early last week he declared that he would seek the first of the new indictments within a fortnight. The *Daily News* reported this development on January 12:

> "Up to a point," [Brautigam] said, "we are following somewhat the same order of procedure in the investigation as we did before the state supreme court decision. We question persons first in my office. If they invoke the Constitutional protection against self-incrimination, they then are subpoenaed to appear before the grand jury."

Representative Velde

> Those who continue to refuse to answer inquiries before the grand jury, he indicated, will be subject to indictment as members of the Communist Party conspiracy against the state of Florida. Anyone who has been involved in any way in a continuing conspiracy such as the Communist Party, the prosecutor explained, cannot quit merely by "ceasing active participation." "In the eyes of the law," Brautigam said, "once a Communist always a Communist—unless they can prove otherwise."

In short, Brautigam proposes to obtain indictments against those who plead the privilege and prove his case by evidence of mere past membership in a proscribed organization. As this is written, fifteen persons have already been subpoenaed to appear before the grand jury on January 20, according to the *Daily New* report, which adds that Brautigam expects to include in the new series of indictments "many of the thirty-one Miamians" previously convicted of contempt and freed by the state Supreme Court.

The scene is now set for the second stage of the evolving Miami story, which for months was a sensation in the local press but never got out to the country at large. The story is worth detailed study as an example of how vigilantism can flourish behind a façade of legality and as a dangerous pattern for similar campaigns of repression elsewhere in the United States, under local auspices and away from the spotlight of Washington.

The Hirsch Case

THE case of Samuel Hirsch, a Miami theater man, gives the flavor of what has been happening here. Hirsch was indicted by Brautigam's grand jury on eight counts—each count carrying a penalty of twenty years' imprisonment—charging perjury in denying Communist Party membership and in denying certain activities on the University of North Carolina campus in 1946-48. The leading witness against Hirsch is Ralph V. Long, an F. B. I. informer now living in Durham, North Carolina. The Miami *Daily News* and its Red "expert," Damon Runyon, Jr., are promoting the affair as a "little Hiss case" and a "rewrite of the famed Hiss-Chambers drama." But it may be that the *Daily News* is gloating too soon. The man who is supposed to bring Hirsch to trial, Dade County Solicitor John Marsh, has as yet made no move to do so. "Florida law," explained Mr. Marsh publicly, "requires that we have at least two witnesses to substantiate a perjury charge. So far my office has found the grand jury's indictments of eight counts against Hirsch were based on testimony of one witness [Long] in some counts and none in others." Mr. Marsh also stated that in his view political investigations were frequently directed at "sincere liberals," adding wryly that he hoped he would not be called a Communist for so thinking.

The Velde committee held its Miami hearings from November 29 to December 1, after Hirsch had been indicted. Long's testimony was the chief feature of the session; it drew from Chairman Velde the comment that here was "one of the most outstanding witnesses ever to appear before this committee." In view of this praise Long's history is worth some study. At the time of his appearance in Miami his home-town newspaper, the Durham, North Carolina, *Morning Herald*, had this to say about him:

> Long has a police record extending from September 11, 1949, through November 3, 1954. He has been tried twenty times for public drunkenness and each time has either served time, paid a fine, or appealed the judgment to the Superior Court. Several of the appeals are now pending. In addition, Long has been tried twice for disorderly conduct, and twice for assault and battery. A nol pross with leave was taken in the first case of disorderly conduct, while Long paid court costs in the second. The first case of assault and battery was nol prossed; no disposition was recorded in the second.

Long's twenty-first conviction for drunkenness came on November 4, less than a month before his appearance before the committee. Apparently his thirst overcame him again only a few days after he returned from Miami, for the records of the Recorder's Court in Durham, as printed in the *Morning Herald* of December 7, show that on December 6 he was again found guilty of drunkenness and sentenced to thirty days. It was his twenty-second conviction in five years (see photostat reproduced on this page).

The handling of Hirsch by the committee was on a par with the use of a confirmed drunkard as a leading witness. Although Hirsch faced a serious criminal trial, he was subpoenaed to testify on the very issues involved in the perjury case against him. Long was a surprise witness and Hirsch had no opportunity to cross-examine him and no protection against incompetent, hearsay, and opinion evidence which, smeared over the first pages of the Miami newspapers, poisoned public opinion against him in advance of his trial. The committee gave the screw a final twist by turning his testimony over to the Justice Department for possible federal perjury prosecution.

The Velde hearings did show one thing on the plus side—namely, that at least some informers may come to be without honor in their own country, even when their own country is Miami. This was the first investigation of subversion here without benefit of Paul Crouch, informer extraordinary, who is no longer used by the F. B. I. and whom Attorney General Brownell has promised to investigate.

The Press

THE heart of the Miami formula is the press, especially the Miami *Daily News*, which for six years has been systematically shocking the community with Red scares. In 1948 the newspaper "covered" a public meeting addressed by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Communist leader, by printing pictures of the audience and telling its readers that the center of subversion in the United States had shifted from California to Miami. In 1949 the newspaper repeated the tactic, this time in connection with a meeting of the Civil Rights Congress. Then it called upon Paul Crouch for a series of articles which elaborated the thesis that Miami was the hub of an international Red network covering Latin America. Crouch's charges that Armand Scala, a Pan-American employee, was a Communist courier between the United States and Latin America resulted in a successful libel suit. But Scala's legal victory did nothing to lessen the fear and intimidation which by this time had engulfed a sizable portion of Miami's permanent community. Liberal organizations purged their memberships of "radical" suspects; liberals themselves retired from organizations which they thought might be vulnerable; many persons left the community altogether.

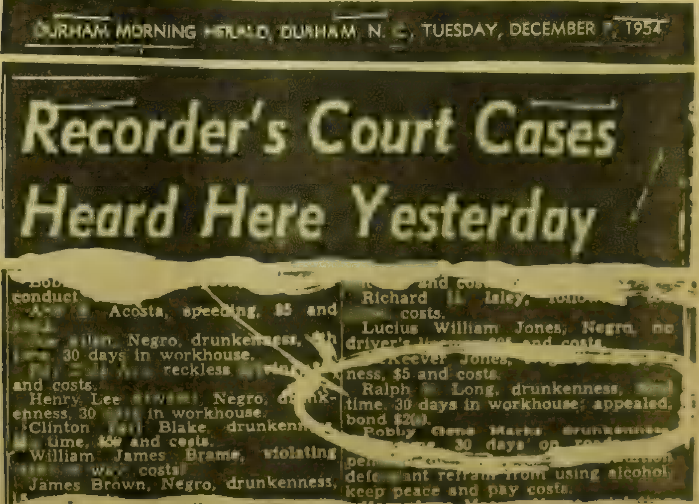
Then and since, the *Daily News* has exploited the familiar types of witch-hunt propaganda—the irresponsible listing of individuals prominent in liberal movements as Reds or subversives and the political horror story giving a hair-raising account of espionage and sabotage. Specialists in this field have been Crouch ("The Reds infiltrated Miami as a dispatch point for couriers to revolutionaries in Latin America"); Joseph Mazzei ("The Reds tried to take over the Opa-locka naval station as an invasion base for the Red Army"); and Al Spears, who seems to think the Reds have been trying to convert Opa-locka into a model Soviet village. There are other types—the public repentance story ("I was lonely and the Reds made a dupe out of me"); and the padded reports of former undercover F. B. I. agents ("Now my breathtaking adventures can be told").

The *Daily News* coupled these scare stories with constant urgings to readers to "repent" or "inform," preferably of course in the newspaper's own columns. Of a witness who had remained silent under interrogation Runyon remarked that had he agreed to testify he would have come to no more grief "than such talking ex-Communists as Whittaker Chambers, Louis Budenz, and Paul Crouch. He might've even wound up writing—with the aid of some itinerant rewrite man—the story of his Red life." The newspaper has been as adept with the carrot as with the stick.

In June, 1954, Runyon collaborated with Al Spears, who claims to have been an F. B. I. undercover agent, on a series of articles charging that at least three hundred card-holding Communists lived in the area and complaining that all of them still seemed able to earn a living. Actually about fifty alleged Reds were named, many of them on hearsay evidence. The series also smeared organizations which had never before been charged with subversion, among them the F. D. R. Club, a Miami Beach discussion forum, and the First Unitarian Church of Miami.

Far from being an abstract exercise in the art of smearing, the articles had highly practical results. Runyon had been claiming that witnesses before a previous grand jury had shown reluctance to inform. Now a new grand-jury investigation was started, and most of the individuals named in the *Daily News* articles were supoenaed for questioning. Under these conditions it is hardly surprising that the newspaper treated the investigation as its own private journalistic fief. We shall see later how Brautigam, conducting the proceedings, used the press for his purposes.

Runyon had a field day as the grand



DURHAM MORNING HERALD, DURHAM, N. C., TUESDAY, DECEMBER [illegible], 1954

Recorder's Court Cases Heard Here Yesterday

conduct

[illegible] Acosta, speeding, $5 and [illegible]

[illegible] Negro, drunkenness, [illegible] 30 days in workhouse.

[illegible] reckless [illegible] and costs.

Henry Lee [illegible], Negro, drunkenness, 30 [illegible] in workhouse.

Clinton [illegible] Blake, drunkenness, [illegible] time, [illegible] and costs.

William James Brame, violating [illegible] costs.

James Brown, Negro, drunkenness,

[illegible] and costs

Richard [illegible] Isley, [illegible] costs.

Lucius William Jones, Negro, no driver's [illegible] and costs.

[illegible] Keever Jones, [illegible] ness, $5 and costs.

Ralph [illegible] Long, drunkenness, [illegible] time, 30 days in workhouse; appealed, bond $2[illegible].

Bobby Gene Marks, drunkenness, [illegible] 30 days on road[illegible]

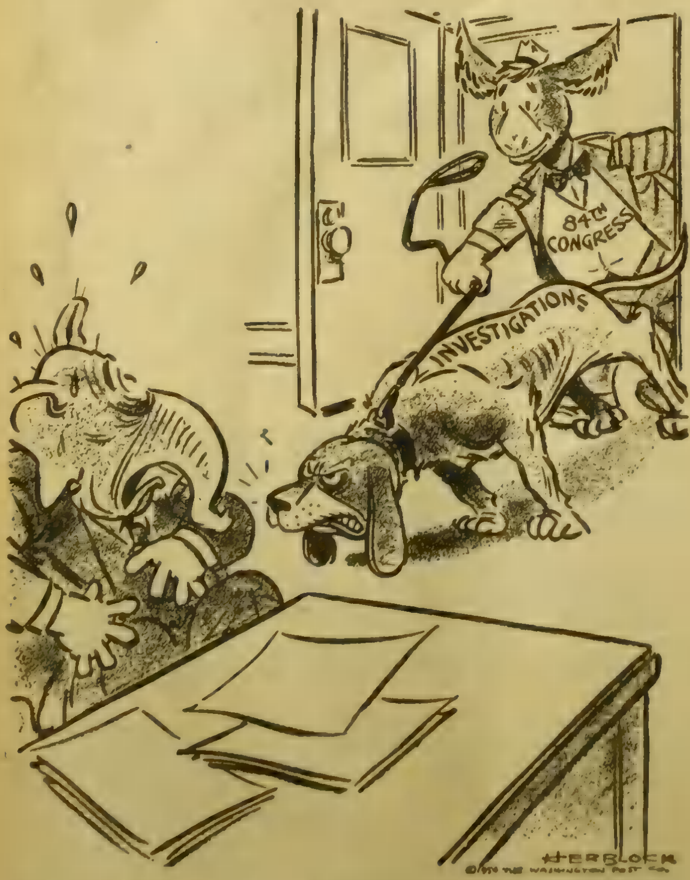
[illegible] defendant refrain from using alcohol, keep peace and pay costs.

jury ground out subpoenas and contempt-actions. "The Communist Party in Miami," he wrote, "already has complete plans of the stockade [the new police lock-up], which were obtained in anticipation that all would be rounded up when Soviet Russia attacks the United States." In another article he wrote: "The Communist Party's method of preying on lonely people was described yesterday by a pretty German girl, a former atomic-bomb technician, who said she unwittingly fell into Communist hands." The story was illustrated with a photograph of the girl—in a scanty sun suit, of course—bearing the caption, "I was lonely . . ." The disbarment of the local attorney who pleaded the Fifth Amendment brought from Runyon the announcement: "The legal arm of the Communist Party [has been] smashed." When the disbarred lawyer moved away from Miami, the *Daily News* carried a huge front-page headline, "New Czar for Reds in Miami," but who the new "czar" was or where he came from the newspaper has never bothered to say, then or since.

Runyon's inventiveness was wide-ranging. "Reds' Safety in Jail Feared as Inmates 'Haze' Smolikoff," ran the headline over a story which reported that Charles Smolikoff, one of the men jailed for contempt, had been beaten by fellow-prisoners in an effort to make him sing patriotic songs "backward and forward." The *Daily News* ran the story for a full day after it had been denied by the sheriff.

Max Shlafrock, another of the contempt-charge victims, was pilloried by Runyon when an advertisement over Shlafrock's name appeared in the *Sunday Worker* congratulating the Communist newspaper on its thirtieth anniversary. The *Daily News* did print Shlafrock's denial that he had sent the advertisement. Subsequently the contractor established that he had been the victim of a frame-up; both the order for the advertisement and the check accompanying it had been forged; the check had been drawn on a bank in which Shlafrock had no account. But the exposure of the fraud did not save the victim, a contractor who had received official commendation from the Miami municipality for his building activities, from economic ruin. The buildings he had already put up were checked for sabotage!

The pattern of frame-up is widespread. Even letters sent to the editor of the *Daily News* have been used. In 1949 a letter received by the newspaper over the name of a young Miamian, Walter Marks, said: "I am a Communist and proud of it. . . . I defy you to have a representative of your filthy yellow, capitalistic, reactionary press interview me." Marks denied he ever sent the letter, a denial which in the circumstances can certainly be believed. Marks recalls that he received a large shipment of Communist literature while he was in the army during the war from someone who faked a sender's name and address. Similar entrapment maneuvers are in use in Miami today. Individuals named in the press in connection with the witch hunt often receive "dear comrade" letters which seek to involve them in fantastic conspiratorial adventures.



"For heaven's sake, use more restraint than I did!"

The State Attorney

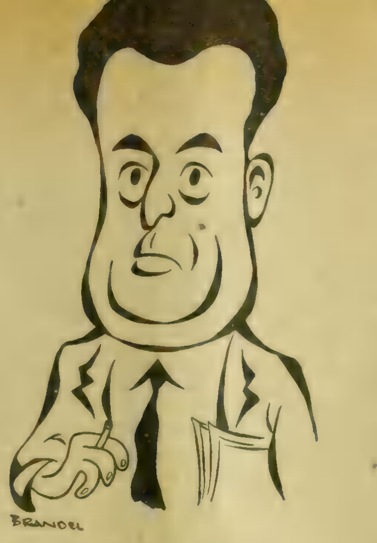
THE reversal of the convictions Brautigam obtained in the contempt cases is not the only blow he has suffered in the course of his career as state attorney. According to the Miami *Herald*, former Acting Governor Charley Jones, disturbed by the prevalence of gambling, prostitution, and other crimes in Dade County, threatened several times to suspend or transfer Brautigam. Each time Brautigam's supporters insisted that such action would impede the investigation into subversion. Finally in November, shortly before his term ended, the Acting Governor transferred Brautigam to Pensacola on the ground that a Dade County murder case was being mishandled. The State Attorney has only just returned from his "exile" and has told friends that he intends to get right back into his holy crusade against Reds.

Basic to the Miami formula is the use of government machinery for extra-legal purposes. Brautigam, arguing for his contempt convictions, insisted that his witnesses had no right to plead the self-incriminating privilege because he was not investigating whether crimes had been committed but was merely inciations during a period antedating the statute of limitations. But this argument disregards the fact that a state attorney and a grand jury have power to inquire only into the commission of crimes and certainly have no power to exact disclosure of private matters unless they are relevant to that purpose. In using the threat of a contempt indictment to force confessions of political heresy rather than as a means of removing obstructions to the discovery of crime, Brautigam has extended the frontiers of the witch hunt. There is an obvious parallel between these tactics and the ones used by Congressional committees which, without legislative purpose, seek to jail witnesses for contempt because they refuse to "expose" themselves or become informers.

On another occasion Brautigam sought to justify his line of questioning by declaring that he was only trying to find out whether Communists had been receiving any pension or welfare benefits in violation of law. None of the witnesses called were shown to have received any such benefits.

While in "exile" in Pensacola, Brautigam was reported in the Pensacola press to have made a speech in which he boasted that he was in charge of a secret organization of fifty Dade County attorneys who reported regularly to his office on what was happening throughout the county on the "subversion" front. He referred to the group as a "little F. B. I." At the same time he announced plans to interrogate five Dade County lawyers who, he hinted, had instructed witnesses on how to evade the law. From Miami he sent out chain letters to prominent McCarthyites throughout the country boasting of the effective results he had been achieving in his own bailiwick.

Starting from a premise which the state Supreme Court has since declared to be false, Brautigam handled the witnesses with a remarkable disregard for both common decency and common legal practice. It was not unusual for subpoenas to be served in the dead of night or before dawn. In one case a subpoena was served upon a sick woman whose husband had already been indicted and jailed. When a doctor certified that her illness prevented her from answering the subpoena, he was himself subpoenaed. The woman's sickroom was then broken into by another server, and this time she was forced to answer, was cited for contempt, and jailed despite her illness. The woman's father, suffering from a heart condition, was likewise subpoenaed and was excused only after his physician had courageously warned Brautigam's office that response would be fatal. In another case a subpoena was served on a woman in a maternity ward who had given birth to a child only a few days before; the server declared that he had been given permission by the woman's physician to make service. A woman of eighty, deaf and partially blind, was subpoenaed. In one instance the parents of adopted children were threatened that unless they cooperated their children would be taken from them.



George A. Brautigam

Once subpoenaed, witnesses were "tried" and found guilty by the press before they ever reached the grand-jury room. Frequently Fred Jones, Brautigam's chief investigator, invited TV camera men to "shoot" witnesses waiting in the anteroom, at the same time turning "dossiers" on them over to newsmen. Samuel Hirsch's appearance in the courthouse was turned into a journalistic circus. He was called, excused, and then recalled in an atmosphere of fanfare. While he was waiting to be recalled, newspapers headlining lurid charges about him were distributed in the courthouse. Members of the grand jury were seen reading the newspapers during a peared before them. One of the appellant's briefs charges that Brautigam insisted on being present during the deliberations and final vote on many of the cases. Florida law specifically provides that "no person shall be present while the grand jurors are deliberating or voting."

Once while Brautigam was waiting to argue before County Judge Holt that a group of witnesses should be cited for contempt, the witness read in the *Daily News* that they had already been cited. Pressed for an explanation, Brautigam said: "Don't believe everything you read in the papers." But the *Daily News* story turned out to be excellent prophecy. On another occasion the same newspaper had two witnesses convicted five days before they were tried!

The Courts

ON September 22, 1954, Judge Holt signed orders requiring seventeen witnesses to show cause why they should not be cited for contempt as the result of their refusal to answer questions before the grand jury. "Show cause" orders of this kind are not unusual; normally they are issued in response to a petition by the state attorney upon vote of the grand jury. But in this instance none of the witnesses had as yet appeared before the grand jury; they were not subpoenaed to testify, as a matter of fact, until September 23, twenty-four hours after the show-cause orders against them were issued. Thus the orders signed by Judge Holt recited facts which had not yet taken place. Moreover, mimeographed opinions, identical in text, stating Judge Holt's reasons for convicting the seventeen witnesses were filed in advance of the hearings on the contempt citations.

Judge Holt and Brautigam gave varying explanations of the incredible affair, so reminiscent of the *lettres de cachet* of the French Revolution. The Judge blamed the whole thing on a "clerical error." But Brautigam, according to the Miami *Herald*, explained the matter to the Florida Supreme Court somewhat differently. The *Herald* said:

> The state attorney [Brautigam] conceded Judge Holt had signed the show-cause order in advance. . . . He said this was done as a convenience to the state attorney and the order was to be served only if [the witness] did not answer ques-

tions for the grand jury. . . . Justice Elwyn Thomas commented that Judge Holt apparently had delegated his authority to issue court orders to Brautigam, and Justice E. Harris Drew said it appeared Judge Holt had acted judicially before the matter was before him. Retired Justice Rivers Buford, sitting for an absent justice, said, "As far as I'm concerned it's out the window."

When the Reverend Joseph Barth, pastor of the First Unitarian Church of Miami, and his secretary, Mrs. Helen F. Williams, filed an affidavit asking Judge Holt to disqualify himself from hearing the cases because of his handling of the "show-cause" orders, the Judge promptly ordered them to show cause why they should not be held in contempt. The affair was finally settled without Mr. Barth or his secretary having to pay a fine or go to jail.

The show-cause incident is the most dramatic but by no means the only example of irregularity in the judicial handling of the contempt cases. A note of persecution is perceptible throughout. Normally, for instance, bail applications in Florida are summary proceedings; in these cases, however, most of the witnesses indicted suffered substantial periods of incarceration before they were ultimately released. Mike Shantzek spent more than five weeks in jail; Charles Smolikoff a month. In most cases the bail was raised from an initial $2,500 to $5,000.

Judge Holt, presiding at the contempt trials, affirmed Brautigam's thesis that the witnesses were not entitled to plead the Fifth Amendment because they were being questioned concerning matters antedating the statute of limitations. His opinion ignored the applicable decisions of the United States Supreme Court; indeed, he insisted that it was the "American way" that "each case must be decided on its own basis." Yet he inadvertently destroyed the basis of his own argument by admitting from the bench that the witnesses had substantial reason to fear self-incrimination if they answered questions. "I don't care what the [Florida] Supreme Court does," he declared in the hearing of defense counsel, "these people will be indicted for criminal communism."

The Judge twisted the screws on the witnesses at every opportunity. Smolikoff, for instance, was given his one-year sentence for contempt by Judge Holt on July 6. On July 17 the Florida Supreme Court ordered Smolikoff released from custody under a writ of habeas corpus. Judge Holt reheard the matter two days later, reaffirming his previous denial of bail despite the higher court's ruling. The Judge stated that Smolikoff would have to go to the state Supreme Court to get bail. The court followed a similar procedure in every case. Each witness was forced to apply to the Supreme Court for a writ of habeas corpus, involving extra expenses and fees, and was compelled to remain in the county jail pending its issuance. The ultimate unanimous determination by the Florida high court that the thirty-one appellants should never have been convicted in the first place merely serves to emphasize the harsh prejudgment involved in the denial of bail.

Although there are nine circuit judges, Judge Holt, as presiding judge, reserved all the contempt cases for his own consideration. At his insistence cases were held up while he spent a vacation in Spain and were presented to him upon his return. During the trials he attacked the defendants from the bench, permitted proceedings in his chambers to be televised, and found nothing improper in accepting a "patriotism" award for his handling of the cases even while some were yet to be tried and others were on appeal. Nor did he consider the fact that appeals were pending in one group of cases a reason for staying punishment in the others.

Three years ago Miami passed an ordinance requiring registration of all Communists or "followers of the party line" who remained in the city for more than forty hours. The ordinance also required that meetings of Communists be licensed and that all Communist literature be published in a daily newspaper before it could appear under its own imprimatur. This extreme ordinance was enjoined by Judge Holt himself as unconstitutional. Nevertheless, when the latest witch hunt started, the Judge dissolved his own earlier injunction.

The disbarment of the Miami attorney for pleading the privilege against self-incrimination—probably the first case of its kind in the country—is another example of Dade County justice. Circuit Court Judge Vincent C. Giblin both instigated the complaint and presided at the trial. Yet this was not the only surprising feature of the tained his present judicial eminence Judge Giblin was a lawyer for notorious gamblers, including Al Capone, and on one occasion was himself convicted of contempt, invoked the Fifth Amendment in his own defense, and was given a ninety-day sentence. But this did not stop him from saying, in his oral decision disbarring the Miami attorney:

> I concede the witness's right, as it is the right of any witness, to refuse to testify under oath in response to a question when his answer may tend to incriminate him. He has that constitutional right, but he does not have the constitutional right to practice law, and the American legal profession demands and should demand that no lawyer invoke the Fifth Amendment in refusing to discuss frankly and openly his activities, so that we judges and lawyers of the profession may determine whether he is or is not loyal to the Constitution of the United States.

His subsequent written opinion turned out, in large measure, to be a paean of hate against "intellectuals" who, according to Judge Giblin,

> . . . give the greatest aid and comfort to the enemy. These pigmies on stilts who parade as giants are sometimes found in our institutions of higher learning; and waving their master's degrees they pose as the defenders of personal liberties and the promoters of international good-will. But they only think they think.

Runyon hailed the disbarment as setting the stage for a local purge of the legal profession. Brautigam liked the decision so much that he wrote a laudatory foreword to it, reprinted the whole in pamphlet form, and sent out hundreds of copies—this in a case in which Brautigam was himself the prosecutor and in which the appeal had not been exhausted.

Some sections of the press and public did not permit the decision to go unchallenged, and the Judge struck back sharply. As a trustee of the University of Miami he denounced faculty critics as "snakes tempting students with Marxian apples." He charged that the editorial staff of the Miami *Herald* was infiltrated with Reds. And with the appeal still pending, he has been energetically defending his action in speeches before patriotic groups.

Not the least important cog in the Miami machine is the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Brautigam has no investigative staff other than Fred Jones, yet subpoenas were served upon persons who were strangers in Miami and who, when questioned, found that information had been gathered about their activities and associations in their home states in the distant past. The relationship between the F. B. I., the grand jury, the press, and Brautigam remains unknown except to those directly involved. All the evidence indicates that it was close. Otherwise, how could it happen, for instance, that two witnesses in a recent New York perjury trial were newly recruited informers who had been turned over to the F. B. I. by Brautigam's office?

The Formula at Work

BY NOW it must be clear that a well-organized junta in Miami is cultivating the myth of subversive witchcraft practiced by large numbers of doom-bearing Reds. To the junta's operations the *Daily News* contributes the very considerable power of its headlines, capable of destroying the witches economically; the State Attorney and Judge Holt contribute the power to jail those who will not confess; and the F. B. I. contributes its witches' dossiers. Each partner has much to gain. The F. B. I. recruits reformed witches ready to identify their unregenerate sisters; the county officials can count on sensational press notices to further their political advancement; the *Daily News* is paid in headlines, circulation, and the opportunity to play Warwick to Brautigam. Already the State Attorney has been named Dade County Democrat of the Year. The runner-up? Dan Mahoney, publisher of the *Daily News*.

The Miami formula is basically a local product. A host of citizens' organizations have sprung up in support of Brautigam's objectives. The most recent is the Subversive Activities Commission, dedicated to forcing legal action against those exposed as Reds, to pressing for anti-subversive legislation, and to collecting information on subversive activities. The commission's directorate interlocks in many places with that of the Constitutional Club, a group with similar objectives organized by Charles Allen Gould, a close associate of Brautigam. Offshoots of the Constitution Club are the Breakfast Club and the Freedom Club.

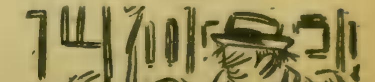
The Velde committee was a transitory phenomenon in Miami, and not all of its activities were helpful to the local crusaders. The fact is that Chairman Velde, not normally addicted to moderate views on the problem of subversion, admitted after his hearings here that "the situation is not as bad in Florida as in other parts of the country." Despite several visits to this city the committee has yet to recommend a single prosecution for perjury. All this has irked the local crusaders: Runyon condemned the committee's performance as inept and noted that few of sixty "friendly" witnesses which Brautigam has at his disposal cooperated with Velde.

The engineers of the Miami formula have the support of a vociferous minority in this febrile tourist city, where the gangster, the crackpot, and fanatics of all sorts flourish amid the amused tolerance of the vacation-minded. Where but here could racketeers make a good thing out of a fraudulent appeal for funds to finance a probe into juvenile subversion? Yet despite the fear it has spread over this city's relatively small permanent community, it would be wrong to think that the Miami formula has not met with resistance, some of it heroic. Judges, newspaper columnists, clergymen, and other community leaders have spoken out. One of the most significant signs of the strength of the resistance is the recent election to the state legislature of John B. Orr, a forthright and courageous liberal lawyer who won in the face of skilled exploitation of the Red issue by his opposition.

There have been reports that a Senate judiciary subcommittee of the new Congress may launch an investigation of the denials of civil rights which have occurred in the course of probes into alleged subversion. The dangerous character of the Miami formula should give it a high priority in such a probe. Already it is having an effect beyond the border of Dade County. The state administration, thoroughly aware of the political benefits to be derived from a Red hunt, has entered its own St. George in the anti-subversion lists—the twenty-nine-year-old Ellis Rubin, who has complained that Brautigam has done no more than rework Crouch's territory. And Brautigam's chain letters, boasting of his successes in Miami, may yet find echoes in other communities.

So far as Miami is concerned, a responsible investigative committee could well begin its work by finding the answers to the following questions: (1) Who instigated the current Miami witch hunt? (2) Is there any relationship between the witch hunt and the growth in Florida of the Christian Anti-Jewish Party, which has as its chief slogans "Free America from the Jews" and "Defend the White Race"? (3) Is there any relationship between the drive to nullify the Supreme Court's desegregation decision and the witch hunt which intensified shortly after that decision? What is the relationship between the witch hunt and the newly formed Miami anti-desegregation groups? (4) Are Florida grand juries being manipulated by reactionary forces in the community for the purpose of attacking important federally protected rights of expression and association? Why were witnesses before the grand jury questioned so intensively about their activities in such organizations as the A. V. C., the F. D. R. Club, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, and the N. A. A. C. P.? (5) Who financed Crouch's trip from Hawaii to Miami to testify in the disbarment case, in which he never took the stand? Who paid for the printing and circulation by Brautigam of Judge Giblin's opinion in this case? Have private funds been used to subsidize the evident invasion of the constitutional rights of Miami citizens by the state attorney's office?

In the meantime the Miami Chamber of Commerce ought to concern itself with the possibility that with all its sunshine Miami's repressive climate may ultimately repel freedom-loving vacationers.



Courtesy Des Moines *Register*

"They called you an intellectual, Pa."

SLUMP IN TEXTILES

An Industry Goes "Soft" . . *by Bernard Nossiter*

TEXTILE manufacturers are wearing happier faces these days as the industry's third post-war slump seems to have run its course. But the gloom of the textile workers is still as thick as a New England woolen blanket.

The latest recession in textiles began in the second quarter of 1953 and apparently hit bottom in the winter. In six months output tumbled 22 per cent. Since December, 1953, the production curve has been upward, enough so for J. Spencer Love, Burlington Mills' board chairman to say that the industry has turned the corner.

Severe ups and downs are an old story in textiles. One observer attributes them to the industry's complex structure. A yard of piece goods passes through many separate business hands before it reaches the customer as clothing in a retail store. At each stage entrepreneurs make judgments about prospective demand that speed up or slow down orders. These judgments tend to reinforce one another, deepening the downswings and heightening the upturns.

The Federal Reserve Board's monthly textile-production index measures the latest slump. From 111 in June, 1953 (1947-49 equals 100), output fell to 87 in December and rose again to 93 last June. The recession was unevenly distributed through the industry. Woolens and worsteds were the hardest hit, with production falling 42 per cent from the second quarter of 1953 through the first quarter of 1954. Rayon and acetate broad-woven goods slumped 23 per cent in the same period; cotton goods only 5 per cent. These figures reflect a persistent post-war trend.

While many hard and capital-goods industries have increased profits despite reduced sales, no tax relief has helped the net in textiles. Profits plummeted from $93,000,000 in the first quarter of 1953 to $32,000,000 in the first quarter of 1954. And even the first figure was well below the $202,000,000 racked up in the quarter before the 1951 slump.

Mill workers have had to bear the brunt of these slumps. Since in textiles wages are nearly half the value added by manufacturing, labor is the first to be hit by a tightened market. In June, 1954, employment was 300,000 below the average monthly level of 1,280,000 in 1948. More than 130,000 workers were made jobless by this latest decline, and the Textile Workers Union (C. I. O.) figures that a third of those working last winter were on part time. The recent revival has not taken a comparable number off relief rolls, although work weeks have been lengthening. Even if the recovery is sustained, thousands who lost their jobs will find mill gates are permanently closed to them. Since the end of World War II the union believes that 150,000 jobs have been wiped out by liquidation of plants. Technological changes are also shrinking the long-term employment market.

John F. Awtrey

The best crystal-gazers in the textile industry are afraid the trend is irreversible. They point to the steady post-war decline in the percentage of total consumer spending that goes for clothing. In 1946 consumers spent 10.4 cents of every dollar for apparel; in 1953 they spent 7.3 cents. Solomon Barkin, T. W. U.'s research director, thinks the decline is a deep-seated social phenomenon. The move to the suburbs, television, drive-ins—all add up to casual clothes and fewer clothes. Moreover, such textile users as the makers of shower curtains and garment bags have largely shifted to plastics. Woolens, with their high labor content, are also losing out to low-labor-content goods like rayon. There is doubt that the search for new markets will counteract these trends.

The mergers that for three decades have been transforming textiles from a decentralized to a more tightly knit structure have contributed to the decline in jobs, and mergers have been stimulated by the recent recession. The T. W. U. estimates that 150 plants employing 50,000 hands were bought up by competitors between July, 1953, and September, 1954. Marginal companies become easy prey for the solidly established. Also big firms concentrating on one branch like to take in smaller firms to diversify their output and thus lessen cyclical swings. Some firms look for companies whose stock is selling well under asset value, buy them at bargain-basement prices, and sell off the assets. The T. W. U. calculates that over 550 plants were closed between the end of the war and the end of 1954.

BUT the worst specter that haunts the textile workers is the industry's growing concentration in the South. Except for woolens and worsteds, most textile fibers are spun and most cloth is woven below the Mason-Dixon Line. Last March T. W. U. researchers reported that Southern wages for broad-woven cotton, silk, and rayon were 11 per cent under Northern rates. Moreover, unorganized Southern plants can skimp on holidays, increase work loads, and browbeat their hands in a wide variety of other ways. The South generally offers cheaper power, closer access to raw materials, and a wide assortment of tax inducements.

BERNARD NOSSITER is a New York newspaperman.

Today more than three of every five workers in the industry are working in Southern plants. Of course, the word "Southern" here applies only to location. The T. W. U. says that two-thirds of these plants are controlled by Northern capital. More than half the Southern workers are employed by only thirty-eight companies. The North is not expected to be frozen out completely, but the over-all decline in demand will undoubtedly shrink output faster in the North than in the South.

The growing preponderance of the South offers an ominous prospect to the unions. The T. W. U. claims less than one worker in six in the South as against more than one in two outside it. Whereas from the end of 1952 to June of 1954 employment in the industry dropped a little more than 11 per cent, the union's 400,000 members dwindled to 325,000—a loss of nearly one in five. To be sure, some of this loss can be attributed to a secession movement. Former T. W. U. official George Baldanzi bolted to the United Textile Workers (A. F. of L.) after the 1952 convention and took some units with him. According to the T. W. U., however, many of the bolters returned; the United Textile Workers admits to a membership of "less than" 100,000 and paid the Federation per capita tax on only 57,000 in 1953.

If textile wages, now a marginal $1.36 an hour, are ever going to climb within talking distance of other industries, the Southern plants must be organized. The T. W. U. knows this and spends nearly three dollars of every four that come in on organizing. But the plants, backed by the police power, have waged an unremitting and highly successful war against unions. A Senate labor subcommittee which investigated the situation reported in 1952 (Senators Taft and Nixon excepting) that employers use all or some of the following devices to prevent organization of their workers: "surveillance of organizers and union adherents; propaganda . . . ; denial of free speech and assembly to the union; organization of the whole community for anti-union activity; labor espionage; discharges of union sympathizers; violence and gunplay; injunctions; the closing or moving of the mill; endless litigation before the N. L. R. B. and the courts." If these methods fail, said the committee, the employer will stall the election, then the certification, and finally the negotiation of a contract. "Few organizing campaigns survive this type of onslaught," it concluded.

Southern plants are equally adept at breaking established unions, the committee further observed. They begin by disrupting grievance procedures, urging revocation of check-offs, denying union agents access to the plant, and firing union leaders. At contract negotiation time the company makes impossible demands and forces a strike. It then gets an injunction to protect scabs, has strikers jailed for contempt, starts a back-to-work movement, provokes violence, evicts workers from their homes, brings in the National Guard, and blocks credit to strikers. The committee summed up: "The strike collapses under this conjunction of economic, physical, and social pressures; returning employees are refused employment; blacklists block employment in other mills. If the strike cannot be broken, the plant can be closed and machinery transferred to another mill or sold."

THE T. W. U. believes it is "the No. 1 victim of the Taft-Hartley Act." William Pollock, the union's executive vice-president, told a House Labor Committee in March, 1953, that "new organization, under Taft-Hartley, has been brought to a dead halt." He said those who claim the act isn't so bad because unions are still operating are thinking about widely organized industries; the law keeps the unorganized unorganized. Mr. Pollock showed the Congressmen that in the five and a half years before Taft-Hartley the union won 58 per cent of the 260 Southern elections in which it engaged, bringing in nearly 68,000 members; in the five and a half years after Taft-Hartley the union was ready to participate in only 150 Southern elections, of which it won 37 per cent, bringing in not quite 15,000 workers.

However, Mr. Pollock's figures reveal that the trouble goes deeper than the law. The union brought in nearly 55,000 of the 68,000 pre-Taft-Hartley members in the four war years and won from 67 to 74 per cent of the elections in those years. In the years after Taft-Hartley the victory rate has been as high as 48 per cent, which is as high as in the post-war, pre-Taft-Hartley days. This shows two things: that organizing flourishes during war when stoppages cannot be permitted, and that even without Taft-Hartley it is a losing battle in the South.

The recession in the industry and its shift to the South have forced the T. W. U. to some harsh expedients. It took a 6½ per cent wage cut in New England cotton-rayon plants in mid-1952, and this has not been restored. Woolen and worsted wages were cut 9½ cents an hour last summer. Increases of work loads have been accepted, although the union insists only when no great burden falls on the workers.

In desperation the T. W. U. has turned to the government to bail out the industry and help in its organization. President Emil Rieve recently proposed that the government should buy textiles for distribution abroad, buy clothing for "needy Americans," set up textile stockpiles for the armed services, supplement unemployment benefits for distressed area workers who have used up state payments, sponsor a research program to find new markets and study consumer trends. Earlier the union had sought more tariff protection. To weaken the South's bait, the union has repeatedly asked the government to raise all minimum wages and rates in its textile contracts. It has also asked the government to place its cloth-buying orders in distressed areas.

In the way of organizing aid, the

John F. Awtrey

union wants Congress to dispel the notion that unions are "somehow subversive." It seeks many changes in Taft-Hartley: among them, speedier Labor Board decisions; stiffer penalties for employers' unfair practices; actual good faith in bargaining and no stalling on the part of employers; closing the loophole that lets a Chamber of Commerce employ union-smashing tricks forbidden to employers; limiting state-court and state-legislature control over labor-management relations; permitting federal courts to compel arbitration in contracts calling for it; and outlawing the coercive company propaganda that the "free-speech" provision permits.

Textile's problems confound the union. Hence the turn to government to avert disaster. Some critics doubt that the government will act. If, as many believe, migrating plants are not a big problem, then a program to curb them will not alter the picture. And if the union can only penetrate the South successfully in war time, tinkering with Taft-Hartley will not provide the solution. Perhaps government aid can lessen the severity of textile ups and downs. But the problem of decent wages and working conditions appears to be squarely in the laps of the Southern mill hands themselves.

WARNINGS FROM BONN

Revolt Against Rearmament . . *by Carolus*

Bonn

CHRISTMAS tidings from across the Rhine to the people of the German Federated Republic told of the birth, not of a Prince of Peace, but of the monster of German rearmament. Yet on the eve of Twelfthnight, Chancellor Adenauer seemed quite happy as he received congratulations on his seventy-ninth birthday.

"The old man of the Rhine," however, like Churchill, is rapidly becoming a burden even to members of his own party. His victorious electoral sweep of February 6, 1953, has receded into the remote past. His Christian Democrats have shown losses of up to 50 per cent in all local elections since—in Catholic Rhineland-Westphalia last spring, in agrarian Schleswig-Holstein last summer, in Hesse and Bavaria in November, and in Berlin in December. The Social Democrats have an absolute majority in West Berlin; an anti-Adenauer government is in power in Hesse; a Socialist has become Premier of Bavaria for the first time in thirty years, with the Catholic reactionaries relegated to the opposition. These developments have cost Adenauer his two-thirds' majority in the Bonn upper house—a serious loss which will make itself felt in the votes on the constitutional changes required by the Paris treaties.

On December 15 and 16, several days before the French National Assembly produced its narrow, confused, and lamentable majority for them, the Paris treaties had their first reading and debate in the Bonn Parliament. It was not a pleasant experience for Dr. Adenauer. For two days the West Germans watched the spectacle of the Socialist opposition pushing the Chancellor into ever tighter corners. The immediate cause of his plight was the Saar clause of the Paris treaties. There is no majority in the Bundestag for sacrificing the Saar: even members of Adenauer's own party oppose it. Moreover, the Socialists were able to prove—over the Chancellor's denials—that he had yielded on October 22 to an ultimatum of the French government on the Saar. Mendès-France and Adenauer now interpret the Saar clause each to suit his own purposes. Bonn says that the Paris treaties grant the German population of the Saar the right to determine its future status by a plebiscite, to be held after peace is concluded. The Paris interpretation is that the treaties separate the Saar from Germany for all time. Adenauer has appealed to Washington for support. All that Dulles has achieved so far is the meeting of the two Premiers in Baden Baden last week. It remains to be seen whether the German industrialists will consider the economic concessions in North Africa offered by Mendès-France adequate compensation for the loss of the Saar coal and steel plants. It is likely that these gentlemen will take, as is their custom, what is offered to them without renouncing the hope of getting more.

But the Saar is, after all, a comparatively minor matter compared with German rearmament. Indeed, what is really at stake is the preservation of the Western alliance. The feeling of the German opposition was well expressed in an editorial in the conservative *Deutsche Blätter* of January 1, 1955:

> The dominant question is whether West German participation in the Atlantic alliance will make the reunification of Germany easier or harder, whether it alone will make German unity possible or will surely prevent unity. Another question is whether the military security of West Germany would be enhanced or diminished by the Paris treaties. A deputy belonging to a party in the government coalition, former General von Manteuffel, has made some well-justified demands in this respect which have not yet been met. Shall we be defended at our frontiers or shall we be overrun? After all, we want to survive a future invasion, as General von Manteuffel put it in Parliament.

The great worry of the Germans is that any agreement or coexistence between East and West will be at the expense of German unity. This is behind the fear and distrust with which Adenauer and his supporters are regarded. Also condemned are those deputies who are really opposed to the Chancellor's policy but do not have the courage to rebel openly, placing the personal, religious, and class benefits which they reap from the regime above their per-

---

CAROLUS is the pseudonym of The Nation's *correspondent in West Germany.*

sonal integrity and the interests of the people. "After us the deluge" exemplifies their attitude. Banner headlines which proclaim "High Gold and Currency Reserves of the Federal Bank," "Wild Boom on West German Stock Exchanges," "Eleven Billion Marks of Foreign Currency, an Increase of Three Billion in 1954" (4.20 marks make $1), tend to overcome scruples. Under their spell some Germans welcome the new planes, the shells for the atomic artillery overlooking the Rhine. Russian warnings and counter-proposals are rejected out of hand. Just as the Montenegrins used to boast that they and the Russians were together a people of 150,000,000, so the Bonn cynics talk of "us and our Western allies who are invincible." They ignore the facts pointed out by the Paris *Monde* on January 4, 1955:

> The worst thing about this folly is that it is unnecessary, for nobody on either side of the Atlantic seriously believes that the twelve German divisions are a strategic necessity. The NATO decision to reply to an attack by atomic reprisals, taken a few days before the ratification debate, has ironically underlined its anachronistic and useless character. . . . The letter of the Paris treaties is ratified; their spirit has been killed. And the way in which their ratification was achieved indicates that their text will never be reanimated. A terrible crisis of confidence thus arises within the Western bloc. The sacrifice of the French deputies on December 30, 1954, has formally saved the alliance, but Anglo-American pressure, which has literally transformed the Paris treaties into a *Diktat*, has inflicted irreparable damage.

German newspaper readers are spared no Hollywood divorce, no Paris cellar murder, but they were told nothing about this judgment of one of the most important Paris newspapers. And now the question arises: Is the feeling in West Germany any better? Do the German people feel any different toward London and Washington than the French do?

The *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, which is in favor of the Paris treaties, published on January 5 an editorial that has received wide attention. It was in reply to the contention of Walter Lippmann and the London *Times* that coexistence between East and West should be established even if German unity must be sacrificed. The Frankfurt newspaper, which takes a position generally not unlike that of the New York *Times*, commented:

> The West is showing very plainly that it is more interested in the military strength of the German Federated Republic than in German unity. The time is not favorable, it finds, for this foremost aim of the German people. And so the alliance between West Germany and the United States will soon be put to the test. Its proponents have always assured us that once the alliance is concluded, the West will be so strong that the prospects will be better for successful negotiations with the Russians on German unity. . . . The politicians who so decisively intervened in favor of the American alliance have awakened hopes among our people and especially among the oppressed of the Russian zone. . . . The coming generation will judge their statesmanship not by how completely they have achieved Germany's integration with the West but by how successfully they have brought freedom to the people east of the Elbe and Werra.

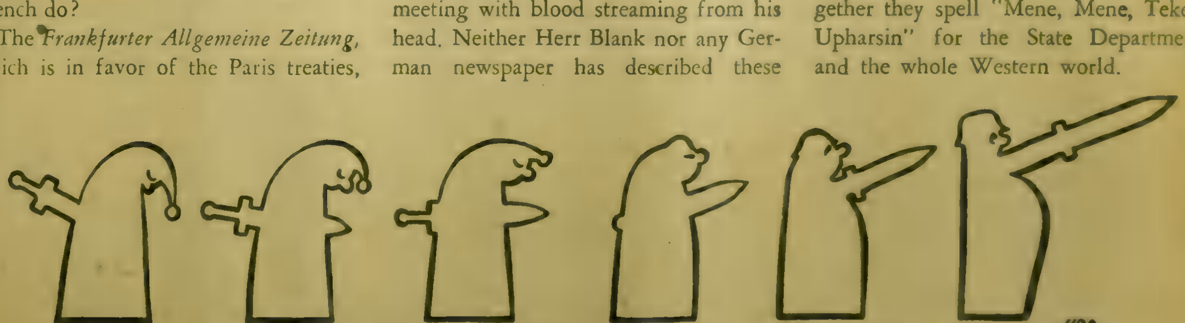
The immense majority of the German people feel much more strongly on this question. This is especially true of German youth, who are unalterably opposed to the remilitarization of Germany, partly as a matter of principle and partly because of the foreign and domestic policies that it will automatically entail. When Herr Blank, representative of the Chancellor and of the Pentagon, made a speaking tour to explain the Paris treaties last fall, the young men of Cologne and Dortmund, of Hesse and Bavaria came to his meetings in thousands and shouted him down. He dared not appear without a strong police guard. In Augsburg he was taken from the meeting with blood streaming from his head. Neither Herr Blank nor any German newspaper has described these young demonstrators—workers, students, and civil-service employees—as "Communists."

THE Protestant church has joined the Social Democratic Party and the unions in their fight against the Paris treaties and remilitarization and for the reunification of Germany by an East-West agreement. Before the debate of December 15 seventy-five Protestant church leaders and theologians sent a letter to the deputies asking them to oppose German rearmament in obedience to "their Christian conscience." Among the signers were Professor Gollwitzer of Bonn University, a noted theologian and a personal friend of President Heuss; Professor Neisel, leader of the Reformed church; Professor Vogel of Berlin; and Dr. Niemöller, head of the church in Hesse. Protestant pastors are organizing a movement among young men to refuse military service.

Though London and Washington insist on West German remilitarization and are determined to force it upon the country with the aid of Adenauer, the will for unity of the German people is not weakened. It is, indeed, strengthened by the danger of a civil war between an armed West Germany and an armed East Germany. Bishop Dibelius, head of the German Protestant church, said in his New Year's Message:

> It is pitiful to fall for a cheap propaganda which always proclaims one's own policy to be a policy of peace even if it is only a mask for rearmament, and for a foreign policy which is actually warmongering though it may go hand in hand with a genuine wish for peace.

All these voices, added to the prospect of a West German army which may one day be forced by the people's will to join with Russia for the sake of the reunification of Germany, represent so many warnings from Germany. Together they spell "Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharsin" for the State Department and the whole Western world.



Simplizissimus (Munich)

The Evolution of the Stab in the Back

BOOKS

The New Conservatism

A PROGRAM FOR CONSERVATIVES. By Russell Kirk. Henry Regnery Company. $4.

ROAD TO THE RIGHT. The Tradition and Hope of American Conservatism. By Gordon Harrison. William Morrow and Company. $4.50.

By H. H. Wilson

RUSSELL KIRK, author of "The Conservative Mind" (1953), is one of the more important contributors to the effort to restate policy and program for American political conservatism. He has recently been joined by Gordon Harrison, editorial writer for the Detroit *News* and author of "Cross-Channel Attack"; "Road to the Right" is both an appraisal of the conservative role in American history and a call for business to assume political responsibilities.

Mr. Kirk has not sustained the quality of his earlier work. The value of his new book is vitiated by his detestation of modern society, especially its cities and industrialization, and his acceptance of the nostalgic myth of rural virtue. He is properly contemptuous of the caricatures he presents as "the liberal"—"the typical liberal or radical . . . is smugness incarnate"; "the intellectual"—"sick from his smugness and conceit"; and "the professor"—"when a man is both a professor and an intellectual he is loathsome." Conceding that conservatism is never dogmatic, Mr. Kirk, a self-styled "true-blue conservative" and, therefore, "a highly reasonable person," has partially succeeded in overcoming this restraint. Thus he concludes that "private enterprise is the only really practicable system, in the modern world, for satisfying our economic wants"; "the best men in our political life usually have desired to be esteemed as conservatives"; "power no longer really is joined to wealth, or to numbers, or even to strength"; "money, and most respectable media of communication, still are on the side of the liberals and radicals"; and "the dispute over loyalty has resulted in very little actual injustice or repression in America, as yet."

Readers are likely, in the judgment of this reviewer, to find Harrison's the more useful analysis. Writing with humor, pungency, and shrewdness he devotes twelve chapters to a review of conservatism from Federalism to Eisenhower and two chapters to consideration of a viable policy for the future. With Kirk he believes there is a popular demand for conservative leadership, but he traces it to the fact that "for the bulk of the people the government is the one instrument that can be deliberately and rationally manipulated to save men from various iron laws of economics." He does not waste energy regretting the fact of big government, for he understands that "its basic dimensions are tailored to its task" and that government has become the "last refuge of individualism." He warns that "a government trying only to avoid interference with existing institutions in fact yields its own will to other compulsions within the society." Though the history he outlines is not conducive to undue enthusiasm for conservative capabilities, Harrison is convinced that the existence of a conservative party will strengthen democracy by providing "a principled conflict . . . between parties that agree on ends [and] disagree on means." Recognizing that we have always had at least a limited

Hotel Room

Irresolute, I sit down on the bed.
The springs protesting in an alien key
Remind me of the other men before me
Who sank upon the bed to ruminate
And rearrange their yielding images
Within the new dimensions of their transience.
How many men, I wonder, stood up and stared
Through the dusty window, memorizing bricks,
And turned and left, and then returned, each time
Reshaping the room to comfortable fit,
And with their going, leaving behind no mark
Of their identity? How many others
Will stretch to haunted sleep, unaware, unaware?

The room darkens, but I do not move. Outside,
A huge electric sign winks symbol: On . . .
Then off . . . Then on . . . and instantly the room
Flashes in response and echoes symbol,
A rented mirror of its occupants,
Reflecting love and pain but glazing blind
With every exit. What's left of any man
Who ever sleeps here warm with certainty?

The room no longer mine, I trace a line
Across the ceiling and lose it in the wall,
Intent on leaving some private sign of my
Identity, somewhere high above the reach
Of Time, to certify that I was here,
I lived here once, I must not be erased,
I sit here all alone but brother-linked
To every man who leans against a tree
And scrupulously carves his minute mark
Into the blurring bark of history.

MILTON KAPLAN

H. H. WILSON, a contributing editor of The Nation, *is professor of political science at Princeton University and author of "Congress: Corruption and Compromise."*

class politics, he rejects the thesis that the existence of a specifically conservative party opposed to a predominantly liberal party would aggravate social tension.

Those who accept the notion of business trusteeship and the assumption by corporations of social and political responsibilities will be responsive to Mr. Harrison's conclusion. Observing the Eisenhower Administration, its undermining of regulatory commissions and bungling of Taft-Hartley revision, Harrison is aware of "the difficulty of socializing the business point of view and bringing it up to date." Nevertheless, he is convinced that the conservative party must build on a business base and "develop the business philosophy so as to make it relevant and attractive to all groups disposed to put their primary trust in tradition and slow evolution."

British Medieval Painting

PAINTING IN BRITAIN: THE MIDDLE AGES. By Margaret Rickert. The Pelican History of Art. Penguin Books. $8.50.

By S. Lane Faison, Jr.

THIS is the fifth volume of the Pelican History of Art, published under the expert editorship of Nicolaus Pevsner. It is similar to the others* in format and in size, with some 250 pages of text, nearly 200 halftone illustrations, a generous bibliography, and an index. In addition, there are three historical maps, an elaborate chronological chart to indicate connections between English centers and European sources, and a very useful glossary illustrated with line cuts.

The study of medieval painting in Britain is still in an archaeological stage. Any summary, therefore, must concern itself primarily with establishing facts. Furthermore, medieval anonymity veils all but a few individual artists like Matthew Paris, and of these we know little more than their names and a few works. As a result, this book is pretty much what it has to be—a careful factual statement of what happened in Britain in the field of manuscript illumination, wall painting, stained glass, panel painting, and that elaborate embroidery which became known over Europe as *opus anglicanum.* Miss Rickert's scholarship is painstaking and authoritative; in addition she has managed to keep in mind the general reader, to whom British medieval painting is all but unknown.

To such a reader her book will come as a revelation. Based on Irish and complex European and East Mediterranean sources, painting in Britain gradually developed its own special flavor. Above all it was linear, in many cases exclusively so, or touched with the merest suggestions of color. It differs strikingly from the heavily plastic nature of Italian and French medieval art and from those aspects of Carolingian, Ottonian, and later medieval art in Germany which allude to Roman imperial origins. Line in British medieval painting is close to the more expressionist phases of German drawing before, during, and after the time of Albrecht Dürer; yet it avoids German violence and neuroticism. It is mellowed by a gentle restraint and not infrequently by humor. Making due allowance for the passage of time, one may sense in these modest but brilliantly competent works some prophecy of William Blake on the one hand and of Rowlandson on the other.

The earliest work discussed is the "Book of Durrow," now at Dublin, illuminated apparently in Northumbria in the latter half of the seventh century. Ostensibly as Irish as the "Book of Kells" itself, it also betrays Anglo-Saxon characteristics suggestive of the metalwork and jewelry of those warlike peoples. The latest works run to about 1500, when Italian Renaissance forms began to invade the Gothic vocabulary. Thus we are led through the Middle Ages to the point where a previously published volume, E. K. Waterhouse's "Painting in Britain, 1530-1790," begins. Among the most interesting pages are those devoted to the famous Bayeux "tapestry" —which is really an embroidery—for the English origin of which Miss Rickert argues most convincingly; and to the Wilton Diptych (National Gallery, London), perhaps the most exquisite of all extant works of late fourteenth-century Gothic painting, for which an English origin is also claimed despite its very close connections with the style prevalent in French aristocratic circles.

---

*Reviewed in *The Nation* for November 14, 1953, and April 24, 1954.

Recent Poetry

SONGS FOR EVE. By Archibald MacLeish. Houghton Mifflin. $3. The sudden return of MacLeish's lyric voice as evidenced by the new poems in his recent Collected Poems, and as carried on in the present lyrics is one of the true wonders. At sixty MacLeish has found singing resources as rich as those that first made clear his talent, but now enriched and deepened by time. One of the books that must not be missed.

EZRA POUND AND T. S. ELIOT. By Richard Aldington. The Peacock Press, England. No price given. A lecture handsomely published. Aldington, always a suave critic, enters smiling and proceeds to such literary assassination as even the eighteenth-century masters of the art of undercutting would have envied.

SELECTED POEMS. By Mark Van Doren. Holt. $5. Van Doren can observe his rustic subjects with a true poet's eye and can sometimes phrase the observation brilliantly, but his rhythms seem faithfully schooled rather than imaginative: one tends to come to the end of each rhythmic measure having already anticipated how the sound will turn. The result is partly admiration, but also partly the boredom that arises from monotony.

POEMS OF FIVE DECADES. By Max Eastman. Harper. $3.75. Starting with no talent whatever, Max Eastman collects fifty years of diminishing returns into some sort of micromental monument. A collector's item.

POEMS. By Rolfe Humphries. Scribner's. $4.50. Humphries can turn a graceful rhythm with something like a jewel carver's talent for the tiny, but when he makes the mistake of trying satire or "serious" subjects, the result is too thin for wit or too academic for feeling.

A SORT OF ECSTASY. By A. J. M. Smith. Michigan State. $2.50. Smith has grace and charm, but his serious poems sound too much like the fashionable thing to do—or fashionable fifteen years ago—and his lighter ones flake off trying to satirize the obvious.

JOHN CIARDI

Partisan of the Arts

SELECTED ESSAYS OF WILLIAM CARLOS WILLIAMS. Random House. $4.50.

By John R. Willingham

IN FORTY-TWO representative essays ranging in time from 1920 to 1954 Dr. Williams proves anew that a poet-critic at his best can be a valuable partisan for the arts. Most of these essays appeared originally in little magazines, literary quarterlies, or as parts of Williams's earlier books. Though he warns the reader that the opinions in some of the earlier essays are perhaps tentative, to be modified and clarified as his own aesthetic emerged out of flux, it seems to me that the ideas exhibit a remarkable coherence.

The major concerns of the essays are the nature of poetry in general and the development of a specifically American tradition. Dr. Williams asserts the essential contemporaneity of all great poetry. The major poets of the past provide for the poet of today an achievement not for imitation but for attempted outstripping. Since it is in the structure of the art form that modernity or lack of modernity is manifest, the art of the past offers a proving-ground: "As writers we shall find in writing our most telling answers, and as writers it is we who should uncover them. That is our business. If, as writers, we are stuck somewhere, along with others, we must go back to the place, if we can, where a blockage may have occurred."

On the subject of American art and poetry Williams offers some sound advice for the reinterpretation of American literature and reveals not a little about his own poetic aims. Whitman, he says, freed American verse from an obsolete, restrictive, and hence meaningless poetic; as a pointer, "a key man to whom I keep returning," Whitman brought the glow of health and vitality to American poetry. When, in reckless enthusiasm for the iconoclasm he had begotten, he allowed his own poetry to degenerate into meaningless catalogues and structural confusion, he failed; when the later *vers librists* built upon the failures of Whitman, they emphasized and extended the failure.

But in Williams's view Eliot and his followers were guilty of a worse crime: in their horror at the softness and looseness of free verse they set out to assassinate the achievement of Walt Whitman. They fomented a poetry for the "instructed few"; "and instructed poetry is all secondary in the exact sense that Dante's 'Commedia' is secondary where it is archaic and fettered against a broad application of the great traditon." It is to be expected that Williams, if he had to take sides somewhere in this basic conflict, should always line up with Whitman in spite of his failures.

Grenades are tossed, with considerable premeditation, right and left. But it is clear, I think, that as both artist and critic Williams is carrying on an attack against an intrenched, baneful, derivative art—an attack first formulated clearly in 1916 and 1917 by the men associated on the *Seven Arts* magazine. Significantly, Waldo Frank in both "Salvos" (1924) and "The Rediscovery of America" (1929) recognized a close connection between Williams's inclinations and the aim of the *Seven Arts* group; the writings of Williams, Frank said, partake of a promising apocalyptic method," whose practitioners "must literally make the plastic form of their vision from the plasmic substance of their experience—without obedience to conceptual heritage or aesthetic tradition." As Williams pointed out in his "Autobiography" (1951), he has found meaning as both individual and poet in "the fates of ideas living against the grain in a nondescript world"; he has never been quite comfortable in an alliance with any school or party line. Like Whitman he has preferred to follow his own bent with "creeds and schools in abeyance." Though he admires and has profited by some aspects of the Imagists, of the work of Eliot, Pound, Stevens, Marianne Moore, and others, Williams has never found it necessary to be an expatriate or to ransack the literature of the past for images and forms. Emerson's demand for a writer to saturate himself with reality is probably met more nearly by Williams than by any other living American poet. If "Paterson," "In the American Grain," and the collected poems have not made clear the basis for his constant approach to the universal through the local, these essays will certainly show that Williams, the artist and the thinker, is American in the best sense—a sense shared by Thoreau, Emerson, Whitman, Alfred Stieglitz, Randolph Bourne, and Hart Crane.

JOHN R. WILLINGHAM is assistant professor of English at Centenary College, Shreveport, Louisiana.

Discoverer of Streptomycin

MY LIFE WITH THE MICROBES. By Selman A. Waksman. Simon and Schuster. $5.

By A. E. Mirsky

PROFESSOR WAKSMAN has a wonderful story to tell. It is the story of a poor boy from a remote village in the Ukraine who leaves his family and comes to this country. After some years he discovers streptomycin, one of the "miracle drugs," and wins fame and wealth.

Waksman's description of Jewish life in a Ukrainian village is fresh and absorbing. Traditional Judaism and the awakening of nineteenth-century Russia made for an idealism and spiritual yearning that induced young Waksman and his friends to seek educational opportunities. By heroic perseverance Waksman managed to obtain an irregular secondary education, but higher education was beyond his reach in the Russia of 1910 and so at the age of twenty-two he came to America.

He stayed with relatives in Metuchen, only a few miles from New Brunswick, New Jersey. Soon he visited Dr. Jacob Lipman, also an immigrant from Russia and at that time professor of bacteriology at Rutgers University. Lipman was interested in the microorganisms of the soil, and as a result of the association Waksman was to spend the rest of his life at Rutgers working on microorganisms of the soil. Within ten months of landing in the United States, Waksman

---

A. E. MIRSKY is on the staff of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research.

and with the aid of a scholarship working his way through college. In his fourth year he was already doing research under Lipman's direction. It was then that he made the acquaintance of the actinomycetes, a group of microorganisms related to the bacteria and fungi. These organisms provided him with the great opportunity of his life, for he discovered in one of them the antibiotic he named streptomycin.

Waksman's scientific activities did not by themselves lead him to the discovery of streptomycin. It happened this way: One of Waksman's students, René Dubos, went to work at the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research. He brought with him a knowledge of soil microbiology, which at that time differed in a number of ways from medical microbiology. Dubos perceived that with the resources of soil microbiology it would be possible to discover microorganisms in the soil capable of making substances that could be used against disease-producing bacteria. A number of such substances prepared by Dubos proved to be of only limited practical value in the treatment of disease. On Waksman, however, the impact of this work was decisive. He stopped what he was doing and devoted himself to the search for soil microorganisms capable of making antibiotics. His old favorites, the actinomycetes, proved to be most useful. Within a few years he had discovered streptomycin. (It should be said in passing that penicillin, an even more useful antibiotic and one already known, had come into medicine in an entirely different way.)

With the discovery of streptomycin Waksman became a famous man. The many honors and awards he received are fully described in this book. It is a pity that more is not said about the scientific aspects of streptomycin and other antibiotics, for this would have been of great interest to the general reader, as well as to the chemist, biologist, and physician.

The general tone of Waksman's book is one of pride in past achievement and of confidence in the future. Apart from some atomic physicists and some biologists interested in the population problem, most American men of science would, I believe, agree wtih Waksman in having a confident attitude towards the progress of man.

United Nations Publications

Obtainable from the Columbia University Press

SOCIAL ASPECTS OF TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE IN OPERATION. UNESCO. $.75. The fourth in a series on "Tensions and Technology," this report summarizes the discussions of a conference of experts. Members of technical-assistance missions meet endless problems having little to do with their primary goals—conflicting world views, suspicious officials, vested interests, and a stubborn peasantry. The conference report suggests how to face such unavoidable aspects of the job. It also considers the problem of evaluating the results of technical-assistance programs.

THE RACE QUESTION IN MODERN SCIENCE. A UNESCO Series. $.25 each. A new title, "Race Mixture," by Harry L. Shapiro, has been added to this excellent international series of nine booklets edited by Dr. Alfred Metraux. Other contributors are Michel Leiris, Juan Comas, Otto Kleinberg, and Kenneth Little. Each volume includes bibliography. The series concludes with "The Race Concept," summarizing evidence presented by 69 scholars from 23 countries.

THE RACE QUESTION AND MODERN THOUGHT. A UNESCO Series. $.40 each. Three titles have recently appeared in this series: "The Ecumenical Movement and the Racial Problem" by W. A. Visser 't Hooft, "Jewish Thought as a Factor in Civilization" by Leon Roth, and "The Catholic Church and the Race Question" by Yves M-J. Congar, O. P.

THE AFRICAN MIND IN HEALTH AND DISEASE: A STUDY IN ETHNO-PSYCHIATRY. By J. C. Carothers. World Health Organization. $3. A strange publication to be issued under the W. H. O. imprint. A racist tract in which stale references to the African's alleged childishness are buttressed with alleged analogies between him and lobotomized Europeans.

ENLARGEMENT OF THE EXCHANGE ECONOMY IN TROPICAL AFRICA. U. N. $.40. A useful compilation of the most recent data on the spread of the market economy. Particularly interesting when dealing with sectors of the African economy managed by Africans—cocoa in the Gold Coast and Nigeria, coffee in Tanganyika, cotton in Uganda.

SUMMARY OF RECENT ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS IN AFRICA, 1952-53. U. N. $.80. The latest issue of an annual supplement to the "World Economic Report." Primarily statistical. Interesting when discussing the effect of the post-Korean slump in commodity stockpiling on African economic life.

JOHN V. MURRA

Religion and Psychology

MORALS AND MEDICINE. By Joseph Fletcher. Princeton. $4.50. Unlike their Protestant brethren, the Catholic priesthood has always revealed eloquent concern with problems of conduct and ethics as they affected the intimate lives of men and women. This book helps to make things even. The author, who teaches at the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge, Massachusetts, discusses such topics as contraception or euthanasia with candor, brilliance, and an erudition which his hearty style makes delightful. His exposure of contradictions in some Catholic attitudes should have reverberations in Rome.

THE DEVIL. By Giovanni Papini. Dutton. $3.75. Satan, always an attractive character, fares well in the hands of this dynamic old Italian. By clever exegesis of Patristic texts, the author even comforts the friendly reader with the hope that some day Lucifer will be forgiven and that hell—since it had a beginning—must have an end.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PERSONALITY. By C. G. Jung. Pantheon. $3.75. This latest volume in the Collected Works consists of short essays, most of them previously published, on education, child development, the growth of the personality, and so on. It represents Jung in his least abstruse and most accessible mood.

THE SACRED FOREST. By Pierre-Dominique Gaisseau. Translated from the French by Stephen Becker. Knopf. $4. The adventures of four young Frenchmen amid the magic and secret rites of a tribe in French Guinea. The experiences are authentic, but the author manipulates them for picturesqueness rather than for fresh anthropological light.

APPROACHES TO GOD. By Jacques Maritain. (Vol. I of "World Perspectives," Edited by Ruth Nanda Anshen.) Translated from the French by Peter O'Reilly. Harper. $2.50. This is a steep but open threshold to the vast, complex work of our leading Catholic thinker. It might be called a "bait," although an honest one, for the sensitive reader will almost certainly be drawn by it to explore the author's universe more deeply.

WALDO FRANK

Jews and Revolution

SCAPEGOAT OF REVOLUTION. By Judd L. Teller. Charles Scribner's Sons. $4.50.

By Marie Syrkin

SCAPEGOAT OF REVOLUTION" propounds the thesis that Jews suffer rather than benefit from radical and revolutionary movements. Contrary to the common belief that virulent anti-Semitism is characteristic of reactionary periods, Mr. Teller makes social revolution the villain of the piece. He also refutes the charge that Jews have a weakness for radical ideas. The great majority, he says, cleave to the doctrines of "liberal-bourgeois laissez faire."

Mr. Teller supports both contentions with a variety of data. Even the much-heralded French Revolution brought no automatic liberation to oppressed minorities, particularly Jews. Mr. Teller quotes Marx and Bakunin to demonstrate that Socialist ideology was anti-Semitic at the core, and he adds, "Almost all major prophets of socialism were more fervently dedicated to their hates than to the brotherhood of man." The record of Soviet Russia and its satellites completes the indictment.

Much of the arraignment is correct. Marx's anti-Semitic gibes are familiar and constitute a classic instance of Jewish self-hatred. It is a matter of fact that during the 1881 pogroms which swept Russia revolutionary leaders issued proclamations calling on the peasants to kill "landlords, Jews, and Czarist officials." Soviet Russia's record, from its persecutions of Zionists to such anti-Semitic flare-ups as the Prague trials and the Moscow doctors' plot, is admittedly unsavory. Nevertheless, the individual items adduced do not prove the author's dispiriting thesis that anti-Semitism is of the essence of socialism.

No Socialist or, for that matter, Communist movement has made anti-Semitism a tenet of its creed, whereas ideological anti-Semitism is characteristic of reaction. It is not just coincidence that the periods of Jewish martyrdom fell under a Torquemada, the czars, or a Hitler. And it is not sheer accident that the impact of the French Revolution threw down the ghetto walls in Europe just as the Russian Revolution, whatever its subsequent corruption, emancipated Russian Jewry. Despite the admitted failures of professed champions of freedom and equality, the road that leads to the gas chamber and the pyre comes from another direction.

One is forced to conclude that the author's demonstration is motivated by the present political climate in the United States. Mr. Teller is nobly protecting the Jews from the imputation that they too profited from the political upheavals of the past five hundred years. the accusation of radicalism. Most Jews are undoubtedly safely conservative, but must the people of the prophets apologize abjectly for those among them, however misguided, who ventured to dream of a new earth, if not a new heaven?—Must Jews really blush uneasily for a Rosa Luxemburg, a Trotsky, or—dare one write it—a Karl Marx? True, these "renegades" abjured traditional Judaism, but when Edmund Wilson suggests that "Marx is of the tradition of the Old Testament" he is pointing to the ancient roots of social vision. As to the errant young people of the thirties whose mistaken zeal for human welfare Mr. Teller kindly explains, perhaps it is time they and their apologists stopped crying, *"Peccavi."*

MARIE SYRKIN, author of "Blessed Is the Match. The Story of Jewish Resistance," has spent some time in Israel.

Health Quacks and Faddists

PRISONER IN PARADISE. By Garet Rogers. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $3.95.

By Stanley Cooperman

FROM the days of frontier camp-meetings to the plush salvation of Billy Graham and Father Divine, religious revivalists and their seemingly endless appeal to millions in many parts of the country have been the wonder of reasoning men and have provided fascinating material for novelists and poets as well as social scientists.

There is, however, another area of mass hypnosis—a secular revivalism—which has been largely neglected in American literature but which Garet Rogers now examines in "Prisoner in Paradise." This is the area of pseudo-medicine and health faddism. The leaders of these movements are far from the genial quacks of folk myth. They are business men who use the methods of the revivalists—the rhetoric, denunciations, threats, prophecies of doom, and appeals to remote "authorities."

But whereas the religious revivalists deal in matters of faith and emotion and frequently enrich or comfort the lives of their devotees, the medical quack operates in a field where there is far less margin for error. The purveyor of pseudo-medicine, no matter what his motives, deals with human life itself.

The success of the quacks would be easier to understand if their victims were financially unable to obtain legitimate medical care or could be dismissed as ignorant simpletons. Health quackery is no cut-rate proposition. Fees are high, and most of the clients come from the middle- and upper-income groups. It is also a fact that creative and highly intelligent persons swallow the sales talk of pseudo-medicine, risking their health if not their lives in the process.

The motivation of the health quacks and, to a lesser extent, of their victims, is the central theme of Garet Rogers's first novel, "Prisoner in Paradise." Miss Rogers, a young attorney familiar with the ways of medicine and pseudo medicine, introduces several species of the "practitioners" who use human bodies as the raw material for their own fortunes. Taking her hero, a young man with the improbable name of Spartan McClintock, from the beginning of his career to his leadership of "healthopathy," she dissects the psychological and social pressures of, successively, a small Southern town, a medical school, a prison clinic, and the overstimulated neuroticism of Hollywood. She also indicates that the medical profession is not altogether free of responsibility for health faddism. Members of the profession too often seem to regard themselves

---

STANLEY COOPERMAN is a free-lance literary critic with a special interest in modern fiction.

as an exclusive club, complete with a set of social codes and prejudices. As a result many young men of genuine ability are forced to take the path of least resistance.

Miss Rogers often affects a dryness of manner which seems rather labored, but she handles dialogue exceptionally well and provides generous helpings of melodrama. Her picture of the vast field of medical quackery holds one's interest to the end.

Books in Brief

Brown Shirts Versus Striped Trousers

THE WILHELMSTRASSE. A Study of German Diplomats Under the Nazi Regime. By Paul Seabury. University of California. $3.

In democracies and dictatorships alike, political leaders who make ultimate decisions in foreign policy are certain to miscalculate if they ignore the counsel of competent professional diplomats, if they convert diplomats into "yes men," or if they penalize diplomats for wrong judgments or—incredibly à la Dulles—for right judgments. Such miscalculations proved catastrophic in the Nazi Reich. Until now, however, we have had no systematic account of what happened to the German Foreign Office and Foreign Service as a crucial factor in the débâcle.

Mr. Seabury offers us a lucid and incisive analysis, fully documented from voluminous archives and memoirs, excitingly readable, and as current in its implications as tomorrow's headlines. This is at once a study of politics and foreign policy and a diagnosis of how "persistent denunciation, public defamation, character assassination, private terror may have a profound effect upon the morale of a bureaucratic establishment and demolish its institutional effectiveness." After reviewing the unreconstructed Foreign Office of the Weimar Republic, this admirable study traces in detail the clash of "Brownshirts and Striped Trousers," the replacement of Neurath by Ribbentrop in 1938, the antics of Alfred Rosenberg, and the final "Liquidation of Diplomacy" as a source of national disaster.

The demagogues who ruled the Reich spurned the guidance of the diplomats. The latter were not even informed, at the time, of the most crucial resolves of the policy-makers. The Wilhelmstrasse championed a German-Soviet entente as essential to German security. The Nazi élite sought the annihilation of Russia and thus brought the Reich to ruin. The diplomats, meanwhile, survived through "impotence and compliance" and found no way to restrain, or even influence, the psychopaths whom the German people adored as leaders. Before we condemn them for cowardice, Seabury concludes, it would be well to recognize that "the problem of moral choice under political duress is one which comes to many men —including contemporary Americans— but is avoided by most."

An Unsolved Problem

AMERICAN SECURITY AND FREEDOM. By Maurice J. Goldbloom. Beacon Press. $1.50.

This report to the American Jewish Committee is a sober analysis of the problems confronted by a democratic society which seeks to combine essential security measures with the preservation of intellectual and political freedom. Mr. Goldbloom accepts the thesis that Communists formed a network of favoritism and espionage in government during the 1930's and '40's; that all Communist parties "consistently serve" the U. S. S. R.; and that the Communist Party is both a political party and "a conspiracy to commit illegal acts in the interest of" the U. S. S. R. Though he does not believe that every Communist will commit criminal acts, "we must certainly accept the fact that he has yielded up his political judgment and will follow the party line on all questions." Despite this premise, Mr. Goldbloom believes that any attack on the legal rights of any person "weaken the security of these rights for everyone." The loyalty and security measures of the Truman and Eisenhower administrations are reviewed, with the conclusion that neither "has solved the problem of protecting the interests of the United States with a maximum of effectiveness and of fairness to individuals."

Literature Under T. R.

THE STRENUOUS AGE IN AMERICAN LITERATURE. By Grant C. Knight. North Carolina. $4.50.

In his earlier book, "The Critical Age in American Literature," Professor Knight considered the period from 1890 to 1900. In the present volume he is concerned with a less well-known and less admired literary decade—that between 1900 and 1910. He confesses that he is dealing with a period generally untroubled by artistic greatness, but to his way of thinking, "books, like persons, need not be great in order to be loved." The present book, therefore, is little more than a fondly retrospective treatment of the literature of the first decade of our century.

Much of it consists of dull catalogues of deservedly forgotten books and authors. When Mr. Knight squares his shoulders for an extended discussion of a major writer like Henry James, he becomes uncomfortable. He berates James for not selling his "major phase" to the average reader more successfully, though he reminds himself that people today find "The Wings of the Dove," "The Ambassadors," and "The Golden Bowl" congenial works. Theodore Roosevelt is the symbolic figure of the age; his "strenuous life" motivated much of the fiction. Of poetry, drama, and criticism, Mr. Knight has little to say. The social history is too condensed to be of much value, and the literary history is too superficial to provide insight into the aesthetic achievements of the "strenuous age."

Gall and Caviar

THE SPOOR OF SPOOKS. By Bergen Evans. Knopf. $4.50.

Several years ago Bergen Evans wrote his "Natural History of Nonsense" as a "sort of handbook in the gay cause of common sense." His continued delving into old wives' tales has soured the professor's disposition—and he knows it. In the foreword to the present book he warns us that a bitter taste of gall may be detected as well as a taste of caviar—to the general, presumably, adding a pinch of snobbishness to the mixture.

His angriest attack is directed against what he considers the absurdities of the extra-sensory-perception tests at Duke

University. He deals more mildly with numerous homelier misbeliefs, such as that cedar chests protect against moths or that mice like cheese. Some of the chapters explode such common assumptions as that crime doesn't pay and that legal phraseology is confusing rather than clarifying. One chapter, somewhat irrelevant to the theme of the book, deals with the psychological causes of automobile accidents.

The book ends with a serio-comic call to arms to the intellectual élite, who have "stood too long in sneers amid the alien scorn," to wage war against the masses of ignorant boobs. But in Mr. Evans's war the issues are confused from the start, for all the sneering and the scorning seems to have come from his side.

In the Land of Genghis Khan

THE FIVE SEASONS. By Karl Eska. Translated by Robert Kee. Viking. $3.95.

This novel of peasant life and death in the Turkmen provinces of the Soviet Union is a perceptive and moving work. Karl Eska is a sensitive artist responding deeply to the desires and conflicts of a people. Turkmen peasants are an ancient group whose folk memories go back beyond Genghis Khan, to the time of the great caravan cities of central Russia. For centuries these people were involved only in the struggle against desert and sun; the ruling governments were acknowledged, but life was measured by the yield of the earth. The Sovietization of this culture inevitably took on an indigenous cast. Moscow's "plans" had to be fulfilled, but the peasants continued to obey the basic rule—survival. Death or imprisonment was the price of failure to fill quotas, but it could be done through manipulation and bribery. Thus corruption among peasants and officials alike became almost universal. While "The Five Seasons" may be considered an indictment, it indicts only bureaucracies which reduce individual men, women, and children to the status of means to an end.

Eska's narrative is consistently effective, with a somber lyricism of mood and image. It drives down to the core of a situation without flourish; at several points the author presents an entire social conflict in two or three paragraphs. Eska may be anti-Soviet, but "The Five Seasons" is a work of literature which transcends the limitations of ideological skirmishing.

Australian Cattle Country

VISION SPLENDID. By Tom Ronan. Macmillan. $3.75.

A colorful and evocative excursion into the Australian backlands by a craftsman who writes directly from his experience. Although the way of life Ronan recreates is not altogether strange, he filters the familiar elements of Western fiction through the distinctive patterns of his own culture. The result is spiced with newness; even the vocabulary has the charm of novelty, with "swags," "waddy," "coolamons," "billy cans," "dilly bags," and so on.

The narrative is anchored to the familiar device of the green young man who comes to a new land to make his fortune and is ultimately captivated by it, but the material is not romanticized. The free life of the Australian cattle country is there, but so are the savagery and cruelty of that life. Ronan paints a vivid picture of the old drovers who commit suicide when they can no longer work the trails, of the muted but ever-present racial tension, and of the hypnosis of continued isolation. If his people are seldom more than part of the scenery, the scenery is fascinating, and the book will provide a rich new experience for readers who are unfamiliar with Australia.

Dehydrated Realism

THE VIEW FROM POMPEY'S HEAD. By Hamilton Basso. Doubleday. $3.95.

"The View from Pompey's Head" has been billed as a "major American novel by Hamilton Basso." It may be Mr. Basso's major novel, but it is certainly not America's, for the book is an overlong pastiche of New York financial and publishing circles and small-town social life, glued together with melodrama.

The novel pivots on a mystery: did the honorable editor cheat the famous author, or did the author's beautiful but evil wife simply act true to form and cause trouble? The wife, as one of the characters points out, is not a woman "but evil in its most absolute form"—a prototype of all those well-bred *femmes*

Books on India and Pakistan

THE BRITISH IN ASIA. By Guy Wint. Institute of Pacific Relations. $3.75. A perceptive and very readable description of the British Empire in South Asia and of the great change that led to its abandonment. It was because realistic British statesmen "saw that Oriental nationalism had become one of the elemental forces of the time, and was likely to increase in strength rather than diminish" that they acquiesced in the "loss." The author in due course relates his theme to the factor of Russia in Asia and then penetrates suggestively into the hazes of the continent's future.

THE TRANSFER OF POWER IN INDIA. By E. W. R. Lumby. Praeger. $4.50. This meticulous record of the snarled three-sided negotiations and events that led finally to the transformation of "British India" into India and Pakistan follows the course of official acts. Consequently popular currents and the chaotic communal clashes attending partition come to view only occasionally and, as it were, casually. Intrinsic value and reader interest are thus both circumscribed. The substance of the book is nevertheless highly useful in providing background for analysis of India-Pakistan relations and forewarning of more trouble in South Asia.

AROUND INDIA. By John Seymour. John Day. $4.95. The warp and woof of good stuff are here, for the author went to see for himself and presents his descriptions with facility. But John Seymour seemingly lacked real purpose in his drifting around India. "Politics is not my cup of tea," he said, and went where whim or accident might send him. A veneer of thin philosophizing does not disguise the circumstance that this insouciant chronicle lacks an adequate pattern.

DANGER IN KASHMIR. By Joseph Korbel. Princeton. $5. A revealing account of the dispute between India and Pakistan over Kashmir and of the grave danger that threatens the subcontinent by reason of the failure to achieve a settlement—a failure for which the author blames India more than Pakistan. Communism diligently exploits the fruitful opportunities offered by existing conditions, and the existing breach widens. Korbel sums up: ". . . the Kashmir problem has played havoc with the crucial relations between India and Pakistan and it has been irretrievably thrust onto the scene of world politics. . . . Kashmir has become a veritable powder keg for the whole of Asia."

O. EDMUND CLUBB

fatales who crop up in the movies, where they are played by Gene Tierney. The mystery, however, is not the core of Mr. Basso's novel, since he does make an unmistakable—if cautious—gesture of analyzing life in a Southern city.

Mr. Basso's realism is dehydrated; his people—inevitably good-looking or clever—retain an appearance of life, but in situations where no rough edges remain. Like others who attempt to achieve accuracy without antagonizing, his accuracy itself becomes little more than gloss. His hero, for example, is no bigot, but he is not objectionable about not being one; and this sort of discreet and watered-down attitude filters through the entire novel.

"The View from Pompey's Head" is a readable job—"it moves"—but with no more impact, challenge, or need for concentration than the stories appearing in the "better magazines." It contains interesting remarks on the intellectual and social stasis of Southern life, but one may doubt whether this modicum of interest warrants 409 pages of fiction.

"Exquisite" but Enervating

THE TORTOISE AND THE HARE. By Elizabeth Jenkins. Coward-McCann. $3.50.

Elizabeth Jenkins has been aptly called an "exquisite" writer. In this story of a disrupted marriage and a weak-willed woman Miss Jenkins relies on neatness of prose, making small but razor-sharp incisions beneath the surface of her people. The exquisiteness of "The Tortoise and the Hare," however, is not balanced by substance. Its heroine, for example, begins by appearing sensitive and poetic, only to become mousy and pathetic; her enervating timidity finally becomes unbearable, and no amount of psychological nuance can rescue the novel.

The plot climaxes are oddly unclimactic, perhaps because they are altogether too well-bred. Whatever interest the book promises is drowned in a welter of small detail which fails to give importance to the things that happen, or do not happen, to the characters. Granting the tonal accuracy of the author's images and her flashes of quiet (very quiet!) wit, there remains a seepage of pale gentility whose effect on many readers will be soporific.

Theater

Harold Clurman

ACCORDING to those who feel they have described something when they have found a name for it, Gian-Carlo Menotti's "The Saint of Bleecker Street" (Broadway Theater) appertains to the *verismo*, or naturalistic, school of opera, à la Mascagni's "Cavalleria Rusticana." The justification for this is that the Menotti piece deals with the Italian American section of New York City, and that subway stations and restaurants with juke boxes provide some of the scenes of action. In my view "The Saint of Bleecker Street" is nonsense as naturalism. If I am to regard it at all sympathetically, I must consider chiefly its symbolic undertones.

The plot may be interpreted as follows: The immigrant Italian, in his isolation from the main stream of the American big city, is torn between an old and moribund religiosity and a loud-mouthed secularism which makes him feel closer to the native community. But even when yielding to the latter he is insecure, because he still feels himself a stranger, without roots either in the Italian culture he has abandoned or in America, where his kinship with the customs and beliefs of the Old World prevents him from feeling wholly American. The result of this tension is a neurosis which leads him to a feverish irregularity of behavior and to violence.

Menotti is himself an American of Italian birth who wants to compose successful entertainment for the popular theater of our country, though he probably feels most at home in the operatic form, which thus far has a comparatively limited audience. This subjective relationship between the author and his material seems to me to give "The Saint of Bleecker Street" a certain emotional authenticity and warmth.

On a literal level the piece strikes me

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN
WEEKLY
Thursday
DECEMBER 23 1954
EDITION 15 Cents

NEW FREE TRIAL OFFER!!!
ENJOY 4 WEEKS OF THIS
WORLD-FAMOUS NEWSPAPER
AT OUR RISK!

You can sharpen your understanding of the present-day scene by reading a newspaper that gives you a fresh viewpoint on international affairs.

The American Association of University Women, in a recent letter to its branches, wrote " 'Indispensable' is a relentless word, but if you give the Manchester Guardian a chance it will become an indispensable resource for your thinking."

The great opinion makers of the greatest nations temper their judgment by what they read in The Guardian. It is one of those rare publications which offers clear, unbiased thinking on today's critical issues. The Guardian is justly famed for its sincere, outspoken journalism, its lucid editorial style, its willingness to face the facts and be guided by them alone, rather than to succumb to mob hysteria or special interests.

Mail this coupon today and learn why more and more Americans have become regular readers of The Guardian Weekly Air Edition—**ARRIVES IN NEW YORK ON DAY OF PUBLICATION!**

"The most literate and entertaining newspaper in the English language."
(Saturday Review, 8-8-53)

GENERAL REPORTS
SPECIAL POLITICAL ARTICLES
SUPERB EDITORIALS
MUSIC, ART & DRAMA SECTIONS
BRILLIANT DISPATCHES BY ALISTAIR COOKE
SPECIAL LITERARY ARTICLES
CROSS WORD PUZZLE
LOW'S FAMOUS CARTOONS
AND MANY OTHER FASCINATING FEATURES!

MAIL COUPON FOR SPECIAL FREE OFFER!

THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN N-10
53 East 51st St., New York 22, N. Y.

Please enter my subscription to the Manchester Guardian Weekly Air Edition, as checked below. If not satisfied after seeing the first four issues, I may cancel and get a full refund.

☐ 1 year, $7 ☐ Payment enclosed
☐ 16-week trial, $2 ☐ Please bill me later

Name__________

Address__________

as bogus. I am not impressed with the heroine's hysterical religion—it is presented as a premise but not justified or made moving except as a disease; her brother's equally hysterical objection to her religious bent has little sound basis, since he believes in nothing whatever. The accusation that he is in love with his sister—an accusation which drives him to crime—is entirely accurate but is significant only in the symbolical sense I have indicated. If we are to accept the bare facts of the play's story we have to conclude that the religious folk in the play are dreadful people—they beat up the heretic—and the boy in opposition a fool. The only nice person in the play, apart from the subsidiary priest, is the scarlet woman—very attractively impersonated and sung by Gloria Lane.

The rest is effect. Menotti stages his operas very well and manages melodramatic conventions with a deft hand, always seeking for a new turn or twist to engage the attention. But there is little substance in his new work. The score contains two good arias. The music generally is easy to listen to: it is (much) lesser Puccini with a sprinkling of other pleasant tidbits in a facile Italianate vein. The voices are admirable and the production is superior.

I WOULD hate to spoil anyone's fun by finding fault with "Anastasia" (Lyceum Theater). This play, written by a French lady, Marcelle Maurette, and adapted by Guy Bolton—never, I am informed, produced in Paris—is a sort of throwback to the commercial drama of 1913 on a subject which might have had a certain topicality in 1928. It resembles the novels still available in Continental railroad stations which have no literary quality but sell by the hundreds of thousands. It is a royal romance.

Anna is a Berlin derelict whom a gang of White Russian swindlers hope to pass off as Anastasia, Czar Nicholas II's daughter, presumed to have escaped the Bolshevik firing squad. The swindlers' efforts to cash in on their hoax is balked because Anna really is Anastasia, and she prefers to renounce her estate—the Romanovs, she realizes, are through—and marry an honest fellow-refugee who loves her for herself.

Very little of this is dull on the stage; if you like the diversion of chambermaid literature you may take it as an adjunct to gipsy music and dancing in one of our ubiquitous Russian Inns. Many people nowadays do, for we are returning in the theater to the escapism in which things are taken seriously provided they are not at all serious.

Such plays as "Anastasia" used to be the occasion of splendid bravura acting with a zest and massive colorfulness all their own. I remember having seen many years ago a play called "The Yellow Ticket"—laid in darkest Russia—with Florence Reed and John Barrymore. What a feast of grease paint and personality! And speaking of Barrymore, what Romanov was ever more regal than Ethel?

American society today does not produce actors for such plays. It is to the credit of Alan Schneider, the director, that he appreciated the acting style required for "Anastasia" and chose a cast that could approximate it. Most of the actors are too young in every respect for the roles they are playing, and it is to their credit that they hold the audience as well as they do when they perform in a manner so foreign to our ordinary realism. Viveca Lindfors is lovely but not yet sufficiently free of the director's care. Eugénie Leontovich seemed to me too deliberate for the most part, except toward the end of the confrontation scene (Anastasia's grandmother recognizes her), where both actresses achieved a touching climax.

"THE TROUBLEMAKERS" (President Theater), an American play by George Bellak, was written several years ago and first produced—and favorably received—in London and then in Tel-Aviv. It belongs to the drama of social indignation. It tells the story of a college boy who is killed by his classmates during a drunken spree in which their hostilities are vented on the boy, whom they dislike as a suspected "radical" and generally as a spoil-sport.

The first act is horrifyingly convincing, and the last scene, in which the boys attempt to get even with the victim's conscience-stricken roommate because he has forced their own confession, is pointed and stirring. Several of the intervening scenes are overwritten, preachy, and routine. Still, the play has a thematic vitality due to its relevance to our present state of mind, and I must approve of it as a welcome dissonance in our theater's insipid harmony, even though I deplore its artistic rawness. The cast and the production, undertaken with limited means, are excellent.

Films

Robert Hatch

THE men of the Booth family—Junius Brutus, John Wilkes, and Edwin—were admittedly purple fellows even for a theatrical dynasty, but they could not possibly have been such unfaltering bombastics as they are made to appear in "Prince of Players." This is unabashed romance; the fact that it is unabashed making it attractive entertainment.

Even so, without Richard Burton in the central role of Edwin Booth the picture would probably collapse of silliness. Raymond Massey as Junius Brutus, the original Booth and the genius with a "taint," and John Derek as the man who shot Lincoln play with a contagious skepticism. But Burton is a hard man to doubt. He punches through his part like a heavyweight working out in a gym, and the flashier it gets, the stronger his resolve to be believed. The impersonation is a little belligerent, but it can't be scoffed away.

And Burton does something else that is very difficult. It is notorious that a novelist who makes his hero a famous writer finds that it is extremely hard to convey the substance of his creation's talent. When an actor must play a famous actor practicing his great talent, the job is even more taxing. The audience instinctively digs in its heels and defies persuasion. Massey, in the present case, does not succeed at all in reviving the magic of the legendary Junius Brutus—he seems to be only Massey hamming more than usual. But Burton commands respect for Edwin's artistry in scenes from "Richard III" and "Hamlet." I don't say that they are really first-class readings—they are too self-admiring—or that they are even stage readings at all, for they depend heavily on close-ups and emotion whispered into a microphone. But they are individual and powerful; you can believe that the audience watching them would have been impressed.

ALTHOUGH set in Paris and presumably observing French legal procedure, "The Green Scarf" is peopled by English actors and is built on an old and successful English police-movie formula: a seemingly hopeless case; an unappreciated but brilliant defense attorney who must overcome the suspicions of his client as well as the superior forces of his opponent; a long court scene in which the prosecution is almost unchallenged until the final moment when the great surprise is sprung.

In this case the surprise is not so shattering as it might be, but the circumstances of "The Green Scarf" are sufficiently novel and the level of performance is sufficiently high to make it a satisfactory time-waster. The novelty lies in the fact that the defendant is a blind deaf-mute with evident paranoid tendencies. The performance level is set by Kieron Moore as this unhappy man, Michael Redgrave as his lawyer, and Leo Genn as his old teacher. Redgrave is the focus of the picture. His acting always seems to me a virtuoso construction—a demonstration of the craft rather than an impersonation—but his ingenuity and his astute, often witty observations are a joy to watch when the subject matter is unimportant. When he undertakes greater roles the exposed machinery can be irritating.

In "The Green Scarf" his old bearded attorney, engaged in a first major defense after a lifetime of police-court triviality, is a marvel of detailed embroidery, though the countless "revealing" touches of voice, movement, gesture, and mannerism do not add up to anything very individual. It is a little like Jannings, but without the self-pity; a little like Laughton, but without the charlatan's bounce. Moore makes his concocted part believable enough to enlist your support, and Genn's saintly teacher is as smooth as silk.

GEORGE ORWELL had a poor opinion of revolutions, at least of the great revolution that occurred in his lifetime. When you eliminate a tyrant, he observed, you create a vacancy, and like as not a new tyrant will step nimbly into it, leaving you no better off—and very possibly much worse off—than before. On this generalization he constructed "Animal Farm," an allegory which stirred up a good deal of discussion in the war years. The arguments were not only between the pro-Russians and the anti-Russians but also between those who differed on whether or not Orwell was preaching the essential futility of any revolt against oppression. As a simplified but not inaccurate fable of what happened in Russia the book is no longer controversial, but it is still not clear what Orwell thought a people should do about oppression. I think he loved and pitied suffering humanity but had little hope for its future: people were sheep, geese, donkeys, oxen, and plodding dray-horses, at the mercy of the scheming pigs.

"Animal Farm" has now come to the screen as an animated cartoon. It lends itself easily to this treatment, but its animators, John Halas and Joy Batchelor, have taken no more than adequate advantage of the opportunity. Their style is Disney-literal, with none of the satire or brilliant economies of the U. P. A. productions. The tone is cute, pathetic, or little-boy greedy, and the characterizations are superficial clichés of animal qualities. It is probably true, as advertised, that this is the first full-length cartoon on a serious theme; it is too bad that its British producers have executed it in a pedestrian style that cannot hold up for the required hour and a half.

WHEN a flight of jets is coming home to its carrier, the ship sends up a helicopter which hovers just outside the approach path, ready to dart off instantly to the rescue of any pilot who may have to ditch his plane in the surrounding waters. The details of this and similar technical maneuvers of carrier warfare provide the interesting passages in "The Bridges of Toko-Ri." The human relationships in Paramount's adaptation of James Michener's novel are the tough-tender ones we know from years and years of combat spectacles; the acting by William Holden, Fredric March, and Mickey Rooney is precisely what those studio-polished stars always accomplish—a dead-level of competence as correct-to-life as a Norman Rockwell painting. But the picture was made with the co-operation of the United States navy and is therefore full of the gadgetry and the superhuman agility of modern warfare.

The picture also appears to have a propaganda mission, which is to awaken the home front to the bitterness of the "small" war in Korea. From time to time, therefore, one or another of the performers is asked to say a few words on the purpose of the war, the nature of the enemy, the apparent callousness of the folks back home, and the bitterness of death in a world preoccupied with peace. And in a brutal concluding scene Holden and Rooney are trapped in an irrigation ditch and cut down by Chinese tommy-gunners. These somber moments are out of key with the blithe magazine-fiction tone of the picture as a whole. And the points they make are now a little pointless, unless Paramount is getting us in trim for a new Korea.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC PROBLEM

by George W. Eldorkin
Professor Emeritus, Princeton University

SELECTED CHAPTER TITLES:

- Denial of Basic Right.
- "The Sword of the Church."
- Totalitarian Church and State.
- The Vatican and the Invasion of Ethiopia.
- Catholic Revolution against Democracy.
- Priestly Hostility to the Public Schools.
- Is there Jesuit Influence in the FBI?
- Conquest of Heretical Churches.

$3.00

THE VANTAGE PRESS
120 W. 31 St., New York 1, N. Y.

BOOK MANUSCRIPTS INVITED

If you are looking for a publisher, send for our free, illustrated booklet titled *To the Author in Search of a Publisher*. It tells how we can publish, promote and distribute your book, as we have done for hundreds of other writers. All subjects considered. New authors welcomed. Write today for Booklet 103. It's free.

VANTAGE PRESS, 120 West 31 St., New York 1
In Calif.: 6253 Hollywood Blvd., Hollywood [illegible]

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE

Buy Your Books
through THE *Nation*

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular retail price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the retail price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D. No C. O. D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to

Miss Le Pach

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
333 SIXTH AVENUE NEW YORK 14, N. Y.

Records

B. H. Haggin

THE gabble on record envelopes—whether by the record collectors turned critics or by the professionals—is with rare exceptions most profitable when left unread; but I glanced at the material on Urania 7139 looking for bits of hard fact it might include about Prokofiev's unfamiliar Symphony No. 4, which Sebastian performs with the Colonne Orchestra on one side, offering a suite from the ballet "The Prodigal Son" on the other; and I read that the symphony was composed immediately after "The Prodigal Son" "in honor of the fiftieth anniversary of . . . the Boston Symphony, and first performed by that orchestra under Koussevitzky—a long-time associate of Prokofiev—in November of 1930." And having begun in this way I continued to read with increasing fascination Edward Tatnall Canby's long and detailed analysis of the structure of the work, and the part played in each movement by a basic tritone harmonic relation and three-note motive like the *Muss es sein?* of Beethoven's last quartet: the way the allegro portion of the first movement began with an "agitated faster *Muss es sein?*"; the way the *Muss es sein?* appeared in the bass in the second movement; the way the third movement began in B major and ended in F, a tritone away; the way the final movement was "a remarkably subtle drawing-together of all the previously generated forces," with an "ultimate loud statement of *Muss es sein?* in the last few triumphant notes." And when Mr. Canby turned to the suite from "The Prodigal Son" I read with continuing fascination that "as compared to the symphony . . . virtually every listener will hear at once the utterly different character of the musical structure in these five movements"; that the suite "'reeks of ballet,' in the free play of ideas, the quick changes of tempo, the danceable rhythms . . ."; that the two pieces exhibit similarities of harmony and orchestration, and as they "become better known an even closer thematic relationship will become apparent, though there are few spots where the actual ballet music was more than suggested in the succeeding symphony, composed so soon thereafter."

What made all this so fascinating was that I was listening to the symphony and hearing the ballet music from "The Prodigal Son" of which it largely consists: the "agitated faster *Muss es sein?*" of the allegro portion of the first movement is from the dance of the prodigal's two servants (the rest of the material of this movement is newly composed); the second movement is mostly the final scene of the prodigal's return to his father's arms; the third movement is the siren's first dance; the final movement is a piecing together of material from the opening scene, the first encounter with the drinking companions, the orgy, and the celebration by the siren and the companions after the despoiling (with again some newly composed material). Having used this much of the ballet score in the symphony, Prokofiev scrambled the rest into the suite. To my ears these two potpourris are much less effective than the original progression in the ballet score; and it is this original progression that Sebastian should have performed. Some of his tempos are different from those I am accustomed to; but the performances are good.

AS Webster Aitken began the opening movement of Schubert's Sonata Op. 53, at the first of his three Schubert recitals, there was the agreeable surprise of hearing it played with continuity, instead of with the discontinuities produced by the stop-and-go of the recorded performance issued by EMS last summer. And in the scherzo too there was a more animated and relaxed flow, instead of the over-deliberate pace and rhythmic distortions of the recorded performance. But the mannered style of that performance twisted the shapes of the second movement, the trio of the scherzo movement, and the G major episode of the finale again this time. In the Sonata Op. 78 too there was more continuity in the exposition of the first movement, in the scherzo, and in the finale; but still some of the discontinuous stop-and-go in the development of the first movement and in the second movement.

There was, then, a great deal in the performances that one can understand Harold C. Schonberg disapproving of in the *Times*. But it is regrettable that they should have been reported on by someone with no ear for the mastery that was so striking in the operation—mastery in the treatment of the piano; mastery even in making of the music something one couldn't accept; and the mastery that produced something as wonderful as the statement of the opening section of the first movement of Op. 78, as enchanting as the playing of the trio of the scherzo movement, as remarkable as the coherent shaping of the finale.

By now it is clear that in Aitken we have a pianist who uses his extraordinary powers in whatever music he plays for private ends—with results that are sometimes good for the music and sometimes not. And though there are wonderfully achieved moments, the operation on the whole doesn't seem to me good for Schubert.

Letters

Berle's "Revolution"

Dear Sirs: Recent years have seen a constant flow of propaganda, much of it highly erudite, designed to convince the ordinary mortal that big-business monopoly doesn't exist. But these theories of workable competition and countervailing power, like statistical "proofs" of declining concentration in industry, clash with day-to-day experience.

A. A. Berle, Jr., in his book, "The 20th Century Capitalist Revolution" (reviewed in *The Nation*, December 18), has come forward with a different approach, attracting public interest and critical acclaim. Monopoly is here, it is growing, says Berle. We have "concentration of economic ownership greater perhaps than any yet recorded in history." Corporate directors and managers are political and social powers as well, and their power "is in large measure absolute." Berle presents details impressively, with obvious knowledge of the inner structure of big business. He himself is attorney for the sugar "con-

WHAT DO YOU TEACH?

Political Science?

Economics?

Civics?

Sociology?

History?

Literature?

IF YOU TEACH one of the above, or a related subject, then *The Nation* can be a valuable classroom aid for you. Every year high school and college teachers throughout the country find *The Nation* an invaluable supplement to their regular classroom work.

That's because *The Nation*, America's oldest liberal magazine, is unique in helping students maintain a balanced view of all areas of today's news — political, military or economic.

In addition to its outstanding reporting and analyses of issues and events—domestic and foreign—*The Nation* presents, in its literary section, the work of such distinguished writers and critics as John Aldridge, Carlos Baker, Van Wyck Brooks, Waldo Frank, Maxwell Geismar, Joseph Wood Krutch, and Archibald MacLeish.

We INVITE YOU to join with the many other teachers who have been using *The Nation* for years in their classroom work. You can use the magazine one month or for the semester, in bundle orders of ten copies or more to the same address, for the

SPECIAL CLASSROOM RATE OF 40 CENTS PER STUDENT PER MONTH. (Desk copy supplied free for the teacher.)

Students save 50% on the regular purchase price

Payment need not be made in advance. Merely send in your order telling us how many copies you will need and for how many weeks (we'll be glad to accept a one-week trial order at 10 cents per copy) and we will bill you later. Send in your order now so that we can serve you most efficiently. Address it to:

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT
THE NATION
333 Sixth Avenue New York City 14

(P. S. If you want a preview of any issues coming up which may serve your special needs, please write us and we will be happy to inform you about them.)

MEETING

DR. JOHN B. THOMPSON
Rockefeller Memorial Chapel,
University of Chicago, will speak at a
TESTIMONIAL DINNER
To
DR. WILLARD UPHAUS
tendered by N. Y. Council of World Fellowship of
Faiths at The Great Northern Hotel
118 W. 57th Street, New York City
Sunday, January 23, 5 P. M.
$4.50 per person, no reservations necessary

PUBLICATIONS

SPECIAL OFFER
Send for **PE^CE WAR AND YOU** by **Jerome Davis** at **HALF PRICE**, cloth $1.50, paper edition 75¢. Pearl Buck says "Should and must be read." World Forum (Great Britain) says "This brilliant work shows how war can be prevented."
PROMOTING ENDURING PEACE
489 Ocean Avenue, West Haven, Conn.

YARROS, VICTOR S.: **The Essence of Our Abiding Isms.** Capitalism, Socialism and Communism impartially considered. 15¢, 10 for $1. **Progressive World, P. O. Box 143, Chicago, Ill.**

SOCIALIST BOOKS. Catalog, literature, Free. **New York Labor News Company, Dept. M, 61 Cliff Street, New York 38, New York.**

"HOW TO GROW A PEACE GARDEN" —The story of a flower and an idea that reached around the world. 50¢ postpaid. **Mary Phillips, R. F. D. 1, Lemont, Illinois.**

BUY
UNITED STATES
SAVINGS BONDS

centrate —a term that he prefers to monopoly.

Berle does not admit all this; he proclaims it. This is not ordinary monopoly; it is *American* monopoly. It has accomplished wonders; it constitutes a *revolution* (shades of James Burnham's "Managerial Revolution"!) leading to "an evolving economic Utopia."

The use of the term "revolution" may be helpful salesmanship, but it hardly corresponds with the facts presented. There has been no governmental overturn —that is, political revolution; nor class overturn—that is, social revolution. As Berle says: "Institutional corporations are guided by tiny self-perpetuating oligarchies . . . drawn from and judged by the group opinion of a small fragment of America—its business and financial community."

More important than the name is the content. Berle claims great accomplishments for American capitalism since World War I, his revolutionary starting point. This reader must take sharp issue. Berle claims that the 135 dominant corporations have partly achieved and are perfecting a planned economy. Certainly a giant ramified corporation plans *its own operations* quite elaborately. But it shows utter confusion to equate this with a national planned economy. Despite Berle's intimations that the motive of corporate planning is community welfare, the fact remains, as the author concedes at one point, that the aim is profits. Individual corporate plans aimed at profits come into well-known conflict with limited markets, unbalanced production patterns, rivalries with other giant corporations here and abroad. These lead to such "unplanned"

1929-32 (*after* Berle's "revolution") and such post-World War II phenomena as the collapse of the New England textile industry, the depression of the coal and railroad industries, "substantial labor surplus" in forty-eight labor-market areas in November, 1954.

But the main cause for concern is found in Mr. Berle's program for "Utopia." This is, in essence, that we the people should submit our lives to the "consciences" of the 135 great corporations, consciences which he believes are developing, which will guide the exercise of their power into benevolent channels and ultimately be codified in some new kind of corporation law.

Example: General Electric fires many employees and ruins them economically under "loyalty" procedures. This is fine so long as G. E. sticks to Communists, but who can be sure, worries the author, that some day G. E. may not decide to fire all Democrats. So let the conscience get to work. Let General Electric set up its own private court to try suspected subversives fairly!

Example: Automobile manufacturers arbitrarily took away the franchises of dealers who did not toe the line. There were complaints. The General Motors conscience went to work. It established an Appeals Board—of G. M. officials—to whom dealers can go if other G. M. officials take away their franchises.

The moral is clear. Nowhere in this book do the ordinary millions appear as active agents in the capitalist "revolution." They are mere objects of the absolute corporate power. Berle compares the corporations to Norman kings. If peasants had a complaint, they would appeal to the passing monarch, who, having a conscience, would mete out justice. So may the common man call on the corporate conscience and corporate law. By implication, let him give up the obsolete procedures of the ballot, elected officials, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights—not to speak of such petty hindrances as the anti-trust acts.

All this smacks of Mussolini's corporate system and Hitler's system of leaders and followers. I doubt that Berle wants this. But surrender to monopoly absolutism leads to such a dead end.

Flushing, N. Y. VICTOR PERLO

Ford Madox Ford

Dear Sirs: I am at present engaged in preparing a study of the literary career of Ford Madox (Hueffer) Ford (1873-1939) and would appreciate it very much if anyone possessing letters or other material concerning his life and work would communicate with me. FRANK MACSHANE
Pittsfield, Mass.

NEW BOOKS IN ENGLISH FROM THE U. S. S. R.

PAVEL LUKNITSKY
"NISSO"
Most absorbing novel on the life of Tadjikistan mountaineers. A good picture of life and customs in The Pamirs. **654 pages — price $1.50**

PAVEL LUKNITSKY
"SOVIET TADJIKISTAN"
History, geography and factual description of the social and economic development in the Soviet Tadjik Republic. Written in an easy story-telling manner. Deluxe edition, profusely illustrated. **263 pages — price $1.25**

PAVEL BEILIN
"A STORY ABOUT ONE BIG FAMILY"
Novel — 239 pages — 75¢

"A PALACE OF LEARNING"
Illustrated story of the new Moscow State University. **48 pages — price 20¢**

V. KARPINSKY
"HOW THE SOVIET UNION IS GOVERNED"
92 pages — price 15¢

V. LEBEDEV
"PEOPLE AT THE KARNAVAYEVO STATE FARM"
A factual story of the way Soviet State Farms are run. **120 pages — price 15¢**

FOR CHILDREN

"THE LENIN MUSEUM"
An album of illustrations with a story in verse. Large format. **32 pages — price 40¢**

"THE GIFT"
A beautifully produced, brightly illustrated, educational Cut-Out book. **Here is something the proud parents will play with while their "pride and joy" watches.**
34 pages — price 25¢

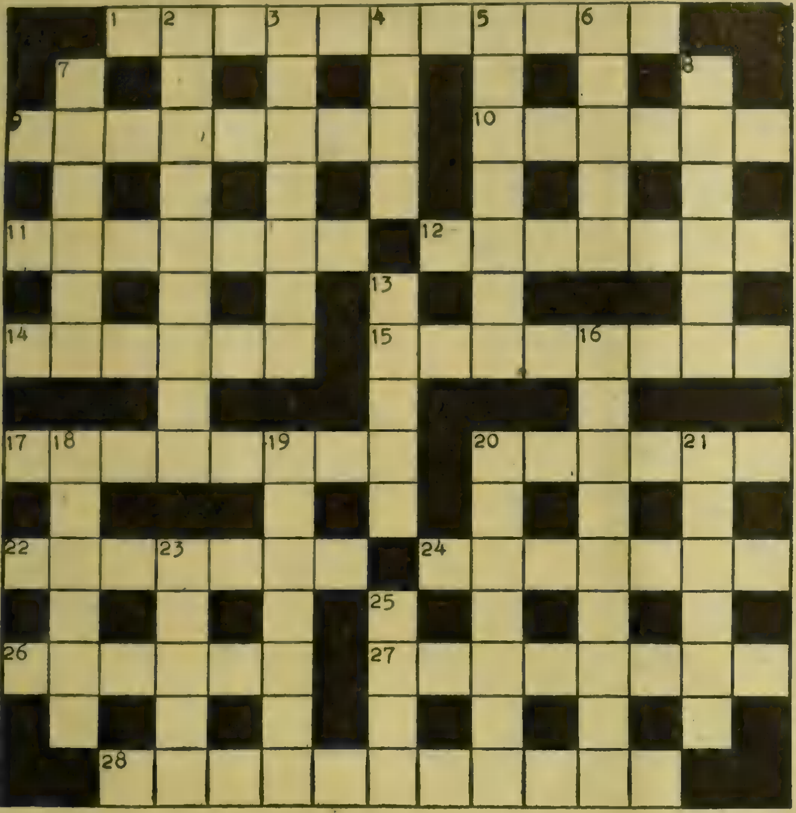
ALL THE ABOVE BOOKS PURCHASED AS ONE PACKET, AT THE SPECIAL PRICE OF $4.25. ASK FOR COMBINATION No. 10.

For other books in English ask for our E-55 catalog.

FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORPORATION
55 WEST 56 STREET
New York 19, N. Y.
GRamercy 3-2018–19
822 BROADWAY (Cor. 12 St.)
New York 3, N. Y.

Crossword Puzzle No. 603

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 and 23 down. The result of little children being seen and not heard? (1, 5, 5, 5)
9, 10 and 18 down. Absence of good stage fare, long performances, and turkeys? (2, 4, 2, 4, 2, 6)
11 Tough. (7)
12 Acts relative, on one hand or the other, perhaps. (7)
14 If one had a child, one got a soul. (6)
15 His was an up-hill struggle. (8)
17 Be put away or given away. (8)
20 and 4 down. Did it appear original, after a fashion? (3, 3, 4)
22 Originally belonging to the cross-roads, hence common. (7)
24 At best I denote material change. (7)
26 Corny and coarse. (6)
27 Lays on. (8)
28 Concerning the hosts of the party? (11)

DOWN

2 Mean to trim Silver's old boss? (9)
3 Put in condition. (Even a hero might lie like this!) (7)
4 See 20 across.
5 Colors of leaves? (7)
6 Sausage and greens. (5)
7 Might be found in paper soldiers. (6)
8 A sort of unit is in its original place. (2, 4)
13 A group of contestants, just for the audience. (5)
16 Abstract particle, in all accuracy. (9)
18 See 9 across.
19 and 25 down. Your 21 as a famous sub-title? (4, 3, 4)
20 Buying and selling in the street, perhaps. (7)
21 See 19 and 25 down. (6)
23 See 1 across.
25 See 19 down.

~ ● ~

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 602

ACROSS:—1 EFFUSIVE; 5 GALLOP; 9 DYNAMIC; 10 FLAPPER; 11 ELECTRO; 12 YEARNED; 13 STATION WAGONS; 15 BEYOND COMPARE; 21 TORPEDO; 22 CHEVIOT; 23 CHARLES; 24 INITIAL; 25 ENMESH.

DOWN:—1 EDDIES; 2 FENDERS; 3 SUMATRA; 4 VICTORIA CROSS; 6 ALABAMA; 7 LEPANTO; 8 and 26 PARADISE REGAINED; 10 FLYING MACHINE; 14 OBSTACLE; 16 YARDARM; 17 NEEDLES; 18 AMERICA; 19 EDITION; 20 STYLED.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York.

RESORTS

50 Miles to FOREST HOUSE
Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes. All sports.
FOREST HOUSE
Lake Mahopac, N. Y. • Tel. Mahopac 8-3449

For Your YEAR-ROUND Vacation Plans
CARAN LODGE
Sylvan Lake • Hopewell Juncction • New York
60 miles from New York on Taconic Parkway
Tennis, Folk Dancing and Singing, 4 cozy fireplaces. 10 minutes from James Baird Golf Course. Children's Day Camp, Food . . . Superb and abundant.
Take a drive and have Sunday Dinner with us
Reservations:
New York HI 6-7506 Hopewell Junctcion 6-2632

THE PINES. Modern year-round retreat for adults in the Blue Mountains of Pennsylvania Dutch Country. Continental cuisine. Intimate group of congenial people. 95 miles from N. Y. C., 60 miles from Philadelphia. Write: Mrs. Ann Wunthal, Danielsville, R. D. 1, Penna. Tel.: Bath Te 7-6501.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS by professionally trained psychologist-graphologist. Commercial and industrial personnel selection. Vocational guidance. Marital, personal, emotional problems. Fee $3.00. **Dr. Hans Weil, 7½ Jane St., N. Y. C. 14. Telephone: CH 3-7880.**

AUDIO

HI FIDELITY
RADIO-PHONOGRAPH
sales, installation and service
VECTOR LABS
217 3rd Ave. • N. Y. C. 3 • GR 3-7686

PERSONALS

OUTSTANDING VALUE—21" TV Console—Mahogany—List $249.95—SPECIAL $178.95. Standard Brand Dist., 143 Fourth Ave. (13th & 14th Sts.), N. Y. C. GR 3-7819. **1 hour free parking or 2 tokens.**

ON YOUR next trip east or west on U. S. Highway 80 stop at Guilbert's Pharmacy, Gila Bend, Arizona. An oasis in the desert.

INVALUABLE study aid. 250 most frequently used French, Spanish, or German idioms and expressions on flash cards. Foreign idiom one side, English equivalent on reverse. $1 each set. **Educator-Systems, Box 297, Arlington, N. J.**

VISUALLY HANDICAPPED MAN desires employment in the Texas-Louisiana area. However, I will consider anything, anywhere. I am most interested in social welfare. Box 388, c/o The Nation.

Advertising Rates

CLASSIFIED
74¢ a line (6 words)
Three-line minimum

CLASSIFIED DISPLAY
$7.42 per inch (minimum)
Remittance must accompany all orders

***The* NATION**
333 SIXTH AVENUE
New York 14, N. Y.
CHelsea 2-8400

Printed in the U. S. A. by STEINBERG PRESS, INC., Morgan & Johnson Aves., Brooklyn 6, N. Y.

BOOKS

CURRENT and RECOMMENDED

by America's Oldest Mail Order Book Store

STIMULATING READING! SPECIAL DISCOUNTS!

44. EARLY AMERICA. The Pilgrim Reader. By George F. Willison. **1st ed.** "The fascinating story of the Pilgrims (about 1606 to 1692) as told by themselves and their contemporaries, friendly and unfriendly." 585 p. Pub. at $5.95. Only **1.98**

637. NATURAL HISTORY in the Tropics. Where Winter Never Comes. By Marston Bates, Ph.D. "Provides some of the most interesting, reliable and readable material on the tropics to appear in many years."—**N. Y. Times.** Pub. at $3.50. Only **98¢**

4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11. FOREIGN LANGUAGE Records and Books. Learn Foreign Languages by listening. Each record is a 7" **unbreakable** 78-RPM vinylite two-sided disc. With these records and books (the only phrase books available with good indexes) **anyone** can acquire a basic vocabulary and general familiarity with these languages: *4. Spanish; 5. French; 6. German; 7. Russian; 8. Italian; 9. Hebrew; 10. Japanese; 11. Swedish.*
Both record and book for each language, only **1.24**
12. All 8 records and phrase books, only **8.95**

944. DICTIONARY of FOREIGN PHRASES and Classical Quotations. By H. P. Jones. 14,000 idioms, proverbs, maxims, mottoes, etc., of great writers in Latin, Greek, French, Spanish, German, etc., **Parallel translations.** 532 p. Imp. from England. Special, only **2.89**

996. IRISH FOLKLORE, A Treasury of. Ed. by Padraic Colum. "The stories, traditions, legends, humor, wisdom, ballads, and songs of the Irish people. Irish folklore is probably the richest in the world for the Irish are great story-tellers." 300 stories, 30 songs (words and music). Index. **620 p.** Only **4.88**

886. BERTRAND RUSSELL'S Dictionary of Mind, Matter and Morals. "This exhaustive work offers more than **one thousand** definitions and opinions, distillations of thought that range through the vast depth and breadth of one of the **profoundest minds** of our age." Pub. at $5.00. Only **1.98**

388. NOSTRADAMUS, The Complete Prophecies of. The World of today . . . and beyond! 1555 to 3797. For the first time, all the prophecies of Nostradamus, 16th century European astrologer and prophet. **Foretold major events of past 400 years.** In one volume—his predictions to the year 3797. Only **3.88**

623. ARITHMETIC IS FUN. Math E Magic. Ed. by Jerome S. Meyer. Illus. with humorous drawings by S. L. Kaufman. "Mathematical entertainment with intriguing and brain-teasing problems, tricks and puzzles. Ideal as a gift for the mathematically-minded. Only **98¢**

408. ALBERT EINSTEIN. Out of My Later Years. By Albert Einstein. "A striking record of titanic achievements." In several chapters Einstein explains his theory of Relativity in such simple terms as to be understood by every intelligent person. Pub. at $4.75. Only **1.98**

917. FREE LOVE and Heavenly Sinners. The sensational Adultery Trial of Henry Ward Beecher. By Robert Shaplen. With 66 illus. Suppose your minister was the most prominent evangelist of his day. Suppose he was accused of having an affair with his best friend's wife? Here, wittily and entertainingly told is the full story of what was "probably one of the most spectacular performances in the arena of adultery."—**Kirkus Bulletin.** Only **3.88**

934. BOSWELL'S Suppressed Journal. Boswell in Holland: 1763-1764. By James Boswell, author of "Life of Johnson." **1st ed.** Illus. This fascinating book is the famous sequel to "Boswell's London Journal." "Boswell in Holland will be a source of endless pleasure."—**N. Y. Times.** Pub. at $6.00. Only **2.98**

858. IL PENTAMERONE. By Giambattista Basile. Trans. by Sir Richard Burton. "The translator has preserved all the sportive, witty and lively spirit of the Neapolitan people as well as the license of Rebelaisian characteristics of the original text." Only **2.89**

142. The WILD WEST, A Pictorial History of. By James D. Horan. Illus. with newly released pictures from the **Pinkerton** archives, Frederick Remington paintings, etc. Size 9"x12¼". See and read about the Wild West's famous villains and heroes, the Reno Brothers, Jesse James and the Youngers, Wild Bill Hickok, Wyat Earp and all the rest. Only **5.88**

612. The TALMUD, The Wisdom of. By Ben Zion Bokser. "The Talmud represents about 1,000 years of Jewish thought . . . a treasury of history, science and folklore and it abounds in lofty proverbs and beautiful parables." **N. Y. Times.** Pub. at $3.75. Only **1.98**

286. ENCYCLOPEDIA of RELIGION. "The one authoritative work in its field." Embraces tens of thousands of articles. All the significant religions of the world are included. "A truly great achievement."—**N. Y. Times.** Ed. by Vergilius Ferm with 190 collaborators. **844 pages.** Pub. at $10.00. Only **4.88**

280. The INQUISITION of the MIDDLE AGES. By Henry Charles Lea. "The word 'Inquisition' immediately brings to mind pictures of the rack, the thumbscrew, the torture-chamber. What effect did the medieval inquisition have upon civilization?" Only **2.98**

159. The GOLDEN BOUGH. By Sir James G. Fraser. "One of the greatest books of all times." "A mine of interesting information into the myths, superstitions, and beliefs of mankind from primitive ages to the present."—**Philadelphia Pub. Ledger.** "Has more culture and learning packed into it than anything outside of the Encyclopedia Britannica."—**The Bookman.** Index. **864 pages.** Contains the wealth of the 12-volume edition originally published at $65.00. Only **6.49**

825. DE SADE, Selected Writings of. Trans. by Leonard de Saint-Yves. Contains selections from Marquis De Sade's Juliette, La Philosophie Dans Le Boudoir, Justine, etc. **306 p.** Pub. at $6.75. Only **2.89**

824. "TALES of EVIL in Fairy Masquerade." The Snake Lady And Other Stories. By Vernon Lee. Ed. with Intro. by Horace Gregory. ". . . an evil idyll colored with the superb cruelties of the high Renaissance in Italy, and eight other stories." "All of them are good, palpably good, better than Poe."—**N. Y. Times.** Only **3.49**

411. MEDIEVAL SUPERSTITIONS. Satanism and Witchcraft. By Jules Michelet. "The most important work on Medieval superstitions yet written."—**Encyclopedia Britannica.** Special, only **98¢**

439. STRANGE LOVES A Study in Sexual Abnormalities, by La Forest Potter, M.D. "The Strange exotic world of twilight men and women." Special, only **1.98**

78. LOVERS AND MISTRESSES. By Allegra Sander. Illus. by Jean des Vignes. "This book created a sensation in France. Miss Sander writes with a worldly touch so that while this apparently frivolous Gallic acceptance of infidelity may shock some Americans, it is sure to amuse others." Only **2.49**

727. THE HOMOSEXUAL IN AMERICA. A Subjective Approach by D. W. Cory. Intro. by Albert Ellis, Ph.D. Index. **326 pages.** "This book is likely to take its place with classics of sexual literature on a shelf with the contributions of Krafft-Ebing, Havelock Ellis, Freud, and Kinsey. Only **3.88**

490. BETTER THAN "The Well of Loneliness." The Heart in Exile. by Rodney Garland. Donald Webster Cory, author of "The Homosexual in America," has called it "the best novel around the theme of homosexuality that I have ever read." Only **3.49**

560. WOMAN AND HER SLAVE. Profusely illustrated with drawings. Carrington, Paris. An unusual story of flagellation illustrated throughout with drawings. Only **2.89**

638. LOST CONTINENTS. By L. Sprague de Camp. Fully illus. with maps and drawings. "Did Atlantis, Lemuria or Mu ever exist? One of the World's leading **authorities** on the lost continents mythology covers the whole subject." Only **4.88**

960. WORLD MYSTERIES. The Stargazer Talks. By Rupert Gould. Illus. "Read about the phantom ship Mary Celeste and other **world-famous mysteries.**" 3rd ed. Illus. Imp. from England. Special, only **69¢**

236. SEA TALES. The World's Greatest. Tales of Land and Sea. By Joseph Conrad. **Illustrated by Richard M.** Powers. "Joseph Conrad was the greatest **writer** of sea tales the world has ever known." 12 superb classic stories of adventure. **696 pages.** Only **2.98**

265. Prescott's The CONQUEST of MEXICO and The **Conquest of Peru.** Complete and **unabridged** in one handsome volume. "The complete texts of Prescott's famous Conquest of Mexico and Conquest of Peru have never before been available in a single volume." **1,288 p.** Only **2.44**

227. PIONEER RAILROADS. By Hank Wieand Bowman. Illustrated with more than **350** authentic photographs and drawings. 6⅞"x10". "A fascinating pictorial saga of America's early railroads . . . **famous locomotives:** Rocket, Tom Thumb, York, De Witt Clinton, Sandusky, General. . . Indian fights, Civil War Raids . . . fabulous story." Only **1.98**

173. AMERICAN FOLKLORE, A Treasury of. Ed. by B. A. Botkin. Foreword by **Carl Sandburg.** "Stories, legends, traditions, ballads and songs of the American people." "If you have funds for only one book a year, buy this."—**Library Journal.** 932 p. Only **2.89**

121. ANTIQUE GUNS. By H. W. Bowman. Profusely illustrated with **500 photographs** of muskets and rifles, pistols, Derringers, percussion revolvers, etc. 6⅞"x10". "Invaluable to everyone interested in guns. All the photographs of **500 guns,** etc., appear for the first time . . . rare photos." Only **1.98**

815. Studies in the PSYCHOLOGY of SEX. By Havelock Ellis. Complete and **unabridged** in 2 volumes. 3,000 pages. Boxed. Formerly pub. in 7 volumes at $28.00. The complete set, only **12.49**

126. The DIARY of SAMUEL PEPYS. Ed. by Henry B. Wheatley. 6⅜"x9¼". In 2 vols. The famous unabridged Wheatley edition of the most famous diary ever published. The complete, unexpurgated set, only **9.88**

563. PRECIOUS STONES. A Key to. By L. J. Spencer, C.B.E., Sc.D., F.R.S., formerly Keeper of Minerals, British Museum. 2nd ed. With **65 illus.** "Everyone interested in precious stones will want this book." ". . . remarkably interesting."—**N. Y. Times.** Only **3.49**

22. A Superb BALL POINT PEN. This extraordinary Pen contains permanent ink which **dries instantly.** Ideal for making out checks, writing letters, etc. This amazing Pen, which has a visible ink supply, never needs a refill and will last the average user more than **half a year.** 4 pens for only **98¢**

86. The PHRASE FINDER. Three Books in One. Name Word Finder—Metaphor Finder—Sophisticated Synonyms. "This new, long awaited companion book to the widely-acclaimed 'The Word Finder' offers you vividly original ways in which to express **every idea** wandering through your mind. More than 15,000 references alphabetized and cross-indexed." Over 1,300 p. ..Only **6.88**

750. THE EGYPTIAN. By Mika Waltari. A thrilling novel of life in ancient Egypt. **502 p.** Regularly $4.00. For a limited time, only **1.98**

961. THE ROMAN EMPIRE. The Decline and Fall of. By Gibbon. Complete and unabridged in 3 vols. "This great classic is the last and authoritative word on the subject." **2,777 pages.** The set, only **6.88**

53. "The GREATEST BOOK of Our Generation." Seven Pillars of Wisdom. By T. E. Lawrence, beautifully illus. with 48 full-page plates. "There is no more exciting story of modern times than T. E. Lawrence's vivid narrative of his Arabian adventure." **672. p.** Only **5.88**

552 THINKING AND DESTINY. Reveals Secrets of the Ages and How Man Today May Control His Own Destiny. By H .W. Percival. **Readers say:** "The chapter on the Zodiac is one of the wonders of the world." "My whole life has been changed by what this book taught me." **1,014** p. Index. Complete in 1 vol. Formerly pub. in 2 vols. at $10.00. Special, only **4.88**

760. One of the WORLD'S BEST NOVELS. The Red And The Black. By Stendhal (Marie Henry Beyle). "Selected as one of the 'ten best novels' **ever written.** The great Taine, world-famous critic, confesses to have read this great French novel of love between 30 and 40 times." 2 volumes in 1. **636 pages.** Only **2.89**

21. OVER 700 STEIG CARTOONS. The Steig Album. 7 Books in 1. With over 700 of Steig's famous, **hilarious cartoons.** 8½"x11". "The gentle satiric line and comment of William Steig, the incomparable artist of The New Yorker, are known and loved by **millions.** Now collected here for the first time in one volume, are over 700 of Steig's most famous cartoons." Pub. at $3.95. Only **1.98**

20. MY HUSBAND KEEPS TELLING ME to Go to Hell. By Ella Bentley Arthur. With **hilarious** full page illus. by **R. Taylor.** "I don't want to date him but he is continually coming over and rapping at my door," said one girl. And another: "The doctors have diagnosed my case as nervous prostitution . . ." Only **1.49**

WE GUARANTEE SATISFACTION OR YOUR MONEY BACK

The UNION LIBRARY ASSOCIATION

America's Oldest Mail Order Book Store—Est. 1884.

123 East 24th Street, New York 10, N. Y.

Please send me, postpaid, the books I have circled. I enclose $__________.

4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
20	21	22	44	53	78	86	121	126
142	159	173	227	236	265	280	286	388
408	411	439	490	552	560	563	612	623
637	638	727	750	760	815	824	825	858
886	917	934	944	960	961	996		

Circle items desired.

☐ **Please send me FREE 36-page Bargain Catalog 389-N containing hundreds of other Book Bargains—just off the press!**

Name ____________________
(Please Print)
Address ____________________
City __________, Postal Zone ______
State ____________________ N 53

Please include 3% Sales Tax if you live in N.Y.C. Add 20¢ per title for delivery outside U.S.A. and possessions.

EXTRA SAVING!
If your order from this page amounts to at least $10, deduct 10%; $50 —15%; $100, deduct 20%.

THE UNION LIBRARY ASSOCIATION, 123 East 24th St., N. Y. 10, N. Y.

A DECLARATION FOR 1955: KAY BOYLE

THE *Nation*

January 29, 1955
20¢

J. Bronowski

The Face of Violence

Alan Sweezy

"Perpetual Prosperity"

Is the Business Cycle Out?

**EVERY
WEEK
SINCE
1865**

"Anti-Catholic" Perón — *Claudio Veliz*

Europe Seeks Unity — *Karl Loewenstein*

THE Nation Bulletin Board:

THE NAME of the author—George Seldes—on a two-part article slated for the February 5 and 12 issues evokes memories of my junior year at Franklin and Marshall College in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. At that time I was writing a column for the school weekly on assorted political matters, and I confess that one of my pet dislikes was Westbrook Pegler (he still is). Since the local daily ran Pegler's column, I decided there ought to be an antidote of some sort, and so I sent a batch of letters to various liberal and labor publications asking for material on him. Virtually all I required came in an enormous bundle from George Seldes, then editor and publisher of *In Fact.* Using the documentation he provided I wrote a series of long articles. Subsequently I received—even from those who disagreed with me—commendations on the thoroughness and high quality of my "research." The secret is out now: I owed it all to George Seldes.

JOHN W. ALDRIDGE recently missed a couple of deadlines on a pending essay on Malcolm Cowley, but he was quickly forgiven by soft-hearted editors when they learned the delay was due to his marriage to Miss Leslie Felker of Mount Vernon, New York, and their subsequent honeymoon. I assume the honeymoon—in a strictly literal sense, to be sure—is over, since the piece has arrived and will be printed shortly.

WHEN OUR foreign editor, J. Alvarez del Vayo, writes about Germany as he has done with some frequency in the past few months, he brings to his work a long intimacy with that country and its people. As a student at the University of Leipzig in 1913, he shared the ferment of the pre-World War I days, watched while the German people were swept into war, and saw liberals and Socialists surrender to the general hysteria. After the outbreak of the war he came to America but returned to Germany two years later to work as a newspaperman. In 1920 he became Berlin correspondent and head of the European Bureau of *La Nación* of Buenos Aires and soon was elected head of the Foreign Press Association. In 1924 he returned to Spain to take an active part in the politics of his country. As Foreign Minister of the Spanish Republic during the fascist rebellion he had additional painful experience with Germany—this time Hitler's Germany. Since World War II he has visited Germany several times and reported on developments there, both sides of the Curtain, for *The Nation.*

I WANT to call your attention to the advertisement of the Alsop book on the Oppenheimer case printed on the back cover of this issue. The circumstances attending its publication were undeniably strange: before release of the book the Atomic Energy Commission circulated a secret memorandum to newspapers and reviewers "answering" the charges contained in it. You will find in the book, if you read it, the absorbing story of what many people call America's "Dreyfus Case."

BEGINNING with the February 5 issue we are introducing some changes in type which we think will improve both the looks and the readability of *The Nation.* Comments from typographers—amateur as well as professional—among our readers will be welcomed.

WINNERS of free copies of the new Nation's Choice selections are these:

A California reader who sends this item taken from the *American Engineer*: "Major General Samuel D. Sturgis, Jr., Chief of Army Engineers, blamed America's shortage of engineers on an educational system that has thrown over the mental discipline of the three R's in favor of 'happy, well-adjusted children'."

From a New York reader: No less a personage than J. Edgar Hoover is quoted in a recent full-page newspaper advertisement to the effect that fruits "always seem to taste so much better when they come from Cobb's." Hoover is identified as "America's Greatest Vigilante."

MARTIN SOLOW

Letters

Blunder and Thunder

Dear Sirs: My belated congratulations on the Nathaniel Peffer article, Our Asian Policy, in your December 11 issue. Mr. Peffer makes perfectly plain that our "blunder and thunder" toward China have perverted all accepted meanings of such words as defense, aggression, and imperialism. So far as China is concerned, the United States has been an aggressor since 1945. Hitler and Mussolini were denounced for interfering in Spain to aid the fascists in overthrowing the legally elected democratic government of that country. The United States declared indirect war on the de facto government of China when it voted billions for Chiang and later announced that our fleet would be used to prevent China having Chinese territory. At the same time our government, in the twinkling of an eye, recognizes each dictatorship (to the right) imposed on South and Central American and other countries. Upton Sinclair used to define fascism as "capitalism plus murder." Are we headed in that direction?

ALANSON E. SESSIONS

San Luis Obispo, Calif.

An Open Letter

Dear Sirs: As one who has had a pleasant acquaintance with Senator Francis Case of South Dakota for several years, I am keenly disappointed at the weakness he has revealed in his first real test of strength as a Senator. It was largely Case who authored that section of the Watkins report recommending censure of McCarthy for his indecent abuse of a distinguished war-time commander, General Ralph Zwicker. Yet to the amazement of Chairman Watkins and other members of his committee, when the report went to the Senate, Case deserted his colleagues on the very section of the report for which he was most responsible.

The explanation offered by Case for his sudden change of heart was that he had just received new information that enabled him to appreciate McCarthy's abuse of Zwicker. Now, for the record and the sake of truth, I want to assert that the so-called new information which Case allegedly received was not new at all, having been reported in the press eight months ago. Can it be that McCarthy's friend Karl convinced his junior colleague that it is politically expedient to keep at least one foot planted in the McCarthy camp?

GEORGE MCGOVERN,
Executive Secretary, South Dakota
Democratic Central Committee

Mitchell, S. D.

New Propaganda Technique

Dear Sirs: The United States Information Agency through a research project carried on at the Institute for Journalistic Studies at Stanford University, Stanford, California, has committed a serious invasion of the rights of a group of Filipino and Indian students attending college and universities in the San Francisco Bay area.

The research was presented to the participating students from India and the Philippines as an "intercultural communication study" through which Dr. Roy E. Carter, Jr., now at the University of North Carolina, would get material for a Ph.D. dissertation. Dr. Chilton R. Bush, director of the journalism department at Stanford, was nominally directing the research.

Much of the material used was

(Continued on page 108)

Volume 180, Number 5
New York, Saturday, January 29, 1955

THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

Politics and the Budget

The immediate effect of the President's twin messages on the budget and the economic report will be to enlarge the political vacuum which exists at the moment in Washington. As *Business Week* pointed out, the President's failure to emphasize budget-balancing promptly "touched off a muted but deeply felt disquiet among conservative Republicans." Just as promptly this disquiet in turn encouraged the Democrats to start wailing that the President had stolen their program. If they persist in this line, which former President Truman has foolishly projected, they may find themselves in the "me-too" position which proved so disastrous for Mr. Dewey in 1944 and 1948. If economic developments for the first six months of the year confirm the President's optimism, the Democrats will be further encouraged to limit their criticism of his economic program to peripheral issues.

The Democrats, of course, can be relied upon to criticize certain aspects of the President's proposed budget. Senator Symington will charge that the budget neglects the air force. Senator Kefauver will call attention to severe cut-backs proposed for T. V. A. Senators Morse and Neuberger will point to the sabotage of public power. But will the Democrats, with Southerners in the key leadership positions, challenge the basic assumptions upon which the President relies to justify his long-range optimism? Are we to accept high-level military expenditures as the principal "built-in" stabilizer for the economy? Has the business cycle been replaced by a permanent war cycle? Must a large measure of unemployment be accepted as one of the costs of prosperity? In 1954 Democrats and Republicans were debating whether we had one and one-half or two million unemployed; now the President accepts a figure of three million as though unemployment of this magnitude were a normal aspect of the economy. The drop in farm income was a major issue in last year's campaign; yet the President's promises to farmers are largely limited to "technical assistance." The President assumes that investment for new plant and equipment will remain high, but what proportion of General Motors' billion-dollar capital investment program was used to instal labor-saving equipment and new automatic controls? The President assumes that consumer spending will remain at a high level. But last August the Philadelphia Federal Reserve Board, in its *Business Review*, demonstrated that although total consumer income as measured by the government was still rising, the accumulated fixed obligations of consumers for rent, insurance, property taxes, mortgage debt service, and instalment payments had grown so large that the uncommitted balance of consumer income fell below 1953—the first post-war year in which consumer expenditures had declined. Currently the auto industry is pushing the sale of new models and building up a backlog of cars—just in case this spring's labor negotiations should result in an interruption of production schedules. But what of the longer outlook?

These and many similar questions that might be raised suggest that a real debate on the budget is needed in which the Democrats would call attention to the attrition of prosperity that is taking place at the lower rungs of the economic ladder and join issue on the basic questions. Glowing estimates of the gross national product in 1965 can be used as effective political cover for giveaways, creeping unemployment, and inadequate economic planning unless the Democrats act promptly to expose the basic inadequacies of the President's program.

The Shape of Things

The Perilous Limb

When the United States established what is in effect a protectorate over Formosa and its Chinese Nationalist government, the dangers involved were all too evident. Even at the height of the Korean crisis President Truman's dispatch of the Seventh Fleet to Formosa Strait was generally recognized by other nations as an act that could not be limited to its professed purpose of "neutralizing" the waters near Korea. With the protection of the American navy flung around Chiang Kai-shek and the victorious Chinese Communist regime refused representation at the United Nations and Washington, a new balance of political power was created which Peking could never accept and the United States could maintain only by force.

Now, five years and one President later, Washington is confronted with the results of its reckless intervention. By attacking and capturing Nationalist-held Yikian island, Peking has challenged American power in the Formosa area at a particularly critical moment. It was a small thrust at one of the northernmost, least important of Chiang's string of offshore islands, but it was enough to force Washington to declare itself.

The choice was retreat or resistance to any further

In This Issue

EDITORIALS

Politics and the Budget 89
The Shape of Things 89

ARTICLES

Washington in Focus *by Max Freedman* 91
Middle East Maneuvers *by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 92
The Face of Violence: Man Against Society *by J. Bronowski* 93
"Perpetual Prosperity": Is the Business Cycle Out? *by Alan Sweezy* 96
Europe Seeks Unity: The Long Slow Road *by Karl Loewenstein* 98
"Anti-Catholic" Perón: A Struggle for Power *by Claudio Veliz* 100

BOOKS

A Declaration for 1955 *by Kay Boyle* 102
Conviction *A Poem by Cateau de Leeuw* 102
New Books in Brief 104
Selected Books on Africa *by John V. Murra* 106

THEATER *by Harold Clurman* 106
RECORDS *by B. H. Haggin* 107
CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 604 *by Frank W. Lewis* opposite 108
BULLETIN BOARD *by Martin Solow* opposite 89
LETTERS opposite 89

Editorial Board

Freda Kirchwey	*Editor and Publisher*
Carey McWilliams	*Editorial Director*
Lillie Shultz	*Director, Nation Associates*
Victor H. Bernstein	*Managing Editor*
J. Alvarez del Vayo	*Foreign Editor*
Martin Solow	*Assistant to the Publisher*
Harold Clurman	*Theater*
B. H. Haggin	*Music*
Gladys Whiteside	*Copy Editor*
Caroline Whiting	*Assistant Literary Editor*
Mary Simon	*Advertising Manager*

Contributing Editors: Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus, Keith Hutchison, H. H. Wilson, W. Macmahon Ball, Maxwell Geismar, Bruce Catton.

The Nation, January 29, 1955. Volume 180, No. 5

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1955, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Company, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

Communist advance at the expense of Formosa. Washington chose retreat. It declared Yikian and the neighboring Tachen Islands "not in any sense essential to the defense of Formosa and the Pescadores." The United States has thus fallen back on previously prepared positions, for it is firmly pledged to protect Formosa and the Pescadores. The treaty with Chiang governing this and other arrangements will doubtless be ratified in spite of last-minute legal questions raised in the Senate.

But even these positions are threatened. The suggestion of a Communist-Nationalist cease-fire, informally tossed out by President Eisenhower last week at his press conference, is the subject of intense diplomatic activity, especially in Britain, New Zealand, and the United States. And it reveals the anxiety of the Administration, as well as of our allies, to get us off a perilous limb on which we should never have ventured in the first place.

Production for What?

A delayed recognition seems to be dawning in labor-liberal circles that an ever-expanding economy may not, for reasons indicated in Alan Sweezy's article on page 96 of this issue, provide automatic solutions for all our economic problems. The current issue of the teamsters' excellent newsletter, Report from Washington, contains a mild reservation:

> 1955 will be a year of paradox for U. S. workers, may see unions curbing their enthusiasm for increased productivity. . . . Employment will not drop over much, but unemployment will mount due to increased productivity and the entrance of 800,000 youngsters into the labor force. Key to paradox is fact U. S. economy cannot "level off." We must produce, and sell, approximately 5 per cent more each year.

At another level Gerhard Colm, chief economist for the National Planning Association, makes the same point in the January issue of the association's bulletin:

> The current rise in production could lead to higher employment and longer hours and thereby to a rise in earnings and disposable personal income. However, . . . the current rise in production might not be reflected in a corresponding increase in employment. . . . It is even conceivable that some rise in the general level of economic activity might be accompanied by a rise in unemployment. The continuing rise in productivity makes possible higher output per worker. In this connection it may be observed that the index of industrial production in manufacturing in November, 1954, happened to be exactly the same as in November of 1953. Yet employment in manufacturing industries was almost one million below that of the preceding year.

If these intimations are sustained, labor's enthusiasm for increasing production, as if production were an end in itself, may be expected to abate. If so, the intense post-war collaboration between labor and management, with its emphasis on labor's "junior partner" role, may be coming to an end.

Landmark for Labor

Last week the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America celebrated its fortieth anniversary in old Webster Hall, the scene of its birth on New York's East Side.

It was a family reunion and a proper occasion for self-congratulation. For the Amalgamated has worked a revolution in the garment industry and in the lives of its members. To anyone old enough to recall the state of things in 1914 the change is more dramatic than even union members of a younger generation can fully realize. It is summed up in the abolition of the sweatshop, of anti-labor injunctions, and of police attacks on picket lines; in the growth of impartial machinery to settle disputes, the establishment of unemployment funds, cooperative housing, health and retirement funds, and the complete victory of industry-wide collective bargaining.

These are only a few of the gains won in the span of years since the union, weak and defiant, began its militant yet statesman-like fight under the leadership of Sidney Hillman. *The Nation,* remembering well those early struggles, offers to the Amalgamated of today its warm congratulations and confident hopes for the future.

Washington in Focus

by Max Freedman

Washington, January 22

IT IS much too early to speak of a new policy toward China. All our hopes may crumble if Congress begins to put ugly questions to the State Department. Mr. Dulles may once again decide that it is a bad bargain to buy peace in Asia at the cost of war with Congress.

Yet there is something encouraging about the picture. Almost everywhere the subject of China has taken precedence over the budget and the flood of messages to Congress. Men are wondering whether the crisis in the Straits of Formosa will become the opportunity for diplomacy. Listening to this talk, in Congress and outside, one has the feeling that public opinion has not frozen into a rigid pattern. All depends on the leadership, and no one knows as yet what risks the Administration will take.

Meanwhile the discovery has been made that it is possible to talk about the two Chinas without being struck down at once as an evil appeaser. That fact should stir the Democrats to shake themselves loose from the legacy of fear and suspicion that has numbed so much of their thinking on China. They need not remain the prisoners of their past. They have, in fact, given fewer hostages to prejudice than have the Republicans; nor is there any reason why they should now surrender the lead to the Administration.

The new policy, if there really is one, crept over Washington almost by stealth. Mr. Dulles was led by reporters into his comments on the cease-fire. He always speaks with deliberation at his press conferences, first weighing the question and then striving to find the balance between caution and clarity. Quite often he succeeds; sometimes he fails; and then his winged indiscretions stir anxieties in remote countries. This time he spoke with more care than usual. But he could not snub the United Nations, just as he could not utter blunt dismissive words about Chiang Kai-shek. So he was led, question by question, into what seemed to be a more flexible China policy.

Everyone who went from that conference to President Eisenhower's conference the next day was impressed by the differences between the two men. Mr. Eisenhower seemed far more willing to talk about the fighting near China and less hesitant, by clear inference, about limiting the role of the Seventh Fleet to the defense of Formosa.

What does all this mean? Has the President moved ahead of the Secretary of State and taken the lead in shaping foreign policy in the world's most critical area? That would certainly be an enterprising way to begin his third year in office. But until there is more evidence it is best to resist this verdict. When all the facts are available, it may be seen that there never was more than a difference of language and of emphasis between them. Certainly there can be no justification for any talk about a split or about the Secretary's declining influence in the Administration.

It will be time enough to applaud a wiser and more cooperative policy in Asia when Mr. Dulles repudiates his indorsement of Walter S. Robertson's recent speeech, which failed to get the attention it deserved. Mr. Robertson is the Assistant Secretary of State for the Far East and therefore the chief adviser of Mr. Dulles on Pacific affairs. He denounced China's rulers as puppets of Moscow, derided China as a mere satellite of Russia, and devoted all his praise to Formosa as the center of China's real government. Mr. Dulles said Mr. Robertson's views correctly expressed the philosophy of the State Department. How can he reconcile them with a cease-fire? There is danger that Mr. Dulles will be so eager to avoid a quarrel with Congress and so anxious to protect Chiang Kai-shek and Mr. Robertson that he will forget all about the new policy toward China.

MR. BENSON'S reputation is sick. The Secretary of Agriculture remains obstinate and unrepentant about his bumbling and grumbling in the Ladejinsky affair. Then this week he made a poor figure before two committees. When he testified on reciprocal trade before the House Ways and Means Committee he crumpled at the protectionist arguments of Representative Simpson. Still worse, when he appeared before the Senate Agricultural Committee he filled the room with officials from his department to answer the questions that were beyond him. They far exceeded the normal quota of advisers, and they had a hard morning. Mr. Benson struck out regularly.

WITH luck we may now have heard the last of the Owen Lattimore case. But Leo Rover's part and that of the Department of Justice should not be forgotten. At times Mr. Rover seemed vindictive in his pursuit of Mr. Lattimore. When he tried to disqualify Judge Youngdahl for personal bias he stood on his toes and shouted vulgarly at him. By every tradition of judicial restraint and legal honor it was a shabby performance. When he argued the latest indictment he had at least matured into courtesy. But his case was no stronger. Once again he admitted to making up arbitrary definitions in the attempt to prolong Mr. Lattimore's ordeal. The sturdy conscience of Judge Youngdahl prevented justice from being intimidated.

There was one moment during the argument on the last indictment when Thurman Arnold defined the central issue in the case. He said Mr. Lattimore was being attacked because of his unpopular and controversial opinions on Chinese policy. Mr. Rover grew angry at this charge and insisted that the sole question was whether Mr. Lattimore was guilty of perjury. But his argument soon broke in his hands, for he had to admit that he had invented definitions of the "Communist line" and "Communist interests" in order to prove the perjury charge. Under questioning from Judge Youngdahl it became clear that these definitions rested on no federal statute, no ruling by the Civil Service Commission, no decision by Congress. Mr. Rover finally was forced to concede that the test for perjury must necessarily be a "subjective test"—with the Department of Justice presumably having special scales for weighing the opinions and beliefs of men it dislikes. When we remember that the charge of perjury was only a cover for the implied crime of disloyalty, we can see what an abyss had been reached. If Mr. Rover had won, we would have seen loyalty judged by "subjective tests" as mirrored in his mind. From that danger at least we have now been rescued.

Mr. Lattimore stood the strain bravely, but it told on him. More than his personal fate was in jeopardy. His faith in the free mind, in America, was under siege. Against his desire, but with clear conscience, he became a symbol in the noble struggle between the rights of the individual and the unjust claims of the state. The best wish for the Department of Justice is that it should forever regard the Lattimore case as a folly to be shunned rather than a model to be followed. Mr. Lattimore himself, as all his friends know, has only one wish. It is that from his ordeal other scholars and citizens should take heart and remain unafraid in these days of fear.

Middle East Maneuvers . . *by J. Alvarez del Vayo*

FOLLOWING his negotiation of the defense agreement with Iraq, Turkey's able Premier, Adnan Menderes, last week wound up talks with the Lebanese which aimed at furthering the plan to bind the Moslem nations of the area in an alliance linked with NATO. While Lebanon declined for the present to join, it showed enough sympathy with the project to encourage the Turkish leader. The main and most stubborn stand-out, of course, is Egypt, which called the Arab premiers together at Cairo to discuss the issues raised by the Turkish move. The Egyptians regard the Turkish-Iraqi pact and the arming of Iraq by the United States as threats both to Egypt's leadership of the Arab League and to the League itself. Turkey, while anxious to moderate Egyptian antagonism, is determined to steer clear of any link with the Arab League; so a stage of tension and stalemate has now set in.

However, the Turkish-Iraqi agreement is a fact, and since it has had the active backing, not to say prodding, of Washington, it is not likely to be altered or its objectives thwarted by Egyptian or even Arab League opposition. The failure of Nuri as-Said of Iraq to attend the premiers' meeting at Cairo is a significant indication of this, as are other developments of the past week.

On January 12, when Turkey and Iraq announced the conclusion of their agreement, the communiqué issued from Bagdad stressed the point that the alliance was open to other Middle Eastern states. This was followed next day by a complementary statement announcing Iraq's intention to request larger and more important allocations of American military equipment in view of its agreed-upon alliance with Turkey.

These recent developments have measurably brightened Western hopes after three years of unsuccessful attempts to link the Middle East, in one form or another, to NATO. In fact, the West could do little except mark time until Anglo-American diplomacy found a way to remove the various political and psychological obstacles in the way of a defense system in that area. The Anglo-Egyptian agreement on Suez and the settlement of the Persian oil dispute removed the two main blocks. Both testified to Washington's successful efforts to persuade London that the value of winning to the anti-Communist alliance countries with such enormous oil resources and of such strategic geographic position was worth the sacrifice of some national pride and even important economic interests.

Thus the road was opened for a major effort to combat the neutralism so strongly intrenched in the large and vulnerable area lying between Egypt and Iran. For this task the West could have found no better spokesman than the Turkish Premier. While his activities were bound to annoy Egypt, his relations with other Arab leaders are good. As for Israel, the State Department had already largely discounted its inevitable alarm and indignation over the arming of the surrounding Arab states; yet the use of the Turkish Prime Minister as an agent of American defense plans might somewhat modify Israel's fears, since its relations with Turkey have been friendly. And Mr. Menderes is known as a clever, disarming diplomat well equipped to persuade the Arabs that they have much more to fear from Russia than from Israel, while telling the Israelis the same story in reverse.

The Turkish Premier has indefatigable energy and gusto, which are combined with a high degree of hostility toward Russia. However, his unconditional support of the West does not blind him to the perils of the situation in which Turkey would find itself in case of an East-West agreement. For Russia's old demands for special rights in the control of the Straits are still unsatisfied, and the prospect of an East-West deal at the expense of Turkey is enough to give Mr. Menderes nightmares. So he directs his diplomatic efforts toward preventing any disagreement among the Western allies that might be used by Russia.

But this is not all. The Turkish Premier also believes that the more extensive and firm the anti-Russian front, the less likely is the prospect of an East-West settlement at the expense of Turkey. It is with this in mind that he intends to follow his success in Iraq with a determined courtship of Egypt, a drive to overcome the resistance of the other Arab states, and ultimately the forging of a link with Iran and Pakistan in a joint defense set-up with the West. Thus the intimate fears of Turkey mesh in well with the large plans of Washington and London.

In line with this effort Western diplomacy is working hard to turn Egypt against Russia. It hopes to reap concrete benefits from the Suez agreement and from American promises of aid to Egypt. The military leaders who overthrew Farouk made at first a number of friendly gestures toward Russia. They wanted both to demonstrate their neutrality and to improve their bargaining position with the West. Already a change has become evident; at the farewell dinner given by Premier Gamal Abd-el-Nasser to Ambassador Caffery on his retirement, the pro-American orientation of the Revolutionary Command Council was openly proclaimed. This does not yet mean that the ruling clique is ready to endanger Egypt's dominant role in the Arab world or risk its political life by joining a West-sponsored alliance. But events may force its hand, for Egypt, like other countries, depends heavily on the good-will of Washington.

Egypt and the other Arab states are now sure of all the American arms and other aid they need to hold their populations in leash and also to give the illusion of reestablishing their military prestige after the disastrous showing against Israel. They are unable to swallow that defeat and will not be satisfied unless the state of Israel disappears from the map. But they may find it wise to go through the motions of agreeing with Mr. Menderes that the danger comes from the north and not from Israel. Also, they are interested in getting private American investments as well as official aid. This is especially true of Egypt. And so business and security interests go hand in hand in the Middle East—as elsewhere.

Assuming the ultimate success of the West in securing treaties with all the Arab countries, two fundamental questions remain. How effectively can treaties safeguard an area whose Arab population is in ferment against unstable governments? Does not the vulnerability of Israel, unprotected by Western alliances and dividing the Arab world at a strategic point, render precarious the security of the whole area?

THE FACE OF VIOLENCE

Man Against Society . . *by J. Bronowski*

IN ALL societies the individual suffers something of a split of personality. The society nourses and sustains him; and yet he finds its pressure irksome and makes gestures to break out of it.

J. BRONOWSKI, one of England's foremost scientists—he is Senior Lecturer at University College, Hull—is also an essayist and playwright. His prize-winning radio drama, "The Face of Violence," proved a landmark in the B. B. C.'s history. The play, with an introductory essay from which this article was excerpted, has just been published in book form by the Turnstile Press in England and by George Braziller in the United States.

Some primitive societies recognized this destructive wish to protest on behalf of anarchy, and against society, by setting aside occasions and persons to suffer it. As I read it, much of Frazer's "Golden Bough" tells this story of the scapegoat king who accepts the scepter knowing that he will be killed during some riotous saturnalia when all authority is mocked.

What was once a ceremonial becomes, in historical times, a literature. Picaros, coney catchers, pirates, and bohemians are figures of protest against social convention who express our longing for the saturnalia. They become most interesting as literature when, more profoundly, they take on the double part of the mock kings of disorder; for their anti-social acts are then a satire on the very rulers of society. This is what made the highwayman, in life and on his way to his death, so fascinating a figure to the eighteenth century: because, says "The Beggar's Opera," "the youth in his cart hath the air of a lord." And this is why "The Beggar's Opera" is dominated by the new figure of the master criminal, Peachum, the fence; because in him a society conscious of the new power of corruption saw, took pleasure in, and safely mocked its own heads. Burke hated "The Beggar's Opera" for this.

Since then we have adopted the literature of the criminal hero for our catharsis. In the detective story and in the gangster film we canalize our secret dream of revenge on the society that contains and thwarts us. We play the murderer and the detective together, and hand in hand leave the flat-footed law contemptuously behind us.

The rule of law: that is our scapegoat; into this image we gather all the impersonal forces of society which keep us in our place. The conditions of civilized living do much to sap our lives of adventure and risk. We take our revenge by equating spirit with lawlessness and adventure with the criminal. The violence of the law-breaker becomes the symbol of manly action in a world of machines. This is what draws young men together in gangs, to see their leader as a hero in a fight against a baffling society.

You cannot in fact bottle up these deep feelings of protest in a world as mechanical as ours and think that you will syphon them off casually in lacey thrillers and in little evasions of the forces of order—sidling past the customs inspector and scoring off the "Stinks" master. Anti-social feelings in a hierarchic society like ours are first a power and then a commodity on which an unscrupulous leader can rise to fame and become the spokesman for the dream of violence of all under dogs. Mussolini and Hitler recruited their followers with such slogans. Today this prompts men everywhere to search fearfully for scapegoats, and political quacks and witch-hunters again find it easy to raise the cry that someone else is to blame. Who is to blame? Who has betrayed us? The egg-heads behind government, cries the Senator; the men who plan the machine; the grave technologists out of H. G. Wells who know the secrets of matter. On this anti-rational cry, the old cry for blood and soil, committees of inquisition grow powerful and newspapers boost their circulation. The simple man's call for recognition in a society which too often treats him as another machine is turned into a cry for revenge.

Berger

We have learned nothing from Oedipus or the Aztecs, from the road to Tyburn or Buck Rogers, if we do not learn how to answer his call for recognition.

What Divides Men?

The lesson which history teaches here is direct. It is, that each man in society is driven two ways. He wants to be a member of the society, to belong and to conform. And at the same time he wants to be a person, to act out his own will and to break the constraints of society.

All solutions of this dilemma are in some sense fakes. They are fakes because they have to pretend to the rebellious man that he has broken out of the strangle-hold of society and become a man for himself. And he never has. He has merely entered some more compact gang. Yet it would be wrong to think that therefore the fakes do not satisfy. The mind is not a textbook of logic, and it does not want to be either wholly social or wholly anti-social. A man wants to be himself, yes, but he does not want to be all himself; certainly he does not want to be all by himself.

The gesture of revolt therefore usually takes a symbolic form, in which it satisfies the wish without condemning the wisher to become an outlaw and a hermit. The symbols of the mock king and the saturnalia are of this kind. In a large society there is at hand another kind of symbolic gesture: to join some smaller group which sneers at society. You join a schoolboy gang, or become a nudist, or take the *New Yorker.*

These are harmless and indeed healthy dissenting activities; in dissent, they create the astringent tension which keeps a community alive. The danger does not come from small groups which take pride in not conforming; on the contrary, the danger comes from the exploitation of their impulse by those who are seeking to create a more terrible conformity.

The method is as easy as the three-card trick, and as monotonous. The man wants to assert himself; he wants to show himself a man. To show himself he needs the acknowledgment of others. The group provides this acknowledgment of place; especially, the group is a society compact enough, or so organized, to give mutual acknowledgment to all. But there is a stronger and simpler way to hold a group together—the short-cut of making its men band against an outsider. This is the dreadful technique which leaders have turned into a commonplace.

To gang up against others has three advantages. It gives a ready-made sense of community. It offers to the gangster the delight of acknowledgment by those he attacks as well as by his gang. And it creates a scapegoat for the lust against society: the outsider becomes the symbol of the hated frustrating order. By these means modern power states have been able to hypnotize their subjects into the odd belief that, in chanting "Duce!" or "Hero!" in unison, each man is asserting his individuality in face of a hostile world.

To find a common enemy, then, is the reach-me-down device for drumming up a following. But it is now more than a device; like Circe's, it is the poison draft of an initiation ceremony which turns men to animals. The single man, even the man in protest, is not looking for an enemy but for the acknowledgment that he counts. He is looking for others to see him as a person. This is the cement of the group—the sense of mutual recognition.

Nothing in this requires the group to be banded viciously against an outsider. Yorkshiremen are not divided from Lancashiremen, Masons are not divided from Buffaloes, and men are not divided from women by any rooted sense of enmity. There is a human need to join together but none to oppose. If yellow men are taught to hate white, if Russians and Americans are egged on each to hate the other, it is not because these divisions are real but because they give a pitiful sense of unity to groups which have found no deeper force to hold them together.

Stand and Be Recognized

I return to my theme, that at the heart of our violence, in act or in feeling, lies the wish to show ourselves men with a will. Since society is an instrument for controlling our chaotic wills, the gesture of violence we make is anti-social; we invent a symbol for the forces of society, obscure and impersonal, which shall be our scapegoat. But the symbol is only a mask for the fear of each of us that society thwarts what is best and personal in him. We fear that society disregards us. In the wilderness of cities we look for respect.

This problem is critical to the survival of technical societies—this, and not a bomb or a treaty. The city states were mere parish councils, and Darius and Alexander were nursery kings, by the side of modern states with more than a hundred million subjects. The numbers dwarf the man, so that each holds dimly a place of no significance and of immeasurable remoteness. And more than numbers, the complexity of society makes the man lose heart. Nothing he does any longer seems a skill to be proud of in a world where someone else always hits the headlines.

This is the plausible picture, in despair of which men cheerfully join any private army which will offer them the right to salute and be saluted. It is of course a false picture. Precisely the size and the complexity of modern societies have raised the status of labor. The slave has become extinct because he had no skill to give, and we can get his mere muscular energy from nature. The two hundred years of discovery from which the convolutions of our societies have grown have steadily increased the importance of the individual and with it his standing. But we have failed to find the forms which acknowledge this new standing.

This is why our world seems always on the edge of crisis. We have to try to fit the forms of society to what men do. I live by the skill of the bus driver and the sewer man, the chemist and the stenographer, the butcher and the mill hand; and, over all these, I live by the lively minds of my readers. Here is a world in the making and moving, for which each man is a fulcrum. The difficulty is not that society must find him a worthy place; he has one. Society must find out how to recognize his place to his face.

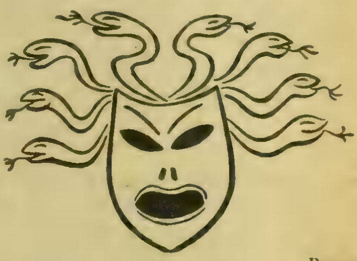
We are at fault because we have not learned how to divide the workings of society into smaller units which hold together by personal respect. We have taken over our organization from history, and the more tyrannical and centralized we have made it, the more out of date it is. In the language of the assembly shop, we do not know how to group ourselves in sub-assemblies. For a man today no longer lives in one community; he is divided between his work and his dormitory suburb and his school club and some highbrow society of filmgoers.

Somewhere in these a man finds a status; he makes as it were for himself a society which will give him his due. And if he does not, no one makes it for him. He drifts, at best, to that endless grumble at everything which fills the morning train to the city—a lost and pitiful whine for self-respect.

The city clerk and the razor gang, the tax collector and Azeff the great *agent provocateur,* the girl on the beach and Murder, Incorporated—their inarticulate mouths all utter one cry. And their cry is one with the wish of the churchwarden and the toff and the squire's lady. They want a place in the world. They want to be among friends. And they want to stand and be recognized. They want someone in their street to nudge his wife and say, "There goes that Mr. X who is doing so well." It does not seem too much to ask of society. But the hour is late; the distance from the center of our society to the doss house and the sandy edges of factory towns grows appalling.

We have to divide the distance, and to find at each step some unit of respect, some recognition of place for those who live there. Society is not a pyramid but a body, and the cells must be neighborly. Two boys on bikes or three girls in the powder room, men at work, the fish queue and the family are units of regard; and only if we can make them support one another shall we have a society to resist the hysteria of the sphinx.

This, I am sure, must be the core of any new society that works. The world is made of people who never quite get into the first team and who just miss the prizes at the flower show. The civilizations of the past built on unskilled labor have made us think of these people as the small change of daily life; they think of themselves as worth no more. Yet our civilization is not built in this way. Our civilization is built on skill. Watch it when next you have your plugs checked or your shirt ironed; it fills the gestures of the girl at the switchboard and the man on the harvester. They have nothing in common with the day laborer now except his history. Yet they cannot shake off, and we do not, the sense that they do nothing which is of account. What they do is modern, but what they and we think of it is centuries out of date. The heart of social reform today is to make the world acknowledge the central place in it of every man's work. Exactly because ours is a mechanical age we can have no man in it merely a cog. The dignity of labor has been put into his hands by the machine.


Berger

Our dilemma is not in any failure to make men individual; on the contrary, their individuality is the creation of two hundred years of invention which have steadily liberated men. We have failed in something else—in finding how to give recognition to what is everywhere individual. We must mend this to survive.

And when we have mended it, even when we have mended it well, we shall not have an end to mutiny. It would be unhappy if we did. Oddity and dissent are irritants which keep society taut and well-toned. The gesture of disobedience is a catharsis which we must not deny to any man, and of which we must not rob the community. The man has a right to protest against communities; if he had not done so, he would still be with the ant colonies; and if he does not do so now, he will return to them. The gambler, the horse player, the girl on the spree make a happy reckless gesture of protest. When the gesture is formalized, in the numbers game or on the dog track, it seems to me to become a sad institution, sad as the insect world itself. But do not let us beat the daylights even out of the bookmakers. They have their place in a rich society.

In short, I hold out no hope that the crime story will wither away. I hope still to go to "Petrouchka" and the ice-hockey games. It is not the symbols of personal protest which I want to put away, or the protest itself. The protest is human; the symbols are pleasurable. I have looked into the symbols searchingly because they show the dual life of man. There is nothing to fear in that except its exploitation. For we have let, we are letting, bad men in our lifetime conjure the crime story to life and overwhelm nations with it. And none of us is free of the guilt of that.

Is there a moral to this? To me it is succinct: that vice is a personal disfigurement, but violence is an impulse which we all share. The love of violence is, to me, the ancient and symbolic gesture of man against the constraints of society. Vicious men can exploit the impulse, but it is a disaster to treat the impulse as vicious. For no society is strong which does not acknowledge the protesting man; and no man is human who does not draw strength from the natural animal. Violence is the sphinx by the fireside, and she has a human face.

"PERPETUAL PROSPERITY"

Is the Business Cycle Out? . . *by Alan Sweezy*

LAST October was the twenty-fifth anniversary of the stock-market crash and of the beginning of the great depression. The occasion was marked by a general feeling of uneasiness, and neither booming stock prices nor official assurances that complete recovery from the current mild recession was just around the corner did anything to allay it. Inevitably the question was discussed: Can it happen again? Then came the Wall Street dip of early January to sharpen the uneasiness.

The weight of opinion, especially conservative opinion, on what is likely to happen has shifted considerably in the last two or three years. Though some New Deal economists have maintained ever since World War II that the changes wrought in our economy by the thirties and the war would insure us against a repetition of the 1929-32 disaster, the majority of investors were for some time less sanguine. Stock prices continued to reflect the fear of a major depression until after the outbreak of the Korean war. Spokesmen for a variety of economic interests and for both political parties derided the idea of "perpetual prosperity."

The change in conservative thinking is illustrated by an advertisement that *U. S. News and World Report* ran in leading newspapers in the latter part of 1953.* It began with the headlines: "Seven Reasons Why the Bottom Won't Drop Out"; ". . . why you needn't fear depression once the boom begins to fade." The reasons given—"(1) Taxes will be reduced . . . (2) Interest rates will be eased . . . (3) Federal spending will go on . . ."—read like an outline of Keynesian anti-depression policy.

That serious depressions are a thing of the past has now become official Republican doctrine. In all his public statements Arthur F. Burns, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, has emphasized that we need not and will not allow another major depression to develop. President Eisenhower, speaking to the National Security Industrial Association on October 25, referred to the fears which have preyed upon people in the last two decades and added: "Certainly we know that one such fear—the fear of paralyzing depression—can be safely laid away."

Skeptics, of course, can still be found—chiefly among the rock-ribbed conservatives who see in any efforts to moderate the severity of depressions a trend toward a planned, socialistic economy and feel that recurring periods of economic distress are part of the curse of Adam, which it would be presumptuous for us to try to escape. The editors of the *Journal of Commerce,* for instance, were so disturbed by Sumner Slichter's thesis, expounded in the New York *Times* of October 3, 1954, that "the old-fashioned business cycle is being destroyed" that they devoted several editorials to its refutation.

The basis of their argument was that "a closer examination of the contracyclical sectors enumerated by Professor Slichter shows that in virtually every instance there were specific factors at work which had a rather strong artificial flavor." They also pointed out that "the idea that it is possible . . . to prevent all substantial business corrections in the future" is "part and parcel of the political credo of those who are usually identified as the left-wing or liberal element in the Democratic Party and among the union leaders."

Beyond a general opposition to things that are artificial or have a left-wing or liberal tinge, their argument is obscured by a tendency to slide from the discussion of automatic stabilizers or other measures designed to reduce the severity of depressions into talk about the "millenium" in which no lapse from full employment and high prosperity could ever occur. The distinction is, of course, essential to clarity in the discussion of anti-depression policy. Automatic stabilizers, as the name implies, go into operation in a period of declining economic activity without the government's having to take positive action of any kind. For example, tax receipts not only fall off with a slump in business but, thanks to our progressive income-tax system and the volatility of corporate profits, fall more than incomes in general. If the

ALAN SWEEZY, professor of economics at the California Institute of Technology, has written extensively on economic subjects.

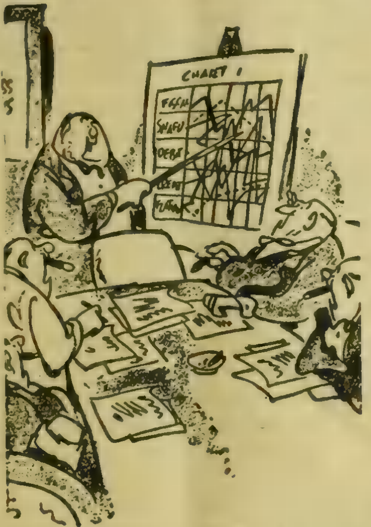
government refrains from raising tax rates or cutting expenditures, it will automatically start making a net contribution to the income flow, a contribution which will increase sharply as incomes fall farther. This factor is, incidentally, much more important now than it used to be because of the much larger volume of government spending today.

Another automatic factor, which was practically non-existent before the 1930's, is the increase in certain types of government spending when employment and incomes decline. Unemployment-compensation payments and the outlays called for by agricultural price-support programs are the most important expenditures of this type.

THAT no positive action is necessary to put them into effect is the great virtue of the automatic stabilizers. Congress need pass no laws; the executive agencies need arrive at no decisions about the proper timing or scope of remedial action. The weakness of these stabilizers is equally clear: they can slow down and eventually stop a business decline, but they cannot by themselves produce recovery, nor can they always put an acceptable limit to the extent and duration of the decline. Fortunately, they can be powerfully reinforced by positive governmental action. The government can cut tax rates, thus releasing money for private spending, and can increase expenditures other than those that increase automatically with depression. There is plenty of scope for action of both kinds in our present economy. Tax rates are still high, and we greatly need larger expenditures on public works, health, and community improvement.

Under the right conditions, credit policy also provides a powerful weapon for combating depression. At the present time, however, interest rates are already so low and credit terms so easy that it is hard to see how much additional stimulus could be expected from this source.

The mere fact that the government can take action to halt a business decline provides no guaranty, of course, that it will. There seems to be considerable divergence of opinion within the present Administration as to how much the government should do. Burns has clearly expressed his willingness to see the government incur deficits if necessary. Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey, on the other hand, seems still to regard a balanced budget as under all conditions the paramount objective of fiscal policy. (In discussing the impact of the government's financial operations on business conditions it is important to distinguish between the conventional bookkeeping budget and the cash budget. The latter, which is far more significant as a measure of the government's current economic influence, has shown a considerably smaller deficit in recent years than the former. In fiscal 1954, for instance, while there was a deficit of three billion in the bookkeeping budget, the cash budget was approximately balanced.)



"Look for a pick-up in business, Gentlemen! Our survey shows that the American people aren't happy unless they're making payments on something."

I think it is a safe bet that the Burns view would prevail if the current recession got appreciably worse. The President himself seems to be free of doctrinaire preconceptions as far as economic policy is concerned. A rise in unemployment to, say, twice its current level would greatly increase both public and Congressional pressure for tax cuts and increased spending. However stubborn Humphrey's attachment to the principles of orthodox finance might be, he would not be likely to have much success, under the assumed conditions, in stemming the demand for effective government action.

Going back now to the original question, could it happen again? I think the answer is no if by this we mean, could we have another depression on the order of 1929-32? The greater strength of automatic stabilizers in our economy, the elimination of serious weaknesses in our banking and mortgage structure, the government's willingness to use its powers in fighting depression together with our vastly improved understanding of how to use them, all these factors combined would certainly stop a depression long before it had gone to the disastrous lengths of 1932.

BUT while we can and undoubtedly shall keep future economic recessions mild, we may not be so successful in keeping them brief. To begin with, the rate of private investment spending is likely to be somewhat lower than it has been in the last few years. As Alvin Hansen has said, we are faced with the "lopping off of the 'unmaintainable' portion of the 1951-53 capital outlays"—namely, that portion due to (1) World War II backlogs, (2) the military build-up which started with the Korean war, and (3) the excess which "usually characterizes boom conditions." Long-run growth factors may not offset the loss of these unusual stimuli for several years to come.

In addition, consumers are not only well stocked with durable goods but committed to a large volume of repayments on short-term indebtedness as a result of the heavy credit buying of recent years. Not much can be expected from a further net expansion of consumer credit in the near future. Where, then, is the impetus to expansion going to come from—an expansion necessary to absorb present unemployment plus the growing labor force?

Administration spokesmen have recently had much to say about the opportunity and the need for economic expansion in the years ahead. In the middle of December the *Wall Street Journal* reported from Washington that "officials are convinced the recession is over and the talk should now turn to economic expansion." The same issue, however, contained another report to the effect that Secretary Humphrey hoped to hold the deficit for the next fiscal year to three billion dollars—the bookkeeping deficit, that is; the cash deficit would consequently be nil. To do this will necessitate keeping the lid on expenditures—and recent reports from Washington indicate that Humphrey has already succeeded in whittling down to extremely modest proportions the schemes that have been advanced for increased spending on foreign aid, housing, and highways—and also blocking further tax reduction. This policy would leave little for economic expansion to feed on except the talk, which will no doubt be supplied in liberal quantities.

As long as the economic situation continues to be no worse than it is now, it seems to me that the Humphrey views on policy are likely to prevail. The great majority of people have good jobs and good incomes. Profits are excellent, in many cases bigger after taxes than in the boom year 1953. We are, to be sure, wasting part of our potential productive capacity, and the waste will grow steadily larger as our potential increases. But is that likely to disturb anyone very seriously—except a few students of economic affairs and the two or three million unemployed who would have jobs if we were operating at full capacity?

Perhaps this is an unduly pessimistic view. We still have a two-party system, and the Republicans' inaction, if it continues much longer, will be the Democrats' opportunity. Perhaps if the hoped-for economic expansion fails to materialize in the next year or two, the Administration will not oppose tax reduction and certain much-needed increases in expenditure as firmly in practice as it now does in principle.

The ultimate objective of economic activity is—or should be—the welfare of the people who participate in it. Full employment of our expanding productive capacity is essential to maximum welfare. But it is not a sufficient condition, even if it is accompanied by an equitable distribution of incomes and a smoothly working mechanism for making individual consumer demands effective. For the continued expansion of an industrial economy like ours is likely to have some highly undesirable side effects—congestion, noise, polluted air, the disappearance of space for recreation and relaxation, to name some of the most obvious. In our great metropolitan areas these problems are already becoming acute. With the further growth of population they can only get worse.

The trouble is that none of our traditional methods of attack on economic problems help us to cope with the evil consequences of expansion. Greater productive efficiency, for instance, will be of little or no use. Speeding up the rate of expansion may only introduce new threats to human wealth and welfare—for example, the increase in background radiation that might follow from the industrial use of atomic energy unless it is accompanied by the most rigorous safeguards. Nor will improvement of our market mechanism—the purifying of competition or the reduction of monopoly power—do anything to help. What we need is community planning and community action of a far bolder and more effective type than we have yet had. Without such planning and such action, measures to insure the full employment of our rapidly increasing productive capacity will yield more and more disappointing returns in terms of human welfare.

EUROPE SEEKS UNITY

The Long Slow Road . . *by Karl Loewenstein*

JUST about two years ago in these columns (January 10, 1953) this writer undertook to evaluate the complex issues of European unification under the title: European Union, Miracle or Mirage? By now, after the failure of the European Defense Community (E. D. C.) in the French National Assembly (August 30, 1954) and after the conclusion of the substitute Paris Agreement (October 23, 1954) the submission of an interim report may not be unwelcome. The article mentioned ended with the following sentence: "If European unity, the Grand Design of our times, fails because, for political reasons, it is coupled with military expedience [meaning a European army with supra-national agencies and German contingents] it will suffer a setback from which the recovery will take more time than mankind can afford." The following report will show that the basic skepticism of an observer interested in European integration professionally rather than emotionally has been attenuated by a little cautious optimism.

When the French repudiated the scheme of a European army they were only as realistic as Frenchmen are apt to be. Aside from their insuperable aversion to placing French soldiers under the command of former Nazi generals they realized that such a military organization was unworkable, would tie them inextricably to the German military juggernaut, and would load down the delicate scales of a future European integration with the weight of a military superstructure. When one is asked why the substitute accord of Paris—which so narrowly escaped defeat again by the French National Assembly during the dramatic Christmas days of 1954—is preferable to the original E. D. C., the answer is fairly simple. First, the British have become an active partner of the Western military alliance. A Conservative government took the historic decision not to withdraw the British forces from the Continent, thereby reversing what has been a basic tenet of British foreign policy for centuries, and more recently (December 21, 1954) the British have engaged to cooperate with the European Coal and Steel Community (E. C. S. C.) in Luxembourg on the ministerial level. Thus the French are no longer closeted alone on the European continent with the overriding power of their German

---

KARL LOEWENSTEIN, professor of jurisprudence and political science at Amherst College, is the author of "Political Reconstruction, the Union of Western Europe" and other books.

neighbor. Second, under the previous setup, E. D. C., practically a German-dominated Western European army, would have been the tail wagging the Atlantic Alliance dog. Now, by the incorporation of Germany into NATO—as a member with not only equal rights but equal duties—the United States, France, Britain, and Canada are made directly responsible for the containment of the German military potential. Being now in the same boat with Germany, they will have to see to it that it cannot be rocked or capsized by the Germans. Third, the Paris Agreement, by scuttling the impossible European army, made it possible for European integration to grow organically from the grass roots of the peoples' common economic and cultural interests.

SEEN historically, the unification of heretofore separate state entities draws its strongest impulse, next to the need of common defense, from the expectation that jointly they will fare better economically than separately. At the present time this incentive has become nearly non-existent in Western Europe. Nations which are doing so well by themselves industrially and trade-wise are understandably disinclined to embark on the experiment of throwing their national economies together. The miracle of the German phoenix literally rising from the ashes has been duly observed by all the world. But in the last two years the other Western European nations have also made tremendous strides forward. In all of them production has soared far beyond the yardstick year of 1936. Recovery is little short of spectacular in Britain. Holland's technologically diversified agriculture has helped to compensate for the loss of its colonial possessions. Belgium's always high-grade industrial economy is flourishing. That France is emerging from the post-war slump is shown by the shrinking of its chronic deficit in the European Payments Union. Even Italy, with its limited natural resources and endemic unemployment, is experiencing a rocket-like industrial upsurge. The merchandise of Western Europe that filled our stores at Christmas time was striking evidence of the success of the European export drive.

Such economic prosperity is bound to dampen any desire for closer economic integration. The concept of the single market, so alluring to Americans and so little intelligible to the average European business man, has lost what fascination it may have possessed at the height of the European depression. The national economies compete freely with foreign business. The national treasuries pass the benefits on to the wage-earning masses. Why should they risk the serious dislocations that would follow the establishment of a single market? If it could be said two years ago that in the last five years European integration had made more progress than at any other time in history, it can be said now that during the last two years it has made less headway than at any other time since the last war.

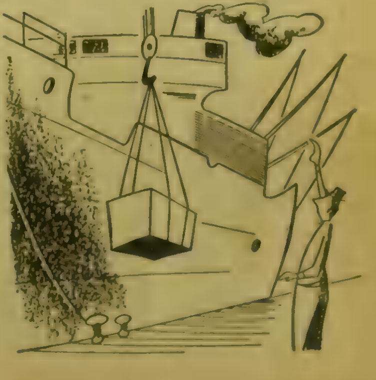
From the start, attachment to the European idea was intellectually conceived rather than mass-carried. But even the enthusiasm of the intellectuals has cooled. In Germany, European Union means practically an understanding with France; other nations are considered of secondary importance. When teaching last summer in various German universities this writer found that the idea had lost much of its former fascination for academic youth. Like their elders they feel they received a raw deal in the surrender of the Saar to France, thinly disguised as Europeanization. The presently proposed solution has all the makings of a new Alsace-Lorraine, poisoning Franco-German relations for a long time to come. In France awareness of the need for closer European integration was always overshadowed by the fear of German rearmament. Of the six nations of "Little Europe" only the Dutch, the government as well as the people, aware of the advantages of a larger area than Benelux, are articulately loyal to the European concept.

The appraisal should be checked against the evolution of the existing institutions of European integration. The Council of Europe in Strasbourg, once greeted ecstatically by the utopian fringe, operates in the twilight of public indifference. At most it is a respectable forum of European discussion. It merely echoes decisions taken elsewhere; its influence on policy-making is nil.

Nor has the Council of Europe been any more effective in injecting itself into existing international organizations. According to the plan of van Naters, a Dutch member of the Strasbourg Assembly, the Europeanization of the Saar was to be placed under its control, a proposal acceptable to the Adenauer government. Under the recent Saar agreement, however, the Council suffered its customary fate of being by-passed. The administration of the Saar will be under the auspices of the enlarged Council of Ministers of the Brussels Pact, which has now been rechristened "Western European Union."

To complete this disappointing record: the European political constitution, fulfilment of the federalist dream, which was drafted by the so-called Ad Hoc Assembly of the Coal and Steel Community enlarged by some members of the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe has remained pigeonholed in the Council of Ministers of the Brussels Treaty since March, 1953. The political organization of United Europe can come only when the socio-economic evolution has reached its natural point of coalescence. A United Europe cannot be built from the top.

IN THE economic area, however, European integration has made real progress. Since the spring of 1953 the European Coal and Steel Community is a going concern. The High Authority has established its supra-national powers; the Court has been active. It will be remembered that when the Community was created under the inspiring leadership of Jean Monnet, its proponents envisaged, within a transitional period of five years, "the smooth passage from national separate protected markets in coal and steel to a competitive market of 160,000,000 consumers." Though as yet the single market is neither fully single nor fully competitive, the organization can chalk up substantial gains. Trade in both steel and coal among the six partners has in-



creased considerably—up to 25 per cent. Steel prices have dropped as much as 12 per cent, perhaps less through freedom of competition than because of overproduction and decreased demand. The double pricing of French iron ore for export from Lorraine has been abolished, as have been the freight differentials inside Germany. Scrap-iron sales rose sharply after the protective tariffs were lifted, a boon to the raw-material-starved infant steel industry of Italy. Because the retraining of workers employed in technically backward establishments and the provision of better housing facilities for workers have fallen behind the successes on the management level, labor is less enthusiastic about the plan, but negotiations with the United States for substantial loans to the E. C. S. C., now nearing completion, may alleviate these shortcomings.

On the debit side are the continued cartel habits of management, especially in Germany but also in France, where the Charbonnage de France is a state-managed compulsory cartel. To eliminate these practices has been as yet beyond the capacity of the High Authority. It has gone wholly unnoticed in this country that the Germans, on the recent occasion of the revision of the original treaties, succeeded in wringing important concessions from the Allies, among them the discontinuation of Allied controls over decartelization after restoration of German sovereignty. Big business apparently is not eager to abandon the evasive practices of dividing markets and colluding in price-fixing. The continued existence of the German coal-sales organization in the Ruhr indicates that market restrictions enforced by private enterprise persist. The Dutch have been compelled to bring their complaints on this score to the Court of the Community. Dissatisfaction with the E. C. S. C. is particularly strong in Germany, where it is considered a continuation of Allied controls under the guise of Europeanization. Germans complain that unsold coal is accumulating at the pits while the price of coal for the housewife has gone up. This rise, however, was due to the now abandoned German practice of selling house coal cheaper than industrial coal.

An unexpected development is the surprising vigor the Assembly of the E. C. S. C. has shown in criticizing both the High Authority and the member governments for failure to live up to intentions of the Community. It is also significant that the discussions in the Assembly are free from narrow nationalism. For example, the Socialist members usually operate as a single bloc. On the whole, the Luxembourg organization has proved an excellent training ground for European cooperation. The resignation of Jean Monnet as president (as of February, 1955), allegedly to devote his efforts to European integration outside and beyond the E. C. S. C., may prove a serious loss.

European integration can develop, if at all, only through the realization that economic cooperation is in the real interest of management and workers alike. The most encouraging sign is in the almost universal conviction of industrialists and bankers, government ministers and trade-union leaders, that the welfare of the national economy coincides with that of Western Europe as a whole. In the economic sphere a genuine European outlook is irresistibly if slowly emerging. A pertinent illustration is the expected agreement for sharing Austria's surplus hydroelectric power with Germany, Switzerland, Italy, and France. The coordination of agricultural resources, which is the crucial problem, can be undertaken only when the living standards and nutrition habits of the participating nations become less unequal. The road to European integration is the gradual interpenetration of national economies. It is a slow road but the only one promising ultimate success. Fanfare for spectacular supra-national institutions for which Western Europe is not yet ripe will not help.

The failure of a military unification of Western Europe has cleared the air. Once the German divisions are a reality, it is safe to predict that we shall see the United States less inclined to apply high-pressure sales tactics to further European Union, which has practically meant little more to it than Germany's remilitarization. American public opinion had better realize that Western Europe must solve its own problems and that European interests are not necessarily identical with American strategy in the cold war.

"ANTI-CATHOLIC" PERON

A Struggle for Power . . *by Claudio Veliz*

THE conflict between President Perón of Argentina and the Catholic church has brought to the surface one of the most important developments in South American politics since the end of the war—the struggle for the control of inter-American trade unions. At present four confederations of trade unions are active throughout the continent. The oldest and best-known is the C. T. A. L. (Confederación de Trabajadores de America Latina), led by Vincent Lombardo Toledano and affiliated to the World Federation of Trade Unions (W. F. T. U.). Its chief rival is the rabidly anti-Communist O. R. I. T. (Organización Regional Inter-Americana de Trabajadores), which is affiliated to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (I. C. F. T. U.). A third is the Perónist A. T. L. A. S. (Associación de Trabajadores Latinoamericanos), set up in Mexico in 1952. The fourth and newest is the Latin American branch of the Catholic C. I. S. C. (Confédération Internationale de Syndicats Chrétiens).

CLAUDIO VELIZ is a Chilean economist and political writer.

While the W. F. T. U. and the I. C. F. T. U. have wasted time and popularity arguing about cold-war problems which have little or no interest for the average South American worker, the Perónist A. T. L. A. S. and the Catholic C. I. S. C. have tried to take a "middle position"—that is, both anti-Communist and anti-United States. A. T. L. A. S. has aimed, unsuccessfully so far, at displacing the international unions from the industrial and mining districts, while the C. I. S. C. has tried to capture the support of the peasantry, hitherto left almost outside political life by the proletariat-conscious Socialist and Communist unions.

IN LITTLE more than two years of political activity the Catholic C. I. S. C. has already grown too large to be controlled by the ecclesiastical hierarchy and at the same time has been moving farther to the left than its initiators ever hoped for. It advocates drastic agrarian reform in many countries, and its policies have been directed against the landed interests and other groups traditionally associated with the established Catholic authorities. It is for this reason that in several Latin American nations under extreme right-wing dictatorships C. I. S. C. leaders have been persecuted and jailed together with Socialists and Communists. This has happened in Colombia, Venezuela, Nicaragua, and more recently in Guatemala, where the C. I. S. C., as one of the groups which supported the agrarian reform, was a victim of the violent repression which followed the fall of the Arbenz government. The extraordinary appeals that the Catholic church made for moderation in Guatemala were not meant to favor the imprisoned Socialists and Communists so much as the Catholic trade-unionists who suffered with them.

The C. I. S. C. has embarked on an ambitious educational plan. Its branch in Chile, for instance, working in close collaboration with the Jesuit order, is sending many students to European universities, including the London School of Economics, to be trained in labor economics, trade-union organization, and the like. These men will return to Latin America to work with the C. I. S. C. or to teach at one of the numerous Jesuit universities.

Perón

The most important political activity of the C. I. S. C. has been its work for agrarian reform. Early in 1954 C. I. S. C. members and some Catholic priests led a delegation of peasants from the village of La Molina in Chile to demand higher wages and better living conditions from their employers. The demonstrators were handled roughly by the police, and one of the priests was beaten and jailed. The affair, small in terms of people involved and results attained, was nevertheless significant, and traditionalists throughout the continent became extremely alarmed at this unexpected trend within the church. The first reaction of the Chilean landowners was to accuse the C. I. S. C. of being under the control of the Communist Party, without stopping to consider that most of its leaders come from religious organizations, in particular from the Jesuit order. By the middle of 1954 the C. I. S. C. had succeeded in marshaling considerable support in the rural areas where the allegiance of the peasantry to the church had prevented the success of the Socialist and Communist trade unions.

WHILE Evita was alive, the Perónist regime was always closely identified with the interests of the church. Evita herself was instrumental in the enactment of the law of religious education of April, 1947, which gave wide powers to the church in the appointment of instructors. Earlier, the regime had passed another law establishing the compulsory teaching of Roman Catholicism in schools. Since the death of Evita all this has changed: the laws of religious education have been abolished, divorce has been legalized, and a law has been passed that guarantees the same legal status to legitimate and illegitimate children. The Perónist Party has even drawn up a project to legalize prostitution in Buenos Aires and compel prostitutes to register with the health authorities. All these drastic reforms have of course earned Perón the solemn condemnation of the church both in Argentina and in Rome. The ecclesiastical hierarchy in Argentina has issued pastoral letters against the regime; public demonstrations have been organized that have been dissolved by police forces.

Perón, on the other hand, has been remarkably moderate. When he replied to these attacks at a mass-meeting in Buenos Aires, he insisted that he was a good Catholic and that he had nothing against the church as such but only against a "small group of conspiratorial priests" who were working against the government. He named these subversive priests, and to everybody's surprise they turned out to be, not the more vociferous anti-Perónists in the Catholic church, but twenty-three priests and three bishops who are considered to form the extreme "left wing" of the Catholic trade-union movement in Argentina. Some of these priests were imprisoned, others were fined, and all were strongly cautioned to abstain from political activity.

The schism between Perón and the Argentine Catholic church is only partly due to the social reforms pushed forward by the government; the underlying cause is the rivalry between the Catholic C. I. S. C. and the Perónist trade unions. The Argentine C. I. S. C. has been vigorously organizing a Christian Democratic Party which would oppose Perón in the next presidential elections, only twenty months away; on the continental scene the C. I. S. C. has clashed with Perón's efforts to control South American trade unionism through the A. T. L. A. S. Outside Argentina the C. I. S. C. is gaining steadily in influence. In Chile, for instance, Dr. Eduardo Frei, the leader of the strongly Catholic Chilean Falange, a party with close ties to the C. I. S. C., is already being spoken of as the possible next president of the country.

The W. F. T. U. and the I. C. F. T. U. have been taken aback by the extraordinary "new look" of the Catholic trade-union offensive. Perón seems so far the only leader who has taken the bull by the horns. The result of his decision is still in the balance.

BOOKS

A Declaration for 1955

BY KAY BOYLE

IT MUST be twenty years ago that I was in London one bleak winter night, going toward closing time through the icy fog into the warmth—comparative, that is—and the uproar of a public house. Its name was the Fitzroy Pub, my husband told me, and it was a place, he said, where those who struggled with the arts, and struggled with poverty as well, came in the evenings to talk and drink. Even now I can see those fierce-eyed old women, not artists or writers but scrubwomen by day, who huddled and cackled inside the door, those toothless witches, with wool scarves bound like winding-cloths around their heads, who sat on the chairs along the wall, or slipped from them, rattling with alcoholic laughter, and slept, like ancient mummies, on the floor. And I remember one other figure in the smoke of the place, a young man in a blue-green suit and an open-neck shirt, with a lightish shock of hair on his head, a stocky young man, with eyes that burned so eloquently that once you had looked at him you could not turn away.

At this moment I feel him standing here before me as he stood that night, his mouth wide open in something intended to be singing but was not, and I feel still the quality of tenderness that was behind the savage impact of his gaze. I have never forgotten the salute, or embrace, or whatever it was, that was in his eyes. He gave it to every human being he turned to, and he sang out so lustily in celebration that he was told by the men and women around that he was disturbing the so-called peace of the Fitzroy Pub. He would climb up on the bar and tell the press of people from there what the hills and the sky were like where he came from, and how far away he was from the place he wanted to be. But nobody there wanted to hear a word of it; in fact, some of them wanted to knock him down, and others wanted to smash his face in once they had succeeded in dragging him down from his height. Feeling was running so high against him that my husband and I started through the people to where he was being shouldered from pillar to post.

I thought he was an Irishman, and I wanted to save him from British violence because of that as much as I wanted to save him as an individual from mob brutality. But my husband had recognized the accent as he sang, and he said, "He's Welsh." I thought of him then as a coal miner's son, connected by blood and birth with D. H. Lawrence, a young miner, I thought, come to the city and attacked for his gusto and his simplicity. So we pushed the men and women aside, and my husband shouted the worst of them down, and I can still see the Welshman's face, so young, so ruddy, and his eyes on us in that blind and tender salute as we got him clear of their hands. He said he had come out without a coat; so we got his muffler around his neck, and we took him out past the witches asleep in the filth and rot of their ragged shrouds. We went other places from there, the three of us, and we talked about different countries, and about high mountains, and the sea, and sometime toward the end of the night he said, "What's your name?" I told him mine, and I asked him his. By that time it didn't seem strange that I'd known his poetry for a year, and could say lines of it to him, or that he'd read a story or two I'd written and remembered the endings of them, although where he'd read them he couldn't say. His name was Dylan Thomas, and I never saw him again after that, but I've always remembered how we fought for him, with something like dedication to someone who was more than a young man out of his country in that alien place where he was.

Perhaps because he was so often out of place among men, we take him now as symbol. Perhaps because we who write in America are in grave difficulties now, we cherish Dylan Thomas as if he were our own ego, our own wild soul freed of the flesh. An American critic, writing of the American literary scene, points out that thinking Americans, in this period of our nation's development, are deeply troubled because "the demands for national security and for individual freedom" are in conflict. But he speaks with confidence of a new trend in the work of young American novelists: a trend toward brotherly communion is the name it has. A number of the new novels, this critic says, express man's longing to be identified with other men. Carson McCullers's "The Member of the Wedding," James Jones's "From Here to Eternity," Capote's "The Grass Harp," and Salinger's "Catcher in the Rye" are offered as evidence that a handful of writers at least has found that "comradely identification" is perhaps as

---

KAY BOYLE is well known as a novelist and short-story writer.

Conviction

There is no reason for the things I know.
My instinct is not tethered to a rule,
And there are those who'd gladly call me fool
But that they, too, must feel these things are so.
Only through living did conviction grow,
Nor have I needed logic for a tool;
This is not knowledge to be gained in school,
But this much I'll be sure of till I go:

There is no mountain's weight that cannot move;
No whisper ever spoken will be lost,
No vision ever seen will fade from sight;
There is no truth that time cannot disprove;
No heat that cannot know the touch of frost;
No day without its shadow; no black night.

CATEAU DE LEEUW

dependable as anything else in this interval when moral values are in flux. In these specific books, it is pointed out, the protagonists seek identification with others in an attempt to find security. The lost Frankie Addams of Mrs. McCullers's book becomes one with Private Prewett of "From Here to Eternity," and the merger continues with Colin of "The Grass Harp," and Holden Caulfield of "The Catcher in the Rye." This composite figure of the critic's mind seeks "to belong," to be a part of our immediate world, as the writer, the artist, the individual of our time, seeks to make contact with what Santayana described in his last book as a world that "has turned its back on the attempt and even on the desire to live reasonably."

IS THIS theory of "self-definition or self-preservation through love," as the critic conceives it, good enough in itself to offer compensation to the writer in America? Or are the books that have been cited merely the last words to be spoken on the subject of the writer's defeat, gauged by standards that are not his own? I see them as essentially tragic books, heartbreaking in the stories of loneliness they tell but tragically illuminating, too, because the protagonists of them are Americans who strive not to be considered outcasts on their own soil. We know how persistently the American scene demands that one take part in it. It is good to join a group, a club, a society, and not to try to stand alone; and if one cannot find that club, that group, the heart splits wide or shrivels like a leaf in loneliness. Is this, in the last analysis, what the books cited have to say? If Mrs. McCullers, and Mr. Salinger, and the others have written with agonizing truth not only of the individual but as well of the writer's, the artist's situation in America, then that situation is even more desperate than was Dylan Thomas's on a winter night in the Fitzroy Pub about twenty years ago.

Thomas Mann, among other writers of our time, has said that it is the writers, the intellectuals, of a country who bear the full weight of moral responsibility. It was the German intellectuals, Thomas Mann has said, who allowed a dictator to come to power in Germany. Had they, through their works and by their vision, made richer promises than those he made, the man called Hitler would have been forced into exile instead of the writers of a country that he brought finally to defeat. Here in America we are politically aware. But although we rid ourselves of our demagogues by political action, we have not yet learned how to impeach an educational system the goal of which is to produce high-powered specialists instead of that perfectly balanced mind Henry Adams has written of, that mind which can produce an "absence of self-assertion or self-consciousness—the faculty of standing apart without seeming aware that [one] was alone." We allow our children to grow up in the belief that knowledge exists to serve a practical end. We accept the education media of television and radio, as presently exploited in America, as evils we cannot remedy and therefore must endure. We know that the majority of television and radio programs are a death sentence passed hourly on the creative impulse of our young, and yet we do not ask that this death sentence be reprieved, for it permits us freedom as it wipes the activity and the invention of our children out. We do not cry aloud our protest as we see our children stricken by this disease for which no dimes are collected in prevention, no iron lungs designed, no wheelchairs pushed down the corridors of hospitals, bearing the victims of poliomyelitis of the will. (It might be said loudly that the Library Association of Great Britain has found that "Britons are reading more library books than ever —270,600,000 in the year ending last March—" because television shows have "increased interest in such subjects as archaeology, ballet, social problems," etc., creating an unprecedented demand for books about them. But however loudly it may be said, we will not hear.)

It has long been established that the writer, the artist, must partake of the world he finds about him if his work is to come alive and stay alive. But in an epoch such as this, when the collective material manifestations have outdone those of the individual spirit, then the artist, the writer, the believer, is unsure. Escape, exile, becoming the member of a group, whatever its nature, is not the answer; nor is that inner exile, that complete detachment of the spirit from the impingement of reality, which the intellectuals of totalitarian states have learned to endure. Now, in our time, it is

The Hudson Review

America's leading literary magazine

Winter issue now on sale

EZRA POUND
Canto 85

WYNDHAM LEWIS
Monstre Gai

T. S. ELIOT
A Note on Monstre Gai

PATRICK CRUTTWELL
The Last Augustan

EVELYN SHEFNER
Monday Morning (story)

VERNON YOUNG
Adventures in Film Watching

Poetry and Reviews

*

To be published in 1955:

THOMAS MANN
Krull in Defence of Love

YVOR WINTERS
KENNETH BURKE
ROBERT GRAVES
THEODORE ROETHKE
RICHARD EBERHART
LOUIS SIMPSON
HERBERT GOLD
IRVING HOWE
And Others

THE HUDSON REVIEW
439 West St., New York 14, N. Y.

I enclose $3.50 for one year's subscription to The Hudson Review, commencing with your Winter issue.

NAME________________________

ADDRESS________________________

clear that it is not the artist, the writer, the individual, who must seek to be accepted by the world he sees, but the scene itself that must be transformed by the higher standards of the individual to acceptability. He must know from the beginning that he does not belong, for the artist's deeper concern has always been, not with what is taking place, but with the dimension of what might, within the imagination and the infinite capacity of man, take place. His concern must be with that belief which seeks, in Toynbee's phraseology, " a higher level of conduct" both in act and in art.

THE transforming of the contemporary scene is what I now ask of all American writers. I urge them to be the individual interpreters of this deep concern which can never find a place upon the air until a purer wave-length has been found for it. I would remind them that the voice of the artist, that voice which speaks with such superb authority in France, in England, in Italy, can, if they wish it, become the voice of authority here. "In France, more than in any other country," writes Marcel Arland, "it is the writers who today, as formerly, shape the language." This, in America, is heresy.

As a beginning, I ask that Maxwell Anderson write a play that refuses to compete with our corrupted popular media, a play that will not cause Bill March, that lonely, gentle, uncorrupted artist, to stir in anguish in his grave. I ask Truman Capote to condemn the scent of the rose if it serve the end of perfuming theater tickets. I ask Salinger to write maturely of maturity. I suggest that those who plan 98 per cent of the television and radio programs reconsider, for in this new era when the American writer recreates the scene, all that darkens the illumination of man's mind will have to turn quietly and go. I warn the sponsors of television programs that the salesman with glassy eye, and voice rising in hysteria, who, his back to the wall, offers foam-rubber pillows free, absolutely free, presages the end. I would ask the lonely protagonists of novels still unwritten to reject communion and refuse identification, recognizing that writers are men and women who have accepted a moral responsibility, and who must bear it, each isolated in his own conviction, quite alone.

And now, because it is late of a bleak winter night, I would send a message to Dylan Thomas, telling him again that when the histories are written it is only the poets, and those who read them, who remain.

Books in Brief

Yugoslav Tragedy

JOURNEY WITHOUT END. By Manès Sperber. Translated by Constantine Fitzgibbon. Doubleday. $3.75.

This third novel in Manès Sperber's trilogy of military-ideological conflicts in Eastern Europe requires considerable preparation. As a novel, "Journey Without End" does not stand on its own; those who meet Sperber's work for the first time will be troubled by a serious lack of motivation. Of more concern is the fact that Sperber's book is not so much fiction as a complicated treatise on the Yugoslav political situation under the Nazis.

The novel reads like a catalogue of horrors. The Nazis slaughter more or less indiscriminately; the Ustachi (Yugoslav fascists) kill for loot and power; Mihailovic's partisans fight Tito's partisans. There are also various independent partisan groups who are ground to pieces between the others. And through it all, the Croats and Serbs murder each other whenever the opportunity arises. The situation—which may well set a record for the number of mortal enemies in one novel—requires a political orientation course.

The proliferating butchery finally destroys its own effect. With so many deaths and so many hates, and not enough compensating literary art, readers will find themselves burdened with emotional scar tissue and unable to feel anything at all for the people involved.

It is not enough that an author feels intensely about his material, that he has seen and perhaps taken part in conflicts bitter enough to shatter the imagination. Before this becomes real for readers, the author must filter and recreate his material, involving his audience with all means at his disposal. With some few exceptions Manès Sperber fails in this respect, so that "Journey Without End" remains a journey into despair and death, and little more.

Primarily for Entertainment

FIRST-PRIZE STORIES, 1919-1954. From the O. Henry Memorial Awards. Introduction by Harry Hansen. Hanover House. $3.95.

The literary rear guard is represented at its best by this volume of prize-winning short stories, dating back to 1919. As Harry Hansen tells us in his introduction, each story was selected as "a conflict that was resolved, a narrative that carried the reader to a satisfying destination. Style, mood, reverie, sketchy suggestion were all secondary," with "the high usefulness of entertainment" remaining a primary consideration.

The progressive change in fiction over thirty-five years makes the collection a fascinating historical study. Margaret Prescott Montague's use of World War I pathos, for example, contrasts with Irwin Shaw's sharper view of World War II. In much the same way Edgar Valentine Smith's sentimentalizing is a foil for the work of Faulkner. And Thomas Mabry's 1954 prize winner, The Indian Feather, with its fine nuance and ambiguity, demonstrates how the effect of literary experimentation is seen ultimately in even frankly non-experimental anthologies.

Portrait of an Artist

THE LION AT MORNING. By Stephen Longstreet. Simon and Schuster. $4.95.

The developing artist is a theme as old, perhaps, as literature itself. It has been a fruitful theme and with good reason, for by using the artist as a fulcrum for his narrative a writer is able to examine human society and values from the freest and most incisive point of view. He can also bring his audience close to the nature of the artist himself—that jangle of nerves, rebellion, and search which is the raw material of the creative mind.

"The Lion at Morning" is a powerful novel of the creative artist's struggle in America, a struggle not only against the Babbitts but against the art-gallery jackals who feed on the European masters or the quick rot of new fads. As counterpoint to this basic theme it portrays another type of "artist"—the manipulator of life and financial power.

HOW TO TRAVEL WITHOUT BEING RICH

If you know the seldom-advertised ways of reaching foreign countries, you don't need fantastic sums of money in order to travel. You could spend $550-$1000 on a one-way luxury steamer to Buenos Aires—but do you know you can travel all the way to Argentina through colorful Mexico, the Andes, Peru, etc., via bus and rail for just $109 in fares?

You can spend $5000 on a luxury cruise around the world. But do you know you can travel around the world via deluxe freighter for only a fourth the cost--or via connecting steamer for $600--and that there are dozens of other round-the-world routings for under $1000.

Do you know all about the really comfortable, low-cost-routings to whatever part of the globe you're interested in? India, say, and how to reach it at lowest cost via rail from Europe through France, Italy, Yugoslavia, Greece, Turkey, and the Middle East? Or how to see South America economically? Which air lines Americans living down there take to cut $30, $50, $75 off the top fares?

There are two ways to travel—like a tourist, who spends a lot, or like a traveler, who knows all the ways to reach his destination economically, comfortably, and while seeing the most.

Norman Ford's big new guide *How to Travel Without Being Rich* gives you the traveler's picture of the world, showing you the lower cost, comfortable ways to practically any part of the world. Page after page reveals the ship, rail, bus, airplane and other routings that save you money and open the world to you.

What do you want to do? Explore the South Seas? This is the only guide in the world that names the schooners, tells what they charge, where they go (even how to reach Gauguin's old home). Visit Mexico? This is the guide that tells you the low-cost ways of reaching the sights (how 56¢ takes you via 8-passenger automobile as far as those not-in-the-know pay $5.60 to reach). Roam around South America? Europe? Any other part of the world? This is the guide that tells you where and how to go at prices you can really afford.

If you've ever wanted to travel, prove now, once and for all, that travel is within your reach. Send now for *How to Travel Without Being Rich*. It's a big book, filled with facts, prices, and routings, and it's yours for only $1.50. Even one little hint can save you this sum several times over.

HOW TO TRAVEL

—and get paid for it

There's a job waiting for you somewhere: on a ship, with an airline, in overseas branches of American firms, in foreign firms overseas—even exploring if you're adventurous.

The full story of what job you can fill is in Norman Ford's new book *How to Get a Job That Takes You Traveling.* Whether you're male or female, young or old, whether you want a life-time of paid traveling or just hanker to roam the world for a short year or so, here are the facts you want, complete with names and addresses and full details about the preparations to make, the cautions to observe, the countries to head for.

You learn about jobs in travel agencies (and as tour conductors), in importing and exporting concerns, with mining and construction companies. Here's the story of jobs in the Red Cross and the UN organizations, how doctors get jobs on ships, the almost-sure way for a young girl to land a job as airline hostess, the wonderful travel opportunities if you will teach English to foreigners, and the fabulous travel possibilities for those who know stenography.

"Can a man or woman still work his or her way around the world today?" Norman Ford asks in this book as you might ask today. And he replies in 75,000 words of facts. "The answer is still a very definite Yes!"

To travel and get paid for it, send today for *How to Get a Job That Takes You Traveling* on a money-back guarantee if not satisfied. Price, just $1. Fill out coupon.

Will Your Next Vacation Really Be Something to Remember?

The surest way to guarantee a new, different, and exciting vacation is to learn the hundreds of things you can do and the places you can visit [illegible] *the money you want to spend.*

Norman Ford, founder of the world-known Globe Trotters Club, tells you that in his book *Where to Vacation on a Shoestring*. This is the man who has spent a lifetime searching for the ways to get more for your money in vacations and travel.

In his big book, you learn

- —about low-cost summer paradises, farm vacations, vacations on far-off islands, on boats drifting down lazy streams while you fish.
- —about vacations at world-famous beaches, under palm and eucalyptus trees, in government-subsidized vacation resorts, in Indian country, along rugged coastlines, on ships and by rail.
- —about dude ranches you can afford; what to see, do, and how to save at national parks and in the cities most Americans want to visit.
- —about low-cost sailing ship cruises, houseboat vacations in the North Woods, fantastically low-cost mountain vacations, the unknown vacation wonderlands almost at your front door.

Of course, Norman Ford knows where to get real vacation bargains in all America, from Maine to California, and in Canada, Mexico, etc. At no time does he ask you to spend a lot of money to enjoy yourself, no matter how really different and exciting is the vacation you choose through his experienced advice. Always, he tells you the many things you can do within your budget and how to get more for your money (if you travel by car, he shows how most auto parties can save $6 or $7 a day).

You can't help but learn something that is just meant for you. Yet, *Where to Vacation on a Shoestring* costs only $1. To make sure your next vacation will be something to talk about, get the facts now. Use the coupon to order.

Where Do You Want to Go?

FRANCE? WEST INDIES? BRAZIL? HAWAII? MEXICO?

Read what The Christian Science Monitor says about a new way to travel that sometimes costs 1/3 to 1/2 less.

BY *THE travel editor of The Christian Science Monitor:* Many fascinating travel booklets pass over this desk in the course of a year but the one that arrived the other day so interested this department that it cost the office several hours of work in order that we might absorb its contents. The booklet is entitled "Travel Routes Around the World" and is the traveler's directory to passenger-carrying freighters and liners. In no time at all you find yourself far out to sea cruising along under tropical skies without a care in the world. You find yourself docking at strange ports and taking land tours to those places you long have read about. Most interesting of the vast listings of ships are the freighters which carry a limited number of passengers in quarters comparable to the luxury offered in the so-called big cruise ships which devote most of their space for passengers.

The booklet first of all answers the question: What is a freighter? The modern freighter, says the booklet, ranks with the de-luxe passenger vessels so far as comfort and accommodations are concerned.

LARGE ROOMS WITH BEDS

It is important to realize that in most cases today, freighter passengers are considered first-class passengers, although the rates charged are generally on a par with either cabin or tourist-class fare. Most passenger-carrying freighters, to quote the booklet, have their private bath and shower, and these cabins offer beds, not bunks. The rooms are generally larger than equivalent accommodations aboard passenger ships, and the cabin of a modern freighter is sometimes even twice as large as first-class cabins on some of the older passenger ships. It goes without saying that your room is on the outside, and amidships, the most expensive of all locations, for which you are usually charged a premium over the advertised minimum fares on passenger ships.

This booklet points out that it is frequently astonishing how low freighter fares are as compared with passenger ship fares: for example, less than one-half of the passenger ship fare to California is the amount asked on freighters. On most of the longer runs, the difference in favor of the freighters is regularly from a third to half of the passenger ship fare.

SERVICE AND MEALS RATED EXCELLENT

Service and meals on a freighter leave little to be desired. You will be treated with consideration. Stewards will go out of their way to make your voyage pleasant. On ships with East Indian stewards you will be waited on almost hand and foot, in a manner that is completely unknown to Americans and most Europeans.

Foreign ships offer their own specialties, says the booklet. Thus vessels in the East Indian trade serve Rijkstafel (or King's Table), the East Indian dish which can run to as many as 30 different courses, Scandinavian ships serve Smorgasbord every day, and some of their desserts (like strawberries smothered in a huge bowl of whipped cream) are never forgotten. Another feature of freighter travel is in its informality. No formal clothes are needed. Sports clothes are enough.

Other valuable information such as how to tip, shipboard activities and costs are covered in the booklet, "Travel Routes Around the World." Some of the trips listed include a trip to England for $160, a 12-day Caribbean cruise for $240, or a leisurely three-month Mediterranean voyage.

The booklet is published by Harian Publications, Greenlawn, New York, and may be obtained by sending to the publisher. So, when it arrives all you need to do is sit down and take your choice. The booklet lists literally hundreds of ocean trips.

"Travel Routes Around the World" is yours for just $1, and the big 128-page 1955 edition includes practically every passenger-carrying service starting from or going to New York, Canada, New Orleans, the Pacific Coast, Mexico, South America, England, France, the Mediterranean, Africa, the Indies, Australia, the South Seas, Japan, Hawaii, etc. There's a whole section called How to See the World at Low Cost, plus pages and pages of photos and maps.

A big $1 worth, especially as it can open the way to more travel than you ever thought possible. For your copy, simply fill out coupon.

FILL OUT AND SEND AT ONCE FOR QUICK DELIVERY

Mail to HARIAN PUBLICATIONS, 93 Second Avenue
Greenlawn (Long Island), New York

I have enclosed $__________ (cash, check, or money order). Please send me the books checked below. You will refund my money if I am not satisfied.

☐ Travel Routes Around the World. **$1.**
☐ Where to Vacation on a Shoestring. **$1.**
☐ How to Travel Without Being Rich. **$1.50.**
☐ How to Get a Job That Takes You Traveling. **$1.**
☐ *Special offer: All books above for* **$4.00.**

Print Name______________________________

Address______________________________

City & State______________________________

Longstreet is not above including some hard-boiled posturing and occasional sentimentality, together with the usual Oedipus complications. In addition, he seems never to have learned the meaning of narrative economy, and his lack of concentration often produces thin spots where interest depends upon sex or external glossiness. But these flaws are compensated for to a considerable extent by accurate observation and a rich cast of individuals drawn from the worlds of Hollywood, big business, art, and sectional America. "The Lion at Morning" represents a serious attempt to deal with a serious subject.

For Understanding Our Past

BACK OF HISTORY. By William Howells. Doubleday. $5.

"I have tried," says the author, "to make a single story of the human background . . . to make something understandable out of our past." After a section on our immediate animal ancestors, Professor Howells describes the Stone Age and Bronze Age cultures, the organization of primitive society, the coming of religion, and the beginnings of civilization. The author perhaps covers too large an area too lightly, but his book will be an easy introduction to history for the casual reader.

More GOLF SECRETS

by H. A. MURRAY, M.D.
author of **The Golf Secret.** The discoverer of the simple **"left-shoulder method"** that quickly helped thousands to power and accuracy in the golf swing, has just written a new book, **MORE GOLF SECRETS.**

Contrary to much golf instruction, this expert believes in playing golf the easy way—that is, "GETTING WITH" (NOT FIGHTING AGAINST) the body's structure and dynamics. A medical doctor, he knows intimately the anatomy and body mechanics of which he writes.

Here are invaluable advice and information on all aspects of the game *other* than the swing (which was dealt with in "The Golf Secret"). The same bed-rock good sense, keen observation, analytical insight, and on-the-spot understanding of what-to-do (and what-to-avoid!) make this another priceless short cut to low-score golf.

INCLUDES:

Correct stance, ball position, the address, the grip, putting, the chip shot, the stymie, ball spin, bunker shots, hooks, slices, cut shots, uphill and downhill lies, and so on and on.

NOTHING ESSENTIAL TO GOOD GOLF HAS BEEN LEFT OUT

Fully Illustrated

ORDER NOW! $2.50 Postfree • 5-Day Money-Back Guarantee.

NOTE: If you do not yet own this author's THE GOLF SECRET, by all means get it! The price is $2.50. Postfree. Same 5-Day Money-Back Guarantee.

EMERSON BOOKS, Inc.
Dept. 888-K, 251 W. 19 St., New York 11

Books on Africa

SEVEN DAYS TO LOMALAND. By Esther Warner. Houghton Mifflin. $3.50. Superficially this is the story of a trek into the interior of Liberia to witness a name being redeemed and truth ascertained by plunging the suspect's hand in boiling palm oil. Actually it is one of the most sensitive reports on West African–European relations.

AFRICA, LAND OF MY FATHERS. By Era Bell Thompson. Doubleday. $3.75. A flying tour around Africa south of the Sahara by a Chicago editor. Despite the interviews with many African leaders and the opportunity to visit almost every territory, a disappointing report, long on name-dropping and short on any preparation to meet a situation for which American experience is not enough.

SUDAN DAYS AND WAYS. By H. C. Jackson. St. Martin's Press. $3.50. The memoirs of a colonial administrator in the Sudan from 1907 till 1931. Interesting historical material about the Mahdi rebellion, whose survivors he interviewed in Khartoum, and the "pacification" of Nilotic peoples in the south. Mr. Jackson took his responsibilities very seriously, and his sense of self-congratulation is strong.

AFRICA DRUMS. By Richard St. Barke Baker. British Book Center. $3. A much better set of memoirs by a conservationist with many years of forest work in Kenya and Nigeria behind him. Far from the bureaucratic centers, learning the languages, and understanding the need to involve the population of the forest, Mr. Baker was able to graft some new techniques on traditional institutions.

AFRICAN-AMERICAN COOPERATION. By G. Udegbunem Meniru. Libertarian Press. $3.50. A Nigerian engineer trained in United States schools and industry and deeply skeptical of Britain's aims in Africa finds no reason to doubt that American investments and influence would be beneficial to his homeland and would help to industrialize it. Foreword by Ward M. Canaday, president of Willys-Overland Motors.

JOHN V. MURRA

Theater

Harold Clurman

THE second half of "House of Flowers," the Truman Capote–Harold Arlen musical (Alvin Theater), is, I am told, being so drastically revised that it will constitute a virtually new act. Such revision, it is quite possible, will help make the show a richer entertainment, though I am not at all certain that it will remedy its basic fault.

"House of Flowers" has no style. It might have been a dramatic bit of exotic romance, combining a delicately sophisticated sentimentalism with an insidious glamour, or it might have been a loud hunk of Broadway bawdiness, combining the humor of "Sailor Beware" with the rhythms of one of Lew Leslie's "Blackbird" revues. As it stands, it is neither. The producer or the authors or the director did not know what they wanted to do with the material, exactly what sort of effect they were hoping to make. The show, therefore, contains a little of everything, which, I am very sorry to say, means not much of anything. The story's locale, by the way, is Haiti, and the house referred to in the title is, as the lady said, not a home.

Oliver Messel's sets and costumes are extraordinarily pretty, with a kind of Parisian decorativeness—slightly sweetened and elaborated by Anglo-American taste. But woe to the show which boasts sets and costumes as its prime attractions. Pearl Bailey is handsome with a sort of effrontery which is part reticence and part resentment. Hardly any of the song writers, it seems to me, have ever composed numbers which might reveal her quality to the best advantage. There is an excellent dance number—in a vaudeville voodoo mode. I found the dancer Carmen de Lavallade fetching. Harold Arlen's score if it were more cleanly orchestrated might sound much better. At present, although this may have changed since the opening, the music doesn't "come out."

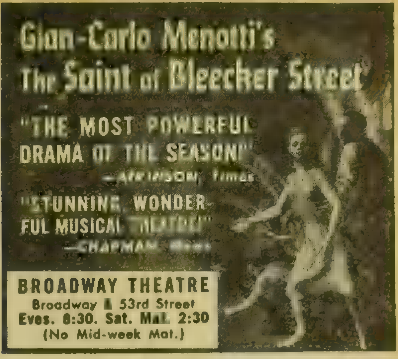
ONE might find a fatal flaw in the Phoenix Theater's production of Shaw's "The Doctor's Dilemma," but I shall not dwell on it, because the play still emerges as one of the few really gratifying things to be seen in New York at the moment.

To begin with the flaw: Shaw is very difficult for American actors to play properly, particularly young American actors. Actors of the present generation —I speak of good actors—emphasize *realness*, and Shaw's reality is stylized. English actors usually play Shaw better than ours do because the English are more concerned with language, with speech, with crispness and clearness of diction, with the rhetoric of wit, and with the rather old-time comic effects on which Shaw based so much of his dramaturgy.

Shaw crackles; our actors consider. Paradoxically, Shaw, the profound, is best done "superficially." What I mean may be likened to the common American impression of the Englishman's manner: when an Englishman says "I'm heartbroken," the words themselves in our view seem to encompass all the sentiment involved in the statement, whereas an American uttering the same words is expected to feel, or convey, much more than the words say. We are so preoccupied with "sincerity" that we tend to overlook the question of form—particularly verbal form—which plays a paramount role in Shaw's work.

Shaw called "The Doctor's Dilemma" a "tragedy"—and it is true that the charming but not necessarily "sympathetic" pivotal character dies toward the end—but the play is essentially comedy, shrewd and exhilarating. What a pleasure to listen to the admirable dialogue, some of which strikes the ear like arias of a refreshingly dry gaiety. The play is well-made in the tradition of the English theater of the 1900's, a technique which Shaw uses with devilish cleverness to include not only all the tricks of the trade—including fat parts for qualified actors—but everything he has been thinking about in connection with the medical profession, the morality of artists, newspaper reporters, respectability, and sundry other matters.

Apart from the limitations already noted, I found the company and the direction praiseworthy. To mention but one name, Geraldine Fitzgerald has so much purity, dignity, directness in her person and playing that we regret not seeing her more often. Despite my abhorrence of reviews which might be mistaken for publicity, I am impelled to add that with "The Doctor's Dilemma" the Phoenix Theater downtown is presenting at reasonable prices a play which has greater value and interest than half a dozen of the on-Broadway smashes.


Gian-Carlo Menotti's
The Saint of Bleecker Street
"THE MOST POWERFUL DRAMA OF THE SEASON!"
—ATKINSON, Times
"STUNNING, WONDERFUL MUSICAL THEATRE!"
—CHAPMAN, News
BROADWAY THEATRE
Broadway & 53rd Street
Eves. 8:30. Sat. Mat. 2:30
(No Mid-week Mat.)

BEETHOVEN for Hi-Fi **EYES?**

Yes—in handy, low-priced pocket scores • **Authentic** editions

98¢ each vol.:

The 5 Cello-Piano Sonatas (1 vol.)
The 10 Violin-Piano Sonatas (2 vols.)
The 32 Piano Sonatas (5 vols.; Special price: $3.98)
Diabelli & Eroica Variations (1 vol.)
. . . . many others

(also BACH, HANDEL, CHOPIN, MOZART, . . .)
Ask your dealer ▪ For FREE CATALOG, write

LEA POCKET SCORES

Dept. W, Box 138
Audubon Station
New York 32, N.Y.

Records

B. H. Haggin

THE performances of Bach's Brandenburg Concertos on Bach Guild 540/1/2 in which Prohaska conducts a group from the Vienna State Opera Orchestra recall to mind the record of a Prades Festival rehearsal on which Casals at one point tells the orchestra: ". . . Every note is variety—this is what gives life—otherwise it's something dry . . ."—this in the course of achieving the enlivening inflection of melodic phrase and accompaniment figuration that is so exciting to hear. For not a trace of such inflection is heard in the Prohaska performances: every note is the same, and the result is lifeless and dull.

The latest performance of Mozart's Clarinet Concerto K.622, by Gervase de Peyer with the London Symphony under Collins on London LL-1135, offers the most beautiful clarinet tone and phrasing I can recall hearing in this work. On the reverse side is an excellent performance of the Bassoon Concerto K.191 by Henri Helaerts.

The fine-sounding performance of Dvorak's "Legends" Op. 59 by Scherman and his Little Orchestra Society on Columbia ML-4920 has given me my first hearing of these pieces, which turn out to be engagingly melodious in the idiom of the "Slavonic Dances."

Columbia's ML-4902 offers two works recorded under the auspices of the Walter W. Naumburg Foundation: Riegger's Symphony No. 3, performed by Hanson with the Eastman-Rochester Symphony, and Mennin's Symphony No. 3, performed by Mitropoulos with the New York Philharmonic. Both composers exhibit competence in putting sounds together—Riegger is an idiom that communicates nothing to me, Mennin is one that I find intelligible but uninteresting.

Virgil Thomson's score for Lew Christensen's "Filling Station," performed well by Barzin with the New York City Ballet Orchestra on Vox 9050, turns out to be as engaging by itself as it is with the ballet. On the other hand the four movements of Hershy Kay's "Western Symphony," on the reverse side, don't make it—in the words attributed to Balanchine on the record envelope—a "genuine formal symphony"; and because formal symphonic organization is precisely what the many repetitions of the American folk tunes lack, they become monotonous when listened to without the ballet.

For years it has been accepted belief that Bach's works for unaccompanied violin were intended to be played with a curved and loosely strung bow which could produce the chords that have to be arpeggiated when played with the modern bow; and I was astonished to learn recently from this column's scholar that the belief and the bow were pure invention on the part of Albert Schweitzer

FESTIVAL

ASIAN FESTIVAL ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★
★ Saturday, January 29 ★
Yugoslav Hall, 405 W. 41 St., N. Y. C.
★ ★ Songs of Asia by Betty Sanders ★
★ Feature FILMS
★ ★ Words by MAUD RUSSELL ★
★ JAMES ARONSON — ALEC JONES ★
Choon Cha and Chungsoon KWAK
★ *Tickets:* ★
★ Committee to Defend the KWAKS ★
515 W. 111 St., Rm 3F & 23 W. 26 St.
★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

FORUM

★ Friday, Feb. 4—8:30 ★
LEO HUBERMAN
in Timely Analysis:
"AMERICAN LABOR'S POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC FUTURE"
Discussion ★ Refreshments
YORKVILLE COMPASS FORUM
Yorkville Temple, 157 E. [illegible] St., N. Y.
Contrib: 85¢

PUBLICATIONS

Now in the latest issue of
MAIN CURRENTS IN MODERN THOUGHT
New Integrative Materials and Methods,
Applicable Source Readings,
"THEORETICAL CREATIVITY IN PSYCHOLOGY"
$3.00 (5 issues) per year
For free copy write to
FOUNDATION FOR INTEGRATED EDUCATION
246 East [illegible] Street New York 17, N. Y.

CORRESPONDENCE
A NEW KIND OF WORKERS PAPER
Written–Edited–Circulated by its readers
$2.50 per year, bi-weekly
Write for 3 free issues
5050 Joy Rd., Detroit 4, Mich.

SOCIALIST BOOKS. Catalog, literature, Free. **New York Labor News Company, Dept. M, 61 Cliff Street, New York 38,** New York.

FREE catalogs on Social-economic Movements, etc. regularly from: **The Hammersmith Bookshop, Beadon Rd., London, W6, England.**

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE

Buy Your Books through THE *Nation*

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular retail price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the retail price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D. No C. O. D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to
Miss Le Pach
THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
333 SIXTH AVENUE NEW YORK 14, N. Y.

with no basis in historical fact. Schweitzer continues to proclaim the belief in the face of demonstrations to the contrary (most recently in a conversation reported by Joseph Wechsberg in the *New Yorker*); and Telmanyi is the second violinist within the past year to record the six Sonatas and Partitas with a modern reconstruction of the imagined Bach bow. It enables him, on London LLA-20, to play the music without the distentions imposed by the modern bow; and he plays it in addition with good musical taste. But Grumiaux, on Boston 202, plays the Chaconne of the Partita No. 2 with equal good taste with a modern bow which enables him to achieve in addition a tension and power that make his performance more effective for me.

I also prefer Grumiaux's straightforward playing to Francescatti's excessive distentions and changes of tempo in his performance of the Partita No. 2 on Columbia ML-4935. On the reverse side however Francescatti plays the Partita No. 3 in more straightforward and more satisfying fashion. No. 3, with its superb Prelude, and the great Chaconne of No. 2 are, I might add, all that I care for in the six works.

London LL-1069 offers three fine Mozart Sonatas for piano and violin—K.304, 378, and 481—played well by Maureen Jones and Brenton Langbein. The tone of Langbein's violin is reproduced less agreeably in the third work than in the others.

The works of Pergolesi, Vivaldi, Leo, and Martini played by I Musici for the Concert Society of New York in Town Hall were not of high musical interest; but they were occasions for string playing extraordinary in its precision and execution, its transparency and beauty of blended tone, its refinement of phrasing. The Vivaldi Concerto in D minor for viola d'amore, for example, was less interesting than the one on the Angel record; but Bruno Giuranna's beautiful playing attained the breath-taking in what sounded like passage-work in harmonics in the cadenza of the first movement. And breath-taking too in its precision and tonal radiance was the passage-work for two and three violins as executed by Felix Ayao, Roberto Michelucci, and Walter Gallozzi in the Vivaldi Concerto for the three instruments.

Letters

(Continued from inside front cover)

U. S. I. A. propaganda pamphlets, Voice of America broadcasts, etc. The students' "reactions" were obtained to this material through questionnaires and group discussions. The students were deliberately deceived into believing the study was in the interest of international communication. The U. S. I. A.'s connection with the study, the fact that it financed the program, was concealed from them. This was at the request of the U. S. I. A., according to Dr. Carter.

I think this problem should be brought before the United Nations and a decision rendered to prevent students visiting foreign countries, including Americans, from being victimized in this way.

Bend, Ore. RALPH E. CONWAY

Henri Matisse

Dear Sirs: S. Lane Faison, Jr.'s, article on Henri Matisse in your December 4 issue seems to me full of misapprehensions. I have a profound admiration for this artist's work—for the groups of luscious fruit and flowers, sunlit interiors, and the curving arabesques of the female nude. Nevertheless, I also see the limitations of Matisse's art in the fact that he remains unaffected by the social and political conflicts of his time.

I cannot agree with Mr. Faison's view that "in Matisse the artist's true function was exemplified." In my opinion, the true function of the artist is to convey the spirit of life, the strivings and aspirations of the people. . . . The aim of Matisse's art was to please. "When I dream of art," he wrote, "it is of that which is equilibrated, pure, and calm, free from disturbing subject matter, an art that can be for any intellectual, worker, business man, or writer a means of soothing the soul, something like a comfortable chair in which one rests from physical fatigue." In brief, an art without ideas . . . where time seems to have stood still, where there are no catastrophes, where there isn't the slightest reflection of two world wars. . . .

New York LARRY HESLIN

Mr. Faison Replies

Dear Sirs: Mr. Heslin's line of thought would eliminate Giorgione, Watteau, and most of Botticelli, along with Matisse. The Soviet critic Alexander Romm takes exactly the same position as regards Matisse. The trouble comes when you demand "ideas" in painting. What kind of ideas: social significance or the image of a new dimension of color which, in good time, much of the Western world understood well enough to adopt?

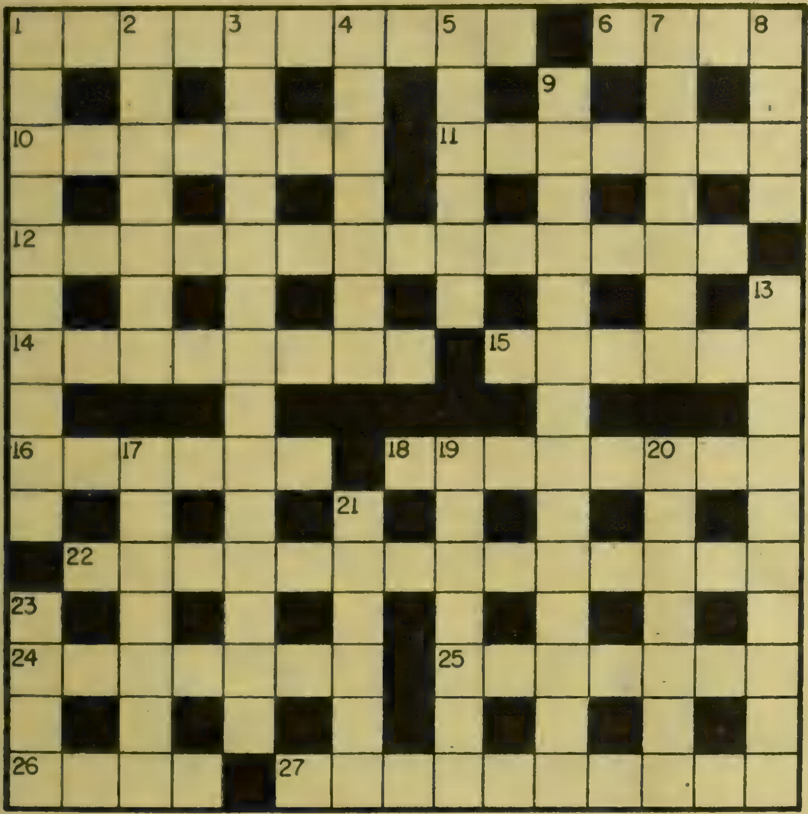
Incidentally, Raphael wasn't interested in wars either; nor was Corot.

S. LANE FAISON, JR.

Williamstown, Mass.

Crossword Puzzle No. 604

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 The lowest bottle snared? (10)
6 See 21 down.
10 It's not the Ghibellines who need a leg-push! (7)
11 Calm locations? No, not there! (7)
12 In record edge, in consumed and haphazard fashion. (14)
14 English river box. (8)
15 Chain raiser. (6)
16 Massacre, not as much disturbed as sweet. (6)
18 Was Crane's, of courage? (8)
22 How some salesmen work for others' pay? (6, 2, 6)
24 Clipper. (7)
25 Descriptive phrase, I understand, for some women. (7)
26 and 8 down. Those who aren't up to such measures? (Draws more customers!) (8)
27 Typified by Mr. Chips? (3, 7)

DOWN

1 Where one of two thirsty governors was in informal attire? (10)
2 Can't read letters, but finds it there underfoot. (7)
3 Do they charge for the lack of coverage? (8, 6)
4 This ramble is coming back. (7)
5 Seems a bad way to get food! (6)
7 Rouser. (7)
8 See 26 across.
9 Plumbers' executives? (8, 6)
13 How people come to grips? (10)
17 The rodent seems to have been decapitated. (7)
19 A container border is perpendicular. (7)
20 Queue after the Pied Piper? (7)
21 and 6 across. Young matron? (6, 4)
23 Too slow, but not to pull! (4)

~ ● ~

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 603

ACROSS:—1 and 23 down A STILL SMALL VOICE; 9, 10 and 18 down NO HITS, NO RUNS, NO ERRORS; 11 RUFFIAN; 12 DOESKIN; 14 UNDINE; 15 SISYPHUS; 17 BESTOWED; 20 and 4 down THE NEW LOOK; 22 TRIVIAL; 24 BATISTE; 26 GRAINY; 27 INFLICTS; 28 REPUBLICANS.

DOWN:—2 SKINFLINT; 3 INSTATE; 5 MAROONS; 6 LINKS; 7 COLUMN; 8 IN SITU; 13 ASIDE; 16 PRECISION; 19 and 25 WHAT YOU WILL; 20 TRAFFIC; 21 ESTATE.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York.

RESORTS

50 Miles to *FOREST HOUSE*
Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes. All sports.
FOREST HOUSE
Lake Mahopac, N. Y. • Tel. Mahopac 8-3449

For Your YEAR-ROUND Vacation Plans
CARAN LODGE
Sylvan Lake • Hopewell Junction • New York
60 miles from New York on Taconic Parkway
Tennis, Folk Dancing and Singing, 4 cozy fireplaces. 10 minutes from James Baird Golf Course. Children's Day Camp. Food . . . Superb and abundant.
Take a drive and have Sunday Dinner with us
Reservations:
New York HI 6-7506 Hopewell Junction 6-2632

AUDIO

HI FIDELITY
RADIO-PHONOGRAPH
sales, installation and service
VECTOR LABS
217 3rd Ave. • N. Y. C. 3 • GR 3-7686

CAMERAS ETC.

GERMAN CAMERAS & BINOCULARS. Import your own. Savings up to 35% on new **Zeiss, Rolleiflex, Exakta, and all other makes.** Experienced, intelligent, (and objective) advisory service for the technician or hobbyist. Please specify interests and requirements. Immediate airmail reply. **Worldpost, Tangier International Zone, Morocco.**

HOBBIES

RECORDISTS! Exchange talking and musical tapes internationally for education and fun. Make friends everywhere. **Box 1404TN, San Francisco 1.**

PERSONALS

FAMILY of 7, 4 adults, 3 young children, want house near lake for two weeks in June. Within a day's drive from Washington or N. Y. C. Box 389, c/o The Nation.

VISUALLY HANDICAPPED MAN desires employment in the Texas-Louisiana area. However, I will consider anything, anywhere. I am most interested in social welfare. Box 388, c/o The Nation.

ELECTRIC BLANKET, Top Rated, (more economical than non-electric blankets), **ONLY $18.52 FOR FULL SIZE.** Standard Brand Dist., 143 Fourth Avenue (13th & 14th Sts.), N. Y. GR 3-7819. **1 hour free parking or 2 tokens.**

ON YOUR next trip east or west on U. S. Highway 80 stop at Guilbert's Pharmacy, Gila Bend, Arizona. An oasis in the desert

Advertising Rates

CLASSIFIED
74¢ a line (6 words)
Three-line minimum

■

CLASSIFIED DISPLAY
$7.42 per inch (minimum)
Remittance must accompany all orders

■

***The* NATION**
333 SIXTH AVENUE
New York 14, N. Y.
CHelsea 2-8400

Two great American journalists bluntly accuse the United States Government of a shocking miscarriage of justice in the case of J. Robert Oppenheimer. Read their fearless, detailed, documented, name-naming book

WE ACCUSE

by Joseph and Stewart Alsop

THE title of this report is borrowed from Emile Zola whose *J'Accuse* marked the turning point in the case of Captain Dreyfus.

"It is a title," the authors themselves say, "that one must be presumptuous to borrow; and we only dare to do because we too accuse. We accuse the Atomic Energy Commission in particular, and the American government in general, of a shocking miscarriage of justice in the case of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer."

This strongly worded, solidly documented book is based on the facts of Dr. Oppenheimer's personal history, on an examination of the letters and documents which figured in the case, and on a scrupulous analysis of the transcripts of both the Gray Board and AEC findings.

Send for your copy of WE ACCUSE today. Price $1, paperbound.

SIMON AND SCHUSTER, PUBLISHERS

To your bookseller, or
SIMON AND SCHUSTER, Dept. AC
630 Fifth Avenue, New York 20

Please send me ________ copies of WE ACCUSE by Joseph and Stewart Alsop. I enclose $1 for each copy.

Name________________________________

Address______________________________

City__________________ Zone______ State__________

(New York City residents please add 3% city sales tax.)

THE FORMOSA MESSAGE: AN EDITORIAL

BURLINGAME PUBLIC LIBRARY Burlingame, Calif.

FEB 5 '55

THE Nation

February 5, 1955
20c

George Seldes

New War on the Free Press

Gene Marine

Still No Place to Hide

A-Bomb Defense Fizzles

Test of the Free Air	*Edgar Kemler*
Caribbean Caudillo	*Herbert Gold*
International Agenda 1955	*J. A. del Vayo*

**EVERY
WEEK
SINCE
1865**

W
N
S
E
AROUND THE U. S. A.

Senator McCarthy's Catholic Opposition

Iowa City, Iowa

ONE of the interesting aspects of the Communist-hunting campaign of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy is that nearly all Roman Catholic intellectuals have opposed the Wisconsin Senator and his foray into subversion. And no more sincere and insistent battler with McCarthy and McCarthyism can be found than Donald McDonald, the young news editor and columnist of the Davenport (Iowa) *Messenger,* official publication of the Davenport diocese.

McDonald, a thirty-three-year-old Catholic layman, first tackled McCarthy in the *Messenger's* columns in June, 1952. His campaign has continued ever since and has met both support and opposition.

McDonald and the Senator have several things in common: both are natives of Wisconsin, graduates of Marquette University, of Irish descent, and of course members of the Roman Catholic church. At the same time the differences between them are basic.

In his writings and speeches McDonald has stressed that Catholics in appraising McCarthy should inform themselves about the church's social and philosophical teachings. He advises Catholics to study the writings of St. Thomas Aquinas in connection with McCarthy's practice of allowing the ends to justify the means. On the Saint's feast day in 1954 he scored McCarthy as a man whose acts are "evil and dangerous."

In his first anti-McCarthy column McDonald tried to explain "why McCarthy caught on." He said McCarthy became popular because "people are reluctant to live up to the radical implications of our country's Declaration of Independence." In this period of post-war disillusionment McCarthy came along and "relieved us of the burden of thinking." He provided, McDonald wrote, "what seemed like . . . the ideal handle for the good, firm grip on political reality. The name of the handle was Conspiracy." "You can no more appeal to a McCarthyite's sense of fair play," he continued, "than you can appeal to a Communist's sense of theistic religion. Fair play and religion are precisely the victims . . . of McCarthyism and communism."

As the campaign progressed, McDonald received a flood of letters from the *Messenger's* readers—Catholics and non-Catholics, Democrats and Republicans. They were about equally divided between praise and damnation. A letter from Iowa City ran: "I left off 'Catholic' on the *Messenger* since I read the McCarthy article in last week's issue. . . . If you are going Communist, then head your paper so. . . . I suppose we'll see Truman, Hiss, and Lattimore and Marshall writing to your paper dragging it into the mire." Other letters described the *Messenger* as following the *"Pravda* line," and as uttering "whopping lies." One signed "An American for America and Joe McCarthy" said McDonald was "Iowa's prize skunk." One was from a Dominican nun at the St. Clara Convent, in Sinsiniwa, Wisconsin. She wrote: "Truly thank God you are writing these comments on the Senator from Wisconsin. But can people be enlightened? Or will they be?" McDonald's discussion of "means and ends" was taken up by a Milwaukee couple who wrote that according to Jesuit teaching at Marquette "the end does not justify the means," but this lesson "evidently escaped Senator McCarthy, who is a Marquette man."

Dr. Matthew M. McMahon, head of the Political Science Department at St. Ambrose College, wrote: "Could it be that Senator J. McCarthy and his followers . . . prefer to go even farther and eliminate reason altogether in preparation for the Great Purge? Otherwise, what could motivate such bedizened men to set themselves up as ex parte judges of not only American loyalty but, alas, even Catholic piety?"

TO support his contention that "McCarthy does not reflect the highest thinking of the church," McDonald made the following points: Leading American churchmen condemn discriminatory immigration legislation; Senator McCarthy supported the McCarran-Walter Act. Pope Pius XII has three times, in Christmas messages, indorsed world federation and world law; Senator McCarthy, in the 1952 campaign, charged Adlai Stevenson with being a member of a group supporting world federation. The Pope has said it is the "moral responsibility" of strong nations to help weak ones; Senator McCarthy has consistently voted against foreign aid. The Pope wrote in 1953: "People must trust their countrymen as long as they have not shown themselves to be positively unworthy"; Senator McCarthy takes the opposite position.

McDonald has criticized Catholic publications which side with McCarthy, especially the Brooklyn *Tablet.* His views are similar to those of the well-known Catholic magazines *Commonweal* and *America.*

Though the McCarthy menace seems lessened now, McDonald continues his campaign. Several weeks after the censure he wrote a column entitled Those Who Ran With the Demagogue in which he said, "It may mean that certain priests in New York will now refrain from directly linking McCarthyism with Catholicism and then accusing McCarthy's critics of anti-Catholicism."

In 1952 the *Messenger* was rated the "best Catholic paper of the year in the field of religious teaching and exhortation." McDonald's writing, if it does nothing else, shows that Catholicism embraces multiple points of view on many social and political questions, McCarthyism included. "As a matter of fact," McDonald once remarked, "that most Irish of all institutions, Notre Dame, is a hotbed of anti-McCarthyism."

NICK THIMMESCH, journalist and free-lance writer, is now an instructor in communication skills at the University of Iowa.

Volume 180, Number 6
New York, Saturday, February 5, 1955

THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Formosa Message

THE President's message on Formosa and the resolution adopted by Congress must be judged more by their effects than by their intentions. Perhaps Mr. Eisenhower aimed to minimize the risk of war in the Pacific by a public, formal clarification of policy. While reasserting the government's purpose to hold Formosa as an outpost of the "free world" and a strategic point in our Western Pacific defense line, he may have intended also to indicate abandonment of the government's other purpose—to "liberate" the mainland. His expressed hope that the United Nations would continue its efforts for a cease-fire emphasized this historic shift. But such long-range intentions, even if implicit, have been largely nullified by the immense and immediate dangers of his explicit proposals.

The President by requesting the joint resolution and Congress by adopting it have passed to the military the power to take us into an Asian war of incalculable dimensions. The President was not flattering Congress in requesting its support; the effect of the request was to belittle Congress. For the resolution implies an abdication by Congress of its ultimate responsibility, namely, to sanction or reject a declaration of war. Under questioning from Senator Barkley, Secretary Dulles reputedly admitted that the resolution was in effect "a pre-dated declaration of war." The President, it is true, has said that the ultimate decision will be his, not the military's; but this does not alter the fact that the commanders-on-the-spot could shape events in a manner that would force his hand. The fact that strategic decisions may have been reached and specific orders issued may narrow but does not remove the dangerous margin of discretion now vested in the military. Any number of incidents could arise in which an impulsive commander like Admiral Radford might make fateful decisions which, in view of the resolution, Congress and the President would be bound to back up. Moreover, military secrecy has been given broad sanction.

The risks in this situation are enhanced by the vagueness of the resolution. Unfortunately, Mr. Dulles uses neither open nor secret diplomacy but his own special combination of the two, which includes a large measure of calculated ambiguity. The effect is to invite grave misunderstanding of our intentions by the Chinese Communists, the more so since Chou En-lai and his colleagues will inevitably place a hostile interpretation on the resolution and the motives behind it. In such a situation events could determine policy—and the military, in both camps, now hold the initiative in relation to events.

Opportunities for misunderstanding abound. Quemoy guards a mainland port. Does this mean that we may help the Nationalists maintain their harassing partial blockade? On returning from his most recent visit to Formosa, Admiral Radford is said to have proposed that the United States navy be ordered to seize Chinese Communist merchant vessels if the U. N. fails to secure the release of the fliers. It is reported that the National Security Council concurred in the recommendation. Nationalist intelligence, notoriously unreliable, could be another source of misinformation as to Chinese Communist intentions. On their side, the Communists will be tempted to test our intentions step by step. For example, if the navy is used to evacuate and redeploy troops from the Tachen Islands, will not the Reds fear that the action is a cover for reinforcements? Should they attempt to find out, or to halt evacuation, conflict would be almost certain.

THE manner in which the resolution has been received suggests, moreover, that it is not quite so vague as it seems. The satisfaction expressed by right-wing elements in and out of Congress supports the theory that Admiral Radford has greatly advanced his strategic ideas since Dien-bien-phu in April and the initial excitement over Quemoy last September. While the Administration has hesitated, he has been pushing hard for acceptance of his views. He has now, apparently, won unanimity in the Joint Chiefs. If Formosa disliked the reference to a cease-fire with its obvious implications of "two Chinas," it welcomed the apparent extension of the American military commitment; Quemoy and Matsu are now covered, contingently at least, by the guaranty. And this implies still further involvement. Writing in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* on January 20, General Phillips pointed out that Quemoy can be defended only "by means of massive air attacks on mainland concentrations of troops, shipping, and on airdromes far inland." It was because investigations by officers from "the Pentagon and Hawaii" had established this fact, that the defense of Quemoy was abandoned last fall. General Phillips asserts that the same tactics would be needed in the case of the Tachens or Matsu: "United States assistance would have to be in the form of massive

In This Issue

EDITORIALS

The Formosa Message 109

ARTICLES

Washington in Focus by Max Freedman 111

International Agenda 1955 by J. Alvarez del Vayo 112

New War on the Press: "Reform" from the Right by George Seldes 113

Still No Place to Hide: A-Bomb Defense Fizzles by Gene Marine 116

Caribbean Caudillo: Magloire of Haiti by Herbert Gold 118

Test of the Free Air: The Lamb Case by Edgar Kemler 120

BOOKS

The Good Agitator by Matthew Josephson 122

Death of a Ghost by Carlos Baker 123

Milton As Defender by Donald A. Roberts 124

THEATER by Harold Clurman 124

FILMS by Robert Hatch 126

MUSIC by B. H. Haggin 127

LETTERS 128

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 605 by Frank W. Lewis opposite 128

AROUND THE U. S. A.

Senator McCarthy's Catholic Opposition by Nick Thimmesch opposite 109

Editorial Board

Freda Kirchwey — Editor and Publisher
Carey McWilliams — Editorial Director
Lillie Shultz — Director, Nation Associates
Victor H. Bernstein — Managing Editor
J. Alvarez del Vayo — Foreign Editor

Martin Solow — Assistant to the Publisher

Harold Clurman — Theater
B. H. Haggin — Music
Gladys Whiteside — Copy Editor
Caroline Whiting — Assistant Literary Editor
Mary Simon — Advertising Manager

Contributing Editors: Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus, Keith Hutchison, H. H. Wilson, W. Macmahon Ball, Maxwell Geismar, Bruce Catton.

The Nation, February 5, 1955. Volume 180, No. [illegible]

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1955, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Company, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879 at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Second-class reentry pending, Montgomery, Alabama. Advertising and Circulation representative for Continental Europe: Publicias.
Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.
Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.
Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

air strikes on the mainland." It is to this horrifying possibility that the Formosa resolution points.

The effect of the resolution is also to foreclose debate at a critical moment in China policy. The Democrats have been sniping at the Nationalist treaty, largely on technical, legalistic grounds; now the sentiment will be to "close ranks" and curtail debate. And this is the more unfortunate in that the resolution minimizes the reasons urged for adoption of the treaty. It reassures Chiang as to his squatter's rights on Formosa in a manner more satisfying to him than ratification of the treaty. If the treaty is ratified now, in the wake of the resolution, it will further freeze American policy toward Formosa just when, for the first time since 1949, it seemed as though a broader initiative might be politically possible.

Most disturbing is the offhand, casual acceptance of the notion that, the Cairo Declaration notwithstanding, Formosa is somehow ours to dispose of, and in a wholly unilateral manner. "So far as Formosa and the Pescadores are concerned," comments the Washington *Post*, "the United States holds a direct interest in the islands by reason of having taken them from Japan in World War II. This direct American interest has never been relinquished." But what about the views of the other powers which joined with us in the execution of the Japanese treaty, under the terms of which Japan renounced its claim to the islands? And what about the undoubted fact that the Chinese government took over Formosa automatically, without protest or question from any power, at the end of the war with Japan? Throughout the world the resolution will be taken as a unilateral declaration of our intention to regard Formosa as an American strategic preserve.

Thus the effect of the resolution will be to intensify both the risk of military involvement and of alienating friends and neutrals. The President can counter this effect if he will take the issue immediately to the United Nations under circumstances which recognize the right of that body to act and decide. If this was part of the intention behind the message and resolution, it was clumsily executed. Those documents dealt with Formosa in terms that would seem to rule out any United Nations stake in the matter. The speed with which the Administration moves to shift the issue to the U. N. will be a test of its bona fides. In the meantime debate should be suspended on the Formosa treaty.

Major responsibility rests with the Democratic leadership in Congress. The Democrats should not feel that they are captives of their party's past mistakes or of the past in general. They have an opportunity now to terminate the nightmare of fear, uncertainty, and know-nothing-ism which has surrounded every attempt to formulate, through free debate, a sound Asian policy since 1949. They should put themselves in a position to claim credit for extricating the country from this dangerous morass; they might even be able to claim that they had saved the country from war. The question is: have they the courage of Mr. Eisenhower's personal preferences?

Washington in Focus

by Max Freedman

Washington

WHEN Mr. Dulles had explained the new Formosa policy, one Senator asked him what would happen if things failed to work out as the United States had planned. What would the American response be if Communist China failed to show restraint and chose instead to attack the offshore islands? Would the United States bomb the mainland and take the risk of war with China? Faced with these test questions, Mr. Dulles could say nothing more than that America's answer would have to wait until that particular emergency had defined itself more clearly. Yet Mr. Dulles and the Administration continue to praise the policy because, according to them, the obscurity which shadowed American conduct in the Far East has now been removed. There is nothing in the record to justify this confidence.

Admiral Radford, whose power has been increased by recent decisions, prevailed with his argument that an attack on Tachen presaged an assault on Formosa. By consenting to the evacuation of Tachen he could claim to be a moderate rather than a military extremist. He certainly placed himself in a much stronger position when he went on to argue for the defense of Quemoy and Matsu.

In the new controversy General Ridgway was at a greater disadvantage than in September when his protest persuaded the President that Quemoy was not worth the hazards of war. At that time he was arguing against military intervention at Quemoy in the absence of a general policy of resistance toward China. As now defined, the defense of Quemoy becomes one strand in the larger pattern of policy. So General Ridgway lost. With a soldier's faith he has accepted that policy but his anxiety looms ominously. For he sees the strength of the army being reduced while it is being held accountable for more risks.

Last September President Eisenhower won praise all over the free world as a friend of peace when he decided that Quemoy did not deserve the intervention of American force. If he was right in September, and he certainly was, how can he justify his present decision? The strategic value of Quemoy has not altered since September. Only the President's course has changed, and hardly in the direction of peace.

It must be added in fairness that the President's policy is being defended by his friends as a contribution to a cease-fire. Under this explanation the threatening gestures toward China become a minor part of the policy, with the emphasis falling on a political settlement. The State Department believes that America's allies will now increase their campaign for a cease-fire. It doubts whether the Peking government can resist this pressure without alienating India and bearing the odium for continued tension in the Formosa straits. When one asks what concessions the United States would be prepared to make, one receives the astonishing answer that the offshore islands might be given up in return for a genuine settlement.

EVEN President Eisenhower yielded at last to the demand for some explanation of how the policy would be applied. By taking personal responsibility for the use of American force, except for the direct defense of Formosa and immediate self-defense, the President was able to exert his personal influence to silence many of his critics. But this statement would never have been made in this form if Senator Morse and the little band of brave Democrats had kept their doubts and criticisms to themselves. Congress has come very near to endorsing the dangerous principle of strategy by legislation. As Senator Humphrey has said, the resolution requested by the President requires the United States to "secure" other areas apart from Formosa and the Pescadores.

There is something mischievous as well as misleading in the attempt to justify the policy toward Formosa by describing it as an improvement over the Truman-Acheson policy toward Korea. Many Republicans have accused Mr. Acheson of virtually tempting the Communists to attack Korea because he failed to include that country in his description of America's defensive perimeter. This charge rests upon a popular, but completely false, interpretation of Mr. Acheson's remarks. In his speech on January 12, 1950, Mr. Acheson said this defensive perimeter runs along the Aleutians to Japan and then goes to the Ryukyus and the Philippines. It is true that the line left out Korea, which was the ward of the United States. But almost everyone seems to have forgotten that in the same speech Mr. Acheson said that if an armed attack should occur on countries outside the perimeter, the "initial reliance must be on the people attacked to resist it and then upon the commitments of the entire civilized world under the Charter of the United Nations." It was this forgotten passage which provided the authority and the philosophy under which the United States proceeded, six months later, to make Korea the occasion for the first collective resistance to aggression in history.

Mr. Dulles makes a false point when he compares his clarity with Mr. Acheson's obscurity. The real point is that the Truman Administration based its policy on the United Nations; the Eisenhower Administration has fond words for the United Nations but its policy rests on force and the threat of war.

By asking Congress to cooperate, the President gained the initiative. An unresolved dispute between Congress and the President on this issue would have meant that the American government had become the image of confusion in a time of peril. This theme accounted for the success of Senator George's impassioned defense of the President's policy. The votes are with the Administration; but there is no way to portray the invisible vote in which so many Senators of both parties recorded their anxieties before granting reluctant approval.

International Agenda 1955 . . *by J. A. del Vayo*

United Nations

A NUMBER of international conferences of great potential significance are scheduled this year. Two of the most important will take place in Asia: on February 23 the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) will meet for the first time in Bangkok; in April some thirty African and Asian nations will confer in Batavia under the auspices of the Colombo group.

At Bangkok the signatories of the Manila pact—Australia, Britain, France, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand, and the United States—will attempt to give explicit content to their new alliance. A recent analysis of the Southeast Asian situation by Joseph Alsop in the New York *Herald Tribune* indicates the difficulties confronting SEATO, an organization which is Southeast Asian more in name than in reality. India, not a member, has three times the combined populations of the three Asian member states—Thailand, the Philippines, and Pakistan. Indonesia and Burma are also out of SEATO, which is clearly dominated by the United States, France, and the Commonwealth countries.

In the light of the instability and unrest ascribed to most Southeast Asian countries by Mr. Alsop, it is idle for the West to blame all revolutionary trends there on "internal subversion"—by which is meant Communist pressure. Vietnam is crumbling because of internal weaknesses, not because of Communist intrigue; Cambodia and Laos, largely cut off from Indo-Chinese territory with which they were intimately linked economically, are very nearly in a helpless situation; Thailand's social inequities and discredited bureaucracy are more damaging to the regime than any infiltration from Peking.

ACCORDING to reports from London, the British will insist at Bangkok that economic and political problems be given equal weight with the purely military. The British are hoping that President Eisenhower's request to Congress for funds with which to finance a vast aid program in Asia means that Washington has at last realized the error of attempting to counteract communism's attraction for the Asians by military means alone.

However, in the light of Mr. Eisenhower's Formosa message, one must regard with some skepticism his professed desire to emphasize economic competition and improved living standards as cold-war weapons in Southeast Asia. In any case plans are still in the making. They are now being worked on by Presidential adviser Nelson Rockefeller, who has done somewhat similar jobs for Latin America. Joseph Dodge, the budget expert who put Japan's finances in order before the peace treaty with that country was signed in San Francisco, may also be called into consultation. Whatever the results, the American delegation at Bangkok will be expected to present a concrete program in terms of money as well as arms.

Washington's aid plan for Southeast Asia is not designed to enable underdeveloped countries to reinforce their economic structure so as to withstand future political or economic crises. The objective is interdependence rather than independence, the creation of complementary economies in various countries which together would form a strongly integrated economic region depending for its supplies and its markets primarily on the United States and secondarily on Western Europe. This would tend to endear the plan to Congress, but even so there are many observers who foresee strong Congressional opposition. Unlike Marshall Plan money, the funds for Southeast Asia would have to be given without political strings save for the establishment of security guaranties for private investors, and the money would be flowing into countries not considered "safe." U. N. experts doubt that the Administration is likely to get Congressional approval for the expenditure of more than a billion dollars or so a year, despite reports that the sums would involve billions annually. On January 20 Walter Lippmann reported:

> . . . Nor would it be a serious exaggeration to say that in [the new] budget the exigencies of the cold war receive hardly more than token recognition. In the great competitive struggle as to whether the underdeveloped nations shall follow the one path or the other, the budget leaves Mr. Dulles and Mr. Stassen mighty little, except mimeographed statements, to compete with.

THE second important Asian meeting, the Afro-Asian conference to be held in April, is intended not to create a "neutralist" third force, as some commentators have alleged, but rather as a clearing-house for problems common to the two continents. Issues connected with national sovereignty, racialism, and colonialism will be examined; specifically, there will no doubt be extensive debate on the Manila pact, on the problems arising from the presence of large Chinese minorities in Southeast Asia and of Indian minorities in South and East Africa, and on the question of China's admission to the United Nations. The meeting's importance will be underlined by the presence of representatives of Communist China—a personal triumph for Premier Nehru.

Two major gatherings will take place in Geneva. The first, called together by Gunnar Myrdal, secretary of the U. N. Economic Commission for Europe, will deal with East-West trade. Interest in the sessions has been increased by the spectacular change in the attitude of Charles E. Wilson, Secretary of Defense, who in the course of testimony before a Congressional committee came out quite bluntly in favor of increased trade with Communist countries. The other Geneva conference, slated for August, is the well-publicized meeting of atomic experts who will seek to lay the groundwork for the President's atoms-for-peace plan.

The big question remains: Will the conference agenda for 1955 include a four-power meeting on Germany? If not, the most serious problem will have been left untouched.

NEW WAR ON THE PRESS

"Reform" from the Right . . *by George Seldes*

(Superficially it would seem that with this article George Seldes, for more than a quarter-century a foremost critic of the American press, had suddenly switched sides. But a closer look makes it abundantly clear that the author of "Tell the Truth and Run," "Lords of the Press," and numerous other books on American journalism is still battling for his original objective—the freedom of the press.

Mr. Seldes's article will appear in two instalments, the second to be printed next week.)

FOR the first time in American history the press, which Jefferson described as playing a greater role in a democracy than government itself, is under sustained attack from the right—the reactionary or potentially fascist element in the United States. Ever since the nation was established, however, the press has been attacked from other quarters. Jefferson's disappointment with it after his early approval is a long and fascinating story. The historian Charles A. Beard wrote that Washington had refused a third term because of the cruelty of many newspapers. In our own time Roosevelt, Truman, and Adlai Stevenson have said harsh things about a press whose social and economic views, they felt, were as one-sided as its politics.

Many of the critics have been journalists who felt strongly about the ethics, or lack of them, in their profession. A tradition of self-criticism was started in 1911 by Will Irwin in Collier's; it was continued by Oswald Garrison Villard in *The Nation,* William Allen White, E. W. Scripps, and the present writer. A notable "outsider" was notable indeed: Upton Sinclair's "The Brass Check," published in 1920, disillusioned more people about their daily newspapers than any other single piece of writing.

Practically all serious criticism has been from the liberal point of view. It was summed up for the modern era in John Dewey's statement that "the reactionaries are in possession of power, not only in the army and police but in the press and the schools." Until the last few years criticism from the right came principally from the "lunatic fringe" which in the early days of World War II vented its anti-Semitism and pro-Nazism in a few scandal sheets. Today the rightist invective comes less from crackpots than from powerful politicians, writers, and broadcasters — men who have access to mass-communications media influencing more than 60,000,000 people, perhaps a majority of all Americans who are reached regularly by the printed word or the broadcast.

ONE of the most sinister aspects of the movement known as McCarthyism is its effort to discredit and thereby to destroy the democratic elements in radio, TV, magazine and book-publishing circles, as well as the daily press. The middle-of-the-roader no less than the liberal and leftist is victimized. In the beginning only individual newspapers and editors were attacked, and then mostly for personal reasons. In 1949 the Madison, Wisconsin, *Capital Times,* edited by William T. Evjue, one of the few courageous liberals left in American journalism, published an expose of Senator McCarthy's affairs which remains the basis of most debate about McCarthy, pro and con. This was a year before the Senator met some friends in a restaurant, asked for suggestions for a 1952 campaign issue, and got the tip in one word — communism. The Senator responded to the *Capital Times* attack by sending to every Wisconsin newspaper a mimeographed release which said: "It is for the people of Madison and vicinity to decide whether they will continue by advertisements and subscriptions to support this paper." Many journals printed this threat, seeing in it a chance to destroy one of their competitors.

In the winter of 1951-52 McCarthy again attempted the boycott tactic—on this occasion against *Time. Editor and Publisher* protested vigorously, noting that the Senator had made five attacks on communications media: on the *Capital Times* in 1949; on the same newspaper plus the Milwaukee *Journal,* August 7, 1950; on the *Journal* and radio station WTMJ, September 14, 1950; on Drew Pearson's radio program the same year (Pearson lost his sponsor, Adam Hats, following the attack); and finally on *Time.* In October, 1952, McCarthy engaged in a bitter fight with Hank Greenspun, editor of the Las Vegas, Nevada, *Sun.*

Despite this handful of personal vendettas McCarthy had as yet no cause to complain of the press as a whole. It had printed as fact his charge, made in the course of the famous speech at Wheeling, West Virginia, in February, 1950, that there were 205 Communist Party members in the State Department. The number was juggled later, but what was important was that with few exceptions the mass-communications media were on McCarthy's side.

But the American press, whatever its faults, is not totalitarian; and it takes only one great newspaper to puncture fraud or to uncover corruption. The St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* exposed Teapot Dome; it also exposed McCarthy's Wheeling speech. Refusing to accept the original figure of 205 or the later 57, 206, or 106, or even the final stabilization at 81, the newspaper instructed its Washington staff to get the facts. Helped by Representative Frank Karsten of Missouri, it was able to prove that the figures given by McCarthy and headlined in the press were without any foundation. "Pressed for proof, McCarthy said it was 'in the files.' The files were produced, but the 'proof' was not in them."

McCarthy promptly pinned the red label on the few papers which joined the *Post-Dispatch,* the *Cap-*

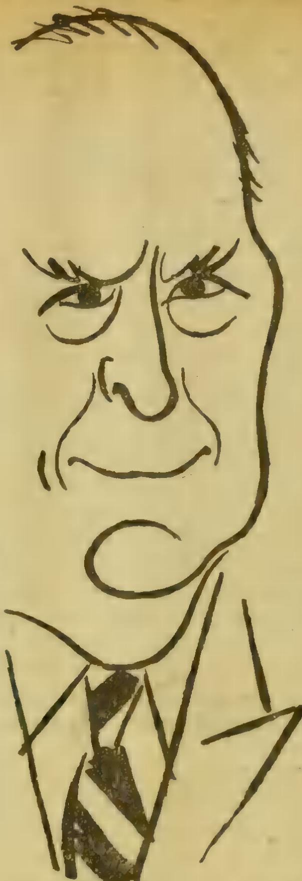
ital Times, and the Milwaukee *Journal* in disagreeing with him. In his lexicon the Washington *Post* became the "Washington edition of the *Daily Worker*" and the New York *Herald Tribune,* the "uptown edition." At various times he dubbed as subversive or "pinko" or as "wittingly or unwittingly following the Communist line" such papers as the New York *Times,* the Louisville *Courier-Journal,* the Denver *Post,* the Portland *Oregonian,* the *Christian Science Monitor,* the Baltimore *Sun,* and the New York *Post.*

There is a special irony in the list of newspapers smeared by McCarthy. In May, 1952, the publicist Edward L. Bernays polled American editors and civil leaders to determine what were, in their judgment, the ten best newspapers in the country. Eight of the ten chosen by the poll have been smeared by McCarthy and his disciples—the New York *Times* and *Herald Tribune,* the *Christian Science Monitor,* the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch,* the Washington *Post,* the Milwaukee *Journal,* and the Baltimore *Sun.* Finally on March 20, 1954, no doubt goaded by Edward R. Murrow's brilliant TV expose of McCarthyism at work and by the rapidly developing opposition in the Department of the Army, the Senator forgot about individual targets and launched an attack on the press as a whole. Speaking at Oklahoma City, he threatened, according to the New York *Times,* to "expose the extent of what he termed Communist infiltration and control of the American press, radio, and television."

WHO are the apostles of the "new" criticism, the supporters of the McCarthy creed? The following is an incomplete list of publications and individuals that are defending the Senator.

Newspapers: The Hearst newspapers, including feature syndicates and press service; the Chicago *Tribune* and the New York *Daily News,* including radio, syndicate, and press services; William Loeb's Manchester, New Hampshire, newspapers; the Newark *Star-Ledger;* and a score of smaller dailies.

Journalists: Westbrook Pegler, Fulton Lewis, Jr., George E. Sokolsky, Paul Harvey, John O'Donnell, Walter Winchell, Danton Walker, David Lawrence, Walter Trohan of the Chicago *Tribune,* and Constantine Brown of the Washington *Star.* Of twenty-eight individuals who recently signed a public protest which charged that McCarthy was not being treated fairly "by segments of the press, radio, and television," nineteen were journalists—William F. Buckley, Oliver Carlson, John Chamberlain, John B. Chapple, Frank Chodorov, Frank Coniff, George Creel, Ralph de Toledano, John T. Flynn, Frank Hanighen, Karl Hess, Robert Hurleigh, Suzanne La Follette, Victor Lasky, Fulton Lewis, Jr., William Loeb, Eugene Lyons, Felix Morley, and J. C. Phillips. Also supporting McCarthy are the following writers: Burton Rascoe, Harold Lord Varney, who was associated with Lawrence Dennis and Joseph Kamp in publishing the first pro-fascist American monthly, the *Awakener;* Edward K. Nellors, "legman" for Fulton Lewis's newspaper column syndicated by Hearst; and Rex Karney, an editorial writer for the *Wisconsin State Journal.*


Oscar Berger

Westbrook Pegler

Magazines and other periodicals: The *American Legion Magazine,* the *American Mercury,* the *Freeman, Human Events,* Gerald L. K. Smith's *The Cross and the Flag,* the Brooklyn *Tablet,* and a half-dozen small hate sheets.

Noteworthy about this list is the dominance of Hearst and McCormick, whose publications and writers are McCarthy's most influential supporters. It was Hearst and McCormick, together with the late Colonel Patterson, Frank Gannett, and Roy Howard, who bore the brunt of the "old" criticism, that coming from liberals. These were the giants of an industry which had failed, according to the report of the Commission on the Freedom of the Press, to serve the American democracy. Now they are having their day. Roy M. Cohn, addressing the Catholic Institute of the Press on December 9, 1954, gave the show away when he attacked the New York *Times* and the Baltimore *Sun* but had only kind words for Hearst's *Mirror* and *Journal-American,* McCormick's *Daily News,* and the Brooklyn *Tablet,* the diocesan weekly which was once the organ of the Christian Front and which, like the Hearst and McCormick papers, had on occasion praised Hitler and Mussolini.

According to *Look* magazine, McCarthy's "master-minds" are Fulton Lewis, Jr., Pegler, Sokolsky, Walker, Trohan, and Brown. His chief journalistic mouthpiece is Lewis, who boasts that through his broadcasts and newspaper columns he influences 16,000,000 people. Lewis insists that his reports are "absolutely fair" and that he is doing a job in "strict justice" (WOR-Mutual network, July 29, 1954). If he really believes this, he is the victim of a delusion of noble proportions.

Lewis and McCarthy seem to work hand in hand. Sometimes the commentator starts a smear campaign on the air and the Senator picks it up on the Senate floor; sometimes the process is reversed. Lewis does not enjoy his friend's Senatorial immunity; so he is very careful of libel.

You'd expect the Daily Worker to be against McCarthy. But look at the rest. Not Communists, of course, but those who oppose the anti-Communists — the anti-anti-

> Communists. The apologists for Alger Hiss, for instance. Look at them—the Washington Post, the New York Times, the New York Herald Tribune, the Alsops, Drew Pearson, Elmer Davis, Marquis Childs, Frank Edwards, Cecil Brown, John W Vandercook . . . and all the rest of the so-called liberal columnists, whoever and wherever they are.

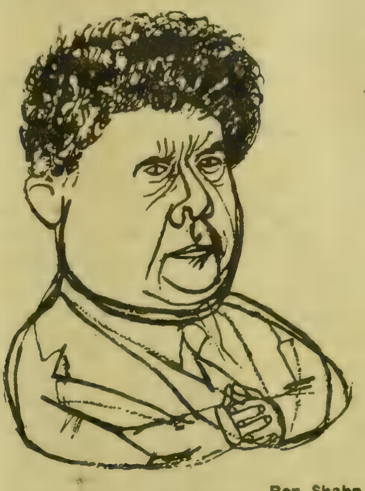
Lewis has raised the libel-proof smear to a high art. Here are some typical Lewisisms: newspapers and radio critics who favored Murrow in the Murrow-McCarthy episode were guilty of "intellectual lynch law" (March 23, 1954); press criticism of the attempt to appoint Judge Sears as attorney for the Senate subcommittee which held the McCarthy-Army hearings was a "left-wing smear campaign" (April 2, 1954); Paul Hoffman was a "left-wing pink dilettante" (August 12, 1954); Marquis Childs, Drew Pearson, the Alsops, the New York *Post*, and other journalists and newspapers made up "the greatest Trojan horse since the fall of Troy" (October 5, 1954). While James Wechsler, editor of the New York *Post*, was appearing before the McCarthy committee, Lewis declared the *Post* was campaigning for things which looked "communistic" to him (April 20, 1953).

After McCarthy's abortive attempt to crush certain publications by urging an advertising boycott, the Senator and Lewis tried to reach the same goal in another way. They joined in a campaign to raise the postal rates on newspapers and magazines. This failed, too, and Lewis, on July 28, 1953, sadly announced that the bill had finally "fallen victim . . . to the magazine publishers' lobby."

WESTBROOK PEGLER is the only professional red-baiter who glories in the name; he has called upon colleagues like Lewis, Sokolsky, and others to join him in a "society of red-baiters." Pegler devoted a considerable part of his 1954 literary production to attacking his fellow molders of public opinion; unlike most of the "new critics," however, he usually preferred to smear the press as a whole rather than any of its individual parts. On March 30, 1954, he wrote:

> Senator Joe McCarthy has proposed a Congressional investigation of the press. For once I agree with the New York Times, which says it welcomes the idea. . . . The conduct of the American free press has not been the least disgraceful phase of the controversy over Joe McCarthy. The press has covered itself with shame, and nobody knows that better than the journalists who comprise it. . . . The press has lied itself blue in the face month after month during the army-McCarthy hearings. . . . I have not gone in for names in this general discussion because the situation is general.

Two days later Pegler devoted his entire column to a 1907 episode involving the arrest for burglary of a butler at the home of Mortimer Schiff—an arrest which the Hearst press at the time denounced as unwarranted. This dredging of the sewers of journalism was for the purpose of smearing Mr. Schiff's daughter, who happens to be the publisher of the New York *Post*, and who happens also to have been a child at the time the episode took place. Pegler is constantly using similar scurrilous tactics against the Franklin D. Roosevelt family; so Dorothy Schiff is in good company.



Ben Shahn

George Sokolsky

Here are a few more utterances of the man who in his column of March 12, 1954, styled himself one of America's "honest polemists";

> The New York Daily News says the McCarthy "trial" has produced a curious reaction in many of the most respectable (if less and less respected) newspapers. . . . Unquestionably the press is under public scrutiny and suspicion, mostly, I think, because of the conduct of the New York Times and Herald Tribune, which has been a dramatic shock to the people and a blow to the whole Fourth Estate (April 28, 1954).
>
> Moreover, Fred [Woltman, the Scripps-Howard writer whom Pegler once invited to join his "red-baiters club" but who has turned against McCarthy] doesn't write well enough to swing any weight (July 28, 1954).
>
> How odd it is that traitors, protectors of traitors, and persons who indorse treason to students in the schools are the only clients of this piercing solicitude by this segment of the press . . the compromise with treason which is implicit in the editorial voice of most of the American press. Box-office venality is the cause of this ruinous development (October 5, 1954).

Lewis and Pegler are the most prolific of the apostles of the New criticism, but they get valuable support occasionally from distinguished conferes. Paul Harvey, syndicated columnist and WABC network newscaster, told his radio audience on March 21, 1954, that newspapermen who opposed the Senator were "journalistic jackals." John O'Donnell, syndicated columnist for the New York *Daily News,* came to McCarthy's defense during the army-McCarthy hearings in May, 1954: "The people who buy papers are wondering . . . whether they are getting an honest report in supposedly factual and unbiased news columns. In some cases the suspicions are well founded." David Lawrence of the New York *Herald Tribune,* in his column of May 12, 1954, decried the "hue and cry" over the Wechsler inquisition, alleging that it came "mostly from left-wingers."

Walter Winchell, according to Drew Pearson, "is helping to peddle the yarn that every anti-McCarthy newspaper in the U. S. A. has someone on the editorial staff placed there by the Communists." Winchell began the new year with a Sunday broadcast in which he charged that the press was suppressing one of the most terrible truths of our time—that the Communists were taking over Asia and Africa. His proof? Five Asian Premiers—not one a Communist—had met at Jakarta, Indonesia, drafted a peace plan, and projected an Asia-Africa conference to which Red China was to be invited. This was proof enough for Winchell.

It is a lamentable fact that the

American press, which has rarely allowed to go unchallenged any criticism from the left, no matter how mild, is by and large refusing to take up this new challenge from the right. *Editor and Publisher,* quick enough to defend the press against attack by McCarthy himself, has had little to say about McCarthy's mud-slinging journalistic followers. The November 13 issue reported, without editorial comment, the presentation to Pegler by a group of friends of a silver statuette and a book of letters from three hundred "leading citizens of the world." How far does *nobless oblige* go?

STILL NO PLACE TO HIDE

A-Bomb Defense Fizzles . . *by Gene Marine*

WHEN Governor Val Peterson of Nebraska became Federal Civil Defense Administrator in 1953, he said that his department's motto was "Dig, die, or disperse." As of early 1955 neither digging nor dispersing will do any good.

The symposium on National Defense Against Atomic Attack, held in Berkeley, California, on December 27 as part of the meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, was well attended by scientists and military men, but reporters were conspicuously absent. Seemingly the only ones who listened to Mr. Peterson's talk were those who wished to question him after the meeting; the rest, to judge from the newspaper stories that appeared the next day, "covered" the symposium from the press room two stories below. The trouble with this kind of coverage was that the speech read by the public was an innocuous collection of cliches, very different from the striking warning actually delivered.

Together with the other two papers presented, Peterson's address provided as complete a picture as unclassified information will give of the state of our defense against atomic attack—the word "atomic" is used by the Civil Defense Administration to cover fusion as well as fission phenomena. Lieutenant General Willard Paul of the Office of Defense Mobilization, who was ill and whose paper was read by an assistant, and Major General Walter Todd, commander of the Western Air Defense Force, provided the details which Peterson combined into the broad picture. From the three talks emerged answers to the three most often asked questions about atomic defense: How does our air defense work? How well prepared are we? And, most important, what will be the effects of an attack?

Methods of Defense

ONCE enemy planes are air-borne, they are the responsibility of the Continental Air Defense Command (C. O. N. A. D.), a heterogeneous structure made up of members of all the services as well as some civilians. C. O. N. A. D.'s job is to detect enemy aircraft, identify them, intercept them, and destroy them. Its capacity to do so was of course not fully revealed. "Ideal requirements," according to General Todd, "are probably not beyond our scientific and productive capabilities, but they may be beyond our pocket-book."

Detection is a radar job. At present we have a chain of radar stations along our coastlines and our northern border and across Canada and Alaska. A few are located well out to sea, on navy picket ships or on so-called "Texas towers," built on wave-covered reefs. Beyond them operate radar-equipped warning planes. Radar cannot see through hills or around corners and cannot tell friend from foe, limitations which are met to some extent by the use of civilian ground observers.

Needed for the "near-perfect air defense," according to General Todd, are several rings of radar stations, with radar good enough to detect planes at a height of 80,000 feet and at a greater distance than at present. Needed, too, are a million ground observers, three times the present number. And needed is a device for automatic scanning of radarscopes; the human operator has to sit watching a steadily rotating radial line for hours on end. It is all too easy to get drowsy.

When a radarscope picks up a "blip" it has to be identified. Theoretically this is done by matching the radar track against known flight plans; anyone flying a plane in or near specified "air-defense identification zones" is required to file a detailed plan. Occasionally, though, there are mixups, since a plane may be forced by weather or other conditions to deviate from its intended path. When this happens, planes have to be sent up to investigate. There is no other method of identification.

The first interceptors to go up will probably belong to one of three types. C. O. N. A. D. uses the F-86D, an advanced version of the famed Saberjet, and two newer two-man interceptors, the F-94C Starfire and the F-89D Scorpion. The second man in these planes is the radar observer; after ground radar leads the plane to the enemy's vicinity, the plane's own radar takes over.

According to General Todd, we already need more and faster interceptors. They must "exist in sufficient quantity to cope with the largest possible number of aircraft the enemy might direct." And they must be able to intercept bombers well off shore. The danger is "fall-out"—the ominous term to which every discussion of "defense" returns.

Bombers that get through the first interceptor ring will be met by more conventional "augmentation" aircraft armed with machine-guns. Behind them will be the ground antiaircraft defense, which is now com-

---

GENE MARINE is a San Francisco free-lance writer.

pleting its conversion to the "Nike" guided missile.

The "Nike" has been much touted in the press and in Defense Department talks. Generally not mentioned is the fact that it is after all a last-ditch defense. "Nike" is better than old-fashioned anti-aircraft guns, but it is no magic wand to make bombers disappear. Here, too, the need is for greater and greater range, to knock down bombers as far from target areas as possible.

How effective is this ring-withinring defense? Pounding the lectern, General Todd said dramatically, "It *cannot* stop them all!" How many it could stop he did not say.

Preparation Measures

IF A single hydrogen bomb were dropped on Los Angeles, Governor Peterson told us flatly, the city would be "gone." What, then, if twenty or thirty or fifty planes "get through," each with a single bomb, each with a different city as a target? In twenty of our cities are located 56 per cent of our productive capacity, 30 per cent of our population, and 46 per cent of our industrial workers. If bombs were dropped on fifty cities, they would destroy by blast and fire alone 71 per cent of our industrial capacity and kill 63,000,000 people—and we haven't even begun to talk about fall-out. In addition, such an attack would knock out practically the entire government, almost all of whose functions are carried on in the larger cities—a fact which has been referred to as the "glass jaw" of our defense structure.

It is not hard to realize why General Paul said the question was not one of defense but of reaction—how to get off the floor. His principles for what he called "realistic defense" were (1) to reduce the effects of the attacks, (2) to assure the continuing function of government and of "necessary services," and (3) to restore destroyed essentials and keep up—this is what the man said—"the will to fight."

Preparation divides naturally into two kinds: permanent preparation, such as is embodied in the building of new factories away from "target areas," and attack preparation, consisting of such things as evacuation plans, communication setups, and emergency organization. At the moment we have little of the first and practically none of the second.

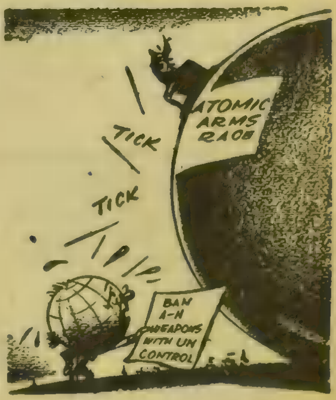
Methodical dispersal of new factories seems to be coming along. In 1954, 86 per cent of all new factories costing a million dollars or more were built in "dispersed areas." But the dispersion of industrial workers to match the isolation of factories is another problem. General Paul suggested that dense population centers must be dispersed "until the individual city is no longer worthy of attack"—a massive, if not impossible, proposition. Regionally discriminatory freight rates would remain to be dealt with, as well as other factors the General did not mention, such as power sources and proximity to raw materials.

Another form of permanent preparation requires the scattered storage of materials, so that we would not be paralyzed by the loss of stocks concentrated in some one city. This is being done, but to what extent General Paul did not say. Certainly we would be hurt, and hurt badly, by attacks on food warehouses, on oil concentrations like those on the New Jersey shore near New York, on concentrations of medical supplies in big cities, and—a usually overlooked point—on headquarters of our finance and credit system.

There has been no move to set up a federal-government structure that will survive the attack, though it would seem imperative that a setup to operate during the crisis be organized before the crisis. Much of the centralized authority and the clearing through Washington will apparently have to be dispensed with.

Under the heading of permanent protection General Paul also listed "protective construction." We must, he said, build shelters in our older buildings, put "structural protection" into our newer buildings, build our houses stronger and eliminate fire hazards in them. Governor Peterson told us, however, that to remain in a target area would be suicide. Within a target area there is no shelter, even in leadlined vaults.

If we get warning in time—which with present equipment we almost certainly shall not—there remains evacuation. Obviously no large city can be evacuated anywhere near 100 per cent, even with ample time, but any evacuation, the Defense Administration believes, is better than none. It has made several experiments to test the possibilities. In Spokane, a city of 175,000, a recent test showed that 16,000 people could be evacuated out of the downtown area, in the rain, in 8½ minutes. But they went only "seven or eight blocks"—an insignificant distance to an H-bomb. In Mobile, a city of 200,000, some 30,000 people were evacuated out of a 400-block area, in cars, to the city limits in 22 minutes. A Milwaukee study showed that metropolitan Milwaukee, with Lake Michigan on the east and Chicago on the south, could move four-fifths of its population out of "probable bombing range," north and west, in from three to seven hours. With a few roads widened and a few bridges improved, it could be done faster.


ATOMIC ARMS RACE
TICK
TICK
BAN A-H WEAPONS WITH UN CONTROL

Walt Partymiller
Courtesy York (Pa.) Gazette and Daily

Anybody listening?

But no city in the United States can count on three hours' warning. And "probable bombing range" is a phrase that takes in blast and fire effect but not radioactivity—or fall-out.

The foregoing summary of the papers read at the Berkeley meeting makes it fairly plain that we have as yet no effective defense against atomic attack and have made no adequate preparation for it. But the entire discussion of warning, dispersal, and evacuation may be academic. For we come now to fall-out.

Blast, Heat, and Radioactivity

THE atomic bomb that fell on Hiroshima was the equivalent of 20,000 tons of TNT. The last exploded hydrogen bomb was 500 times as powerful. Admiral Strauss's statement that a hydrogen bomb would knock out New York City turns out to be a terrific understatement. But the most serious threat of the H-bomb may not be its explosive force. It works its destruction through blast, heat, and radioactivity, and the last, as Governor Peterson pointed out, has been too much minimized in America.

Radioactive material from a bomb blast is scattered in three ways. The "puff-out" extends over a radius of four or five miles. Surface winds carry the material farther, and an enemy would probably try to take advantage of their direction and strength. Material sent very high by the explosion may be caught up in winds from ten to fifty thousand feet above the surface of the earth and spread across its face. When it is dropped it is called fall-out. In general these winds seem to move from west to east.

Fall-out patterns (the distribution of fall-out material after recent tests) and fall-out dosages (its effect on human beings) are classified information. But Governor Peterson was willing to say, quite simply, that you cannot escape fall-out by evacuating down wind. It was fall-out material that drifted down on the Japanese fishing boat the Lucky Dragon.

Governor Peterson made another statement which is perhaps even more significant. Civil defense, he said, is not, as many people think, an urban problem. "There is no farmer or rancher," he said solemnly, "who may not be right in the middle of the fall-out."

Much of the radioactivity of the fall-out material disappears within hours, but not all of it. In a large building or a secure basement the hazard is minimized. Under three feet of ground—in a cyclone cellar for instance—there is no danger from radioactive fall-out provided you have an effective filter in your air intake. At most, one would probably have to stay in such a shelter for two days. What constitutes an "effective" filter was not explained.

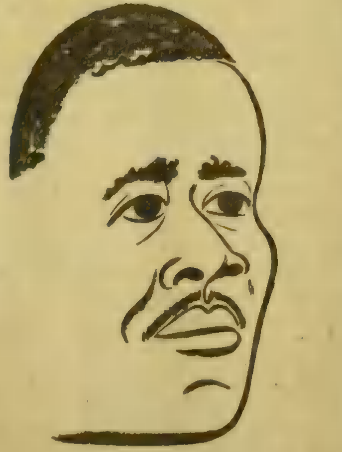
Those who live fifteen miles or more from a target area, then, should have some sort of "backyard shelter." It will protect them—to some extent—against fire and blast and also, Peterson said, against the immediate effects of radioactivity. For those who are any nearer to the blast, there is probably no hope. And even those who survive will come out into a country without food, fuel, or institutions of government or finance to organize recovery.

The nation may become properly aroused if, as Governor Peterson believes must happen, the classified information on fall-out is made public regardless of its value to an enemy. But as of now the state of our defense is such that we can neither avoid being hit nor get off the floor after the blow. There is not only no place to to hide; the age of hiding and hitting back is over.

CARIBBEAN CAUDILLO

Magloire of Haiti . . *by Herbert Gold*

IN A number of speeches made during an extended voyage last summer President Paul Eugene Magloire of Haiti, who visited the United States last week, proclaimed his country's adherence to democratic methods, free speech, and an informed public opinion. Back home, the *telejiol*, or telemouth, the traditional Haitian technique for transmitting political news, buzzed maliciously. Democratic methods, it was said, were hardly exemplified by the imprisonment of the intellectuals who had dared express opposition to the present regime. This small group, which had only lately been released, included two deputies, arrested despite their parliamentary immunities, and a senator who later escaped to a foreign legation. As to free speech, the *Constitutionel*, the last newspaper to breathe any criticism to the regime's policies, was closed down during the President's tour abroad and the editor threatened with "bodily harm" by the chief of police. And certainly public opinion could not be informed when the program to combat the approximately 85 per cent of illiteracy in Haiti was being almost starved out of the budget.


Oscar Berger

President Magloire

The extreme illiteracy of Haiti cannot be blamed on the people, who are alert and sharp-witted and produce a piquant folk art. The desire for learning is widespread; parents throng to enrol their children in school, but thousands of pupils have to be turned away every year because of the lack of facilities. The ruling elite fears to lose its favored position if the educational base is broadened.

An ideal of freedom and progress rooted in Haiti's origin as a nation of former slaves who won their independence by their own efforts is crushed by the dead weight of class prejudice—between black and mulatto, between the kinky-haired and the "bon," or straight-haired, between those who speak Creole and the minority who cling to French

---

HERBERT GOLD, novelist and short-story writer, is a member of the Department of English at Wayne University. He recently spent a year in Haiti.

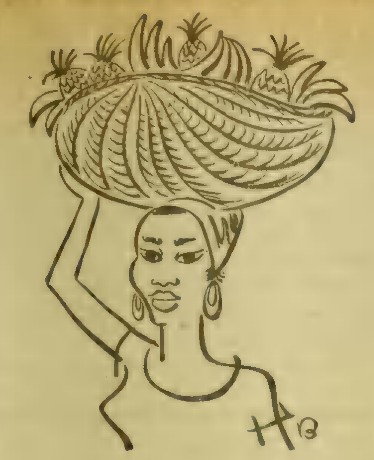
traditions, between peasant and city-dweller, between the miserable and the well-to-do, between the men in power and the men they displaced. A pumping station built for irrigation purposes was never used because the credit would go to an earlier regime.

WITH United Nations and Point 4 aid some attempts are being made to stimulate the almost stagnant economy. A large irrigation project is being developed for the Artibonite Valley. The sunny climate and Haiti's peculiar elegance, that odd meeting of French and African traditions, have stimulated a growing tourist industry. But veiled by the luxury spending in the lovely, smoky-skied capital of Port-au-Prince, one of the worst depressions in history has Haiti in its grasp. Despite the fine houses being constructed on every hilltop for the President and his favorites, despite the official Cadillacs and the great parties at which the traditional rum has given way to imported scotch, students still do their lessons under street lamps because their huts have no lights, and peasants still farm out their children as servants because they cannot feed them.

The director of a rural school says that the children are unable to study because they are hungry; a cup of coffee for breakfast, a banana or a mango for lunch, is common fare. One of the most densely populated areas in the world, Haiti has one of the lowest standards of living. The average per capita income is less than $50 a year. Without the simplest industries Haiti must import all manufactured goods, and also fish, rice, flour, and other basic foodstuffs.

Years of exploitation have convinced the people that they have nothing to gain by working. Less coffee is produced now than when the country was a French colony. Recently a private trust secretly owned by members of the regime was given the exclusive right to buy sisal fiber, the other money crop.

With little hope for the future the Haitian takes what pleasure he can today. He loves children, songs, dancing, and jokes. But he is often heard to say, calmly and with full self-knowledge, "Je suis un miserable." A Creole poem by F. Moriseau-Leroy runs:



Oscar Berger

Tourist, don't take my picture
Don't take my picture, tourist
I'm too ugly
I'm too dirty
I'm too skinny
My donkey is overloaded
My house is made of straw
Your camera isn't used to such things.

"The best way, the only way, to insure your old age," proclaims a poster: "buy a ticket in the national lottery!"

The radio and press blare forth daily denunciations of the enemies of the regime without ever naming them. If you denounce a man now, he may be President next month and looking for your head. Newspaper editors are well-paid for their docility; in a sea of illiterates the press could not survive without the government subsidy. The largest newspaper prints but slightly more than 3,000 copies a day. Of course, a government-fed press does not make lively reading. It plays on one dominant theme: "Le sourire de Son Excellence est la meilleure guarantie de nos libertes."

Yet Haitians are less susceptible than most people to one-man rule. Throughout their national history they have jealously guarded their individual freedom. Haitian humor suggests a prudent submission but is derisory of power: "When the rotten tree falls, we goats will eat its leaves." Popular songs refer to the President as "Papa," but they are played more often for dancing than for the celebration of "Papa," and the word is pronounced with a smile. Traditionally, songs in Haiti express hidden commentaries.

The present regime has been busier than most in filling its pockets from the public treasury, as if it sensed the possibility of an abrupt end to opportunity. This has of course contributed to the country's economic strangulation. The treasury is so empty that at this writing it is not certain that funds will be found to pay the distribution costs of free CARE milk. The working-class quarters of the cities are crowded with disconsolate unemployed men, playing checkers in the doorways of their packing-crate houses or desperately looking for an odd job that can supply another day's rice and beans. The peasants, after paying the coffee tax, get almost nothing for their product.

The President, an amiable, hard-drinking, pleasure-loving officer, is frequently seen in the night clubs of Port-au-Prince, his bodyguards and the bearer of his private bottle standing at attention behind him. Black-skinned, he is an example of the politics of *doublure,* in which the generally light-skinned ruling elite chooses a cooperative black man to represent its interests. After four years in office he shows signs of taking his "unanimous mandate" seriously, and his political supporters are worried. It should be someone else's chance soon. There are uneasy references to the time of troubles a hundred years ago when a sleepy old general named Soulouque, pushed blinking into office, suddenly shook off the burden of his years and had himself declared Emperor Faustin I. Empires are out of style now, but totalitarian government thrives.

Haiti's inability to set up a government capable of meeting its needs illustrates the twentieth-century problem of how to develop democratic processes in a backward nation. No one doubts the ability of Haitians. No one questions the realistic analyses which the educated Haitian can make of national problems. Few would dispute the will of Haitians to improve their lot. But what can they do? A handful of determined men in uniform is able to keep an entire population resenting its bitter fate in whispers.

In the days before the American occupation of 1915 a crude system of checks and balances was provided by the weapons in the hands of the peasants. When a government grew too greedy, out it went. The marines disarmed the peasants, and the power passed to their creation, the Haitian army. The machine-gun displaced the machete. Now the peasants can do nothing against confiscatory taxes but refuse to tend the coffee trees. Nor can the workers make any effective protest, for the present government has abolished all political parties and all trade unions except a puppet taxi-drivers' union. In the past business men caught by an economic squeeze have had recourse to a commercial strike. Such a strike precipitated the fall of the Estime government in 1950. But the use of modern police-state methods against uncooperative citizens discourages a business man from closing his doors.

The circle seems almost complete. Without popular education and a liberal exchange of opinion, democracy cannot develop. A military regime will never make a serious effort to banish illiteracy. Order maintained by those who understand the situation is more convenient for property-holders than free elections.

Some desperate Haitians hope for intervention by the United Nations or the United States. However, the United Nations cannot act when no aggression is exercised except against the local population. The United States has an understandable reluctance to intervene in the affairs of a state where no known Communists are functioning. A people in misery is natural prey to Communist propaganda, and it is said that some refugee Haitians are being trained in Moscow, but at present communism is a purely rhetorical threat in Haiti.

TEST OF THE FREE AIR

The Lamb Case . . *by Edgar Kemler*

CAN a reputable business man and successful radio-TV broadcaster be expelled from the Republican-controlled broadcasting industry because he happens to be a Democrat and a veteran of the so-called "pink decade"? The Republican-dominated Federal Communications Commission obviously thinks so. Otherwise, the status of Edward Lamb, who owns stations in Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Florida, would not now be in jeopardy. (See the Ted Lamb Case, by Edgar Kemler, in *The Nation* of June 12, 1954.)

Lamb's case made a few headlines last fall during the first round of public hearings, which started September 15, 1954. When they are resumed on February 9, there will be some real fireworks, for the case has more serious implications for civil liberties than any other security case now before the public.

The Federal Communications Commission does not claim the right to ban "tainted" broadcasters from the air in the same fashion as the government claims the right to get rid of tainted federal employees. All it asks is that applicants for TV or radio licenses tell the truth about the nature of their involvement—specifically, whether or not they were ever guilty of "intellectual sympathy" with communism, whatever that is. This is a devious question which can hardly demand a straight answer. On the one hand, it is almost impossible for an intelligent, idealistic man like Lamb to have lived through the thirties without having felt some sympathy for human rights. On the other hand, to admit this sympathy today is to expose oneself to worse penalties than expulsion from the radio-TV industry.

That is the trap in which Lamb now finds himself. Back in 1948, when he applied for his first radio license, he informed the Federal Communications Commission of his political and economic affiliations, which were those of a liberal, pioneering New Deal independent. The commission learned, however, that he had been a member of various organizations now suspect, such as the National Lawyers' Guild, which he helped found, and had written a book in 1933 discussing the planned economy of Soviet Russia. Since then Lamb's affiliations have been checked and cleared at least six times, by both the F. B. I. and the F. C. C. Lamb himself revealed his independence to the F. C. C.; he is proud that he was a corporation lawyer who took labor cases.

Not until the reorganization of the commission as a Republican agency in 1953 and the appointment of John C. Doerfer, a protege of Senator McCarthy, was Lamb's "explanation" called into question. Commissioner Doerfer and some of his Republican colleagues contend that Lamb had "intellectually accepted communism and knowingly contributed to Communist causes." Against this, letters from J. Edgar Hoover and others have been presented which extol Lamb for his anti-Communist editorials.

LAMB insisted before the United States Senate that if he had not switched his support from the Republican nominee for the Presidency in 1948 to the Democratic nominee in 1952 he would not now be faced with these charges. He was told as much by Doerfer himself. It is obvious that if Lamb is forced to give up his Erie station, WICU-TV, the most profitable of his half-dozen radio-TV properties—its estimated value is $10,000,000—and the only one now in question, it will go to a Republican competitor. By unanimous vote Democrats and Republicans on the Senate committee joined to confirm Doerfer in his F. C. C. job after he said that Lamb would at least be given a bill of particulars of the charges against him. But the particulars were never given; and neither Lamb nor his attorney, former Attorney General J. Howard

---

EDGAR KEMLER, author of "An Ethical Guide for New Dealers" and "The Irreverent Mr. Mencken," is a frequent contributor to THE NATION.

McGrath, was advised what his unknown accusers would accuse him of.

At the beginning of the case Lamb was charged not merely with the lesser evil of fellow-traveling but with having been a Communist Party member from 1944 to 1948. Later the more serious charge of party membership was dropped.

Since the hearings last fall the tide has been setting in Lamb's favor. The Scripps-Howard papers and various magazines have begun to view the F. C. C.'s case with a highly suspicious eye. If a reputable TV broadcaster can be trapped by the government on a remote security issue, then sooner or later reputable newsmen will be trapped the same way. Anyone with a federal license, even a hunting license, can be called up for a security hearing and asked about his thoughts twenty years ago. There is evidence, too, that Lamb's long-silent Democratic friends in the Senate will soon speak up for their benefactor—for many years Lamb has been among the largest donors to the Democratic Party. It even looks as if Doerfer and his colleagues might try to drop the case. If they do not, it will be tried in the courts, for Lamb has brought action in the District of Columbia's Circuit Court of Appeals questioning the right of the F. C. C. to ask him about his private thoughts.

UNDOUBTEDLY, Doerfer's case against Lamb would be stronger if he could have proved the earlier charge that Lamb was a concealed Communist from 1944 to 1948. Why he believed this charge and why he clung to it from July 29, 1953, to July 29, 1954, is still something of a mystery. Perhaps he believed it because he wanted to believe it. Or perhaps one of the professional ex-Communists of Toledo, Lamb's home town, told Doerfer something in private that he would not repeat in public under oath. One such ex-Communist is known to have offered a $1,000 bribe to another ex-Communist to testify about Lamb's presence at the dedication of Lincoln House, which has since been described as a bookstore patronized by Communists in 1944. Yet the significance of this bit of chicanery is also clouded. Lamb's speech at Lincoln House was made to urge Communists to honor the war-time alliance of Soviet Russia and the United States. Many public officials and non-Communists attended the opening of the bookstore and urged unity behind the war effort.

The testimony already given, which exceeds a million words, is chiefly notable for the vain effort of Walter C. ("Bucky") Powell, commission counsel, to close the gap between Lamb and the Toledo ex-Communists. Unable to prove that Lamb was a party member, Powell has harped on his alleged "contributions" to party causes, such as a $2 ticket Lamb was supposed to have bought to a picnic that may have been Republican or Democratic or Communist – the commission witnesses are not certain. Conceivably Lamb, along with other non-Communists, could have been on the party's list of persons to be solicited for contributions, though as Russell Brown, one of Lamb's hard-hitting counsel has pointed out, this fact has not been established. An ex-Communist consultant on a $25-a-day testify-for-hire basis, asserts that Lamb was twice asked for $100 contributions in 1944 but admits that no such contribution was made. Ernest Courey, who says he saw Lamb give $7 to a party member in 1938 and again in 1940, was not in fact a Communist. He says he was a spy for a strike-breaking agency. Courey had a conviction for second-degree murder in his background, but he could not "remember" the incident when testifying in detail about conversations he overheard twenty years ago.

It was in desperation, apparently, that Powell put the colorful Mrs. Marie Natvig on the stand. A little reflection would have told him that Mrs. Natvig was mentally too erratic to testify effectively about anything. Moreover, her knowledge of communism in general and of Lamb in particular was evidently gleaned largely from the feature sections of the Sunday papers. Powell apparently chose to believe her amazing story about a "romance" with Lamb back in the thirties. Her testimony touched on a Communist pow-wow in Columbus, Ohio, in the spring of 1936—other F. C. C. witnesses say there was no such meeting. Then, with advance notice to the newspapers, she told of her "first act of infidelity, which indirectly resulted in her divorce." With promptings from F. C. C. counsel she recalled lectures on "hot and cold wars" which Lamb delivered a decade before the hot-and-cold war terminology was invented. She even said an alleged Lamb agent, one Milling Underwood, had attempted to bribe her with $50,000 to stay off the witness stand. Underwood, a retired railroad man, was immediately found by Lamb's counsel. He testified that he had never heard of Lamb, that he was picked up in a Washington bar by Mrs. Natvig, and that no bribe of $50,000 was ever mentioned. Incidentally, Powell left the F. C. C. on January 3 and was taken on by the National Association of Radio-TV Broadcasters.

PUBLICLY Lamb says he is confident he will win his case. But he has already suffered serious financial injury from the F. C. C.'s attacks. Pending the outcome the commission will not even let him repair or properly maintain his TV and radio stations. And because hostile politicians and editors, in addition to Commissioner Doerfer, have wrongly leaped to the conclusion that he was once close enough to the Communist Party, he has felt obliged to start a number of legal actions in which he is now demanding more than $1,500,000 for libel damage. Meanwhile Lamb is quietly bolstering and diversifying his $30,000,000 business empire against the possibility of being driven out of broadcasting. He has manufacturing, publishing, and other interests which are not "subject to shakedown by licensing agencies." Ironically, by current F. C. C. standards, his great wealth ought to be the most compelling argument for his loyalty as an American.

In a column headed Publisher's Notebook which he runs each week in his Erie *Dispatch,* Lamb makes no bones about the fact that he was a liberal in the depression years, that he is a liberal now in his years of abundance, and that he will remain a liberal in the years ahead. Privately Lamb says that he will continue the fight to clear his name if it takes his last penny. "There are basic American rights involved, and I want to go out of this world with the knowledge that I have fought for a better, more wholesome country, an America where intelligent men live and prosper in an atmosphere of freedom."

BOOKS

The Good Agitator

HOMEGROWN LIBERAL: THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF CHARLES W. ERVIN. Edited by Jean Gould. Dodd, Mead and Company. $4.

By Matthew Josephson

THE long and truly distinguished career of "Charley" Ervin as newspaper editor, labor-union official, and lobbyist for the common people spanned fully seven-eighths of a century when it ended in February, 1953. A good many of his thousands of friends actually believed he might live forever; for he was in old age a handsome bearded giant of a man who ate, drank, and laughed heartily, as with a good conscience, up to the last hours. Blessed with something like "total recall," he could tell excellent stories of the "uplifters" of a generation ago, and even of the eggheads of the generation before that—going back almost as far as Abraham Lincoln. To converse with this honest, old-fashioned editor, one of the leading figures among our old-school Socialists, was like reopening the pages of history. It is fine that he set down something of what he had seen in his autobiography—which is concerned more with others than himself. "Homegrown Liberal" possesses much interest as an informal history of the progressive and radical movements of long ago; it may serve as a useful supplement to the longer, more analytical memoirs of Ervin's old friend Lincoln Steffens.

A native of Philadelphia, of Irish Protestant, middle-class stock, Ervin came to socialism after years of activity among the municipal-reform groups of his "corrupt and contented" city. In the 1900's he began to write for Socialist newspapers and ran for office regularly on the Socialist Party ticket, serving as editor of the New York *Call* for six years after 1916. Under Ervin the *Call* became America's most successful and influential Socialist daily, with a circulation of 70,000 at its peak. Around that time many persons seriously believed that the country would be won over to socialism "within sixteen years," these cheerful estimates being based on the current rate of growth of the party under the inspiring Debs. But in the dog days of the 1930's factional strife rent the Socialists, and Ervin resigned as editor of the *Call*, which soon ceased publication. Thereafter, like Steffens, he served as the guide, the counselor, and, in effect, the conscience of various men and organizations devoted to reform. During the last quarter-century of his life Ervin worked with Sidney Hillman or with Hillman's union, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, as editor and Washington representative.

LIKE many American Socialists, Ervin was never strong on Marxism. His intellectual roots were rather in the anti-monopolist ideas of the 1880's and 1890's, when Americans so commonly feared and detested the so-called "malefactors of great wealth." On this score Ervin's convictions were not very different from those of men like the elder La Follette, Louis D. Brandeis, George W. Norris, E. W. Scripps, and Morris L. Cook, all of whom figure prominently in his reminiscences. Today, of course, it is fashionable for our historians and journalists to make genuflections before the possessors of wealth. It would be an illuminating experience for them if they could be induced to read some of the chapters of this autobiography, which give an honest and precise account of how the grandfathers of our present-day art patrons and philanthropists worked hand in glove with rings of political grafters to gain for themselves invaluable franchises for monopolistic street railways or gas companies—thus laying the foundations for many of the great family fortunes of our day.

By the time he was seventy, during the great depression of the 1930's, Ervin was really going strong. It was the season for Congressional investigations, not of a few impecunious schoolmasters or radicals, but of the great financiers and corporations whose excesses, in some measure, were held responsible for the economic debacle of 1929-33. Hillman had the ideas; Ervin knew hundreds of newspapermen whom he had trained, and could reach the ear of half the members of Congress. The Economic Council bill, sponsored by Senator Robert M. La Follette, Jr., in 1931, and the hearings instituted for it, made headlines and undoubtedly hastened the enactment of measures for public relief by the federal government. Toward 1936 Ervin was also active in the inner circle that conceived the idea of the Senate's famous labor-spy investigation—whose chief architect was his friend Heber Blankenhorn. His behind-scenes reports of these and other actions offer many useful lessons to us in the art of agitation—agitation through proper channels for the public welfare. But the success of such undertakings, always exposed to the attacks of powerful pressure groups, largely depends, as Ervin stipulates, upon the existence of a favorable climate of opinion. Yesterday people were outraged at authentic reports of the doings of professional strikebreaking agencies. Today public opinion seems benumbed if not asleep.

Emerson once defined his own mission as essentially that of an "agitator." Ervin was a good one in Emerson's sense of the term. The task of arousing the forces of moral indignation in the people was for him an endless challenge. In his last hours, as his autobiography breaks off, he writes these lines of protest:

> What is happening in 1953 seems almost unbelievable to a man of my years. . . . I was approaching the scriptural three score and ten when I saw the black plague of unemployment descend on this country only two years after Hoover had been elected on a slogan of abolishing poverty. . . . It is possible that I have seen millions emerge from this poverty . . . and again witnessed these same people fooled into putting their affairs into the hands which had plunged them into misery twenty years ago.

MATTHEW JOSEPHSON is the author of "Sidney Hillman, Statesman of American Labor" and other books.

Death of a Ghost

A WORLD OF LOVE. By Elizabeth Bowen. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.50.

By Carlos Baker

SINCE the death of Virginia Woolf there remain only a handful of women in America and the British Isles capable of conducting with grace and credibility and humor the tenuous sort of investigation one finds in Elizabeth Bowen's fine new Irish novel. Besides Miss Bowen, as gifted practititoners of a fiction which approaches the condition of poetry, one would name in England Rosamond Lehmann, and in America Jean Stafford, Euroda Welty, and Caroline Gordon. It is characteristic of many of these novels that scarcely anything happens externally. In "A World of Love" a cup of tea in the morning garden, a reading from a pack of letters in a sheltered thicket, a dinner party at the castle to show how the other half half-lives, the making of hay in the fields of County Cork, a van ride to the Shannon airport by way of climax—these are all, and they are not very much.

What significantly happens is mainly internal, and to overestimate its importance, given this kind of novel, would be difficult indeed. For that is where the world of love exists, and where all the changes on Miss Bowen's central theme are silently rung. The music is never louder than the beating of a heart. And the evidence of dissonance issues forth only in half-voiced syllables, lifts of eyebrows, muted outbursts quickly subsident.

Considering that the problem of the novel is the subtle adjustment of several psychomachies, it is a stroke of genius, first that the action should occur in a summer heat wave when rebellions may be astir and changes imminent, and second that the locale should be a seedy farmstead called Montefort in that enchanted south-of-Ireland landscape where almost anything fantastic could happen though next to nothing outwardly does.

One emphasizes the *outwardly* here, but most especially the *next to nothing*. For what really happens is inward and, just there, next to nothingness: the imaginative evocation and development of a male ghost which is then, vestige by vestige, destroyed in all but one of those hearts where the vestige has lingered in the years between two world wars. In Ireland, by ancient custom, one lays the errant ghost with a stake of holly in its heart at some rural crossroads. Here the exorcism is accomplished at a spiritual crossroads—what Meredith means by Crossways—in the life of a family. The skilfully fashioned two-part structure of the novel is indeed in some respects Meredithian; in other ways it may remind readers of "Pride and Prejudice" as possibly conducted by Henry James.

For the Danby family has a twenty-one-year estrangement at its center, is indeed built up round the image of a man who fell in France in the 1918 war. His name was Guy and he was cousin to Antonia, the middle-aging writer who owns Montefort and, in a manner of speaking, the Danby family also, which lives there by her wish and sufferance. Fred Danby, patient and hardworking, playing second fiddle to the ghost of Guy, farms the land and pays Antonia half-shares. And he half-shares with the ghost his wife Lilia, who toils not nor spins, preferring to leave these tasks to the happy scullion, Kathie. Maud, the youngest child, in her rain cape and her kitten rages, is a fine humorous blend of leprechaun and quarrelsome adolescent. The real heroine is the older daughter Jane, a sturdy and nubile romantic, fresh as June grass and as innocent.

All these people hover on the edge of new lives until, at the climactic time, their bonds are dissolved and they move across the line. Lilia was to have married Guy. Upon his death Antonia desperately arranged Lilia's marriage to Fred. The ghost having kept them apart, it is fitting that the daughter, another and wiser Lilia in the second generation, should be the agent of its dissolution. The modus operandi is a packet of Guy's letters, uncovered in the attic at Montefort by Jane and then passed round from lap to lap like a talisman. It is as if, being brought to light, their aura must first glow, then fade. With its expiration goes the power of Guy's domination.

Miss Bowen's prose, as always, is a sensitive instrument, capable of evoking both the magic of the countryside and the anti-romanticism of bare towns like Clonmore, along whose main street one sees "the alternately dun and painted houses, cars parked askew, straying ash carts, and fallen bicycles. Dung baked on the pavements since yesterday morning's fair. . . . Many and sour were the pubs. Overexposed, the town was shadeless—never a tree, never an awning. Ice cream on sale, but never a cafe. Clonmore not only provided no place to be, it provided no reason to be, at all. So, but for the heat, was the place at all times — but the glare today stripped it of even its frowsty mystery, flattened it out, deadly glazed into a picture postcard such as one might receive from Hell."

The world of love has many mansions. Miss Bowen does not pretend to explore them all—except perhaps by the subtle synecdoche of her craft.

CARLOS BAKER is chairman of the Department of English at Princeton University.

BOOK MANUSCRIPTS INVITED

If you are looking for a publisher, send for our free, illustrated booklet titled To the Author in Search of a Publisher. It tells how we can publish, promote and distribute your book, as we have done for hundreds of other writers. All subjects considered. New authors welcomed. Write today for Booklet 103. It's free.

VANTAGE PRESS, 120 West 31 St., New York 1
In Calif.: 6253 Hollywood Blvd., Hollywood 28

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE

Buy Your Books

through THE *Nation*

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular retail price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the retail price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to

Miss O. LePach

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
333 Sixth Ave. New York 14, N. Y.

This suggests where it does not exhaust, opens avenues in the imagination, and makes us aware, in the breathless closing sentence of the novel, of the always recurrent power of romantic love to seize, and to dominate from within, those lives which are prepared for it by what Plato called "the emulous desire for what is fine."

Milton As Defender

THE LIFE RECORDS OF JOHN MILTON. Volume III, 1651-1654. Edited by J. Milton French. Rutgers University Press. $7.50.

By Donald A. Roberts

IN REVIEWS of Volumes I and II (printed in *The Nation,* August 5, 1950, and May 12, 1951), the character and scope of this massive work were set forth in some detail. Though not a biography in the conventional sense, it presents in chronological order all the known facts of Milton's biography, public service, and literary career during four of the most important years of his life. It is significant that though Volume III is the longest of the three so far published, it covers by far the shortest period of time, four years as compared with thirty-one in Volume I and twelve in Volume II.

The disparity between years of life and pages of text is not surprising. During the early 1650's Milton led a crowded public and private life. And he was both officially and personally defender of the faith of Englishmen. His blindness became complete. His private business affairs continued to be irksome. His duties at the Foreign Office were unusually heavy. He was perplexed and disturbed by Cromwell's assumption of power, which denied his own ideals of republicanism. But, above all, he was the public champion of his country. In his "Defense of the English People" (1651) he penned a ringing refutation of the Stuart propaganda written by the eminent scholar Salmasius. Three years later he answered a new and more insidious attack by writing "Defensio Secunda," perhaps his greatest work in prose. Not the least interesting of the items Dr. French chronicles are the comments of friends and foes throughout Europe on these two great tracts. Many in England as well as abroad were particularly stirred to praise or to blame by the long, dignified autobiographical account or the appraisal of Cromwell and his chief ministers in the second tract.

Though Professor French's work is basically a compilation and has therefore the self-imposed design of simple chronology, it by no means lacks imagination. Reason is choice, Milton said. Dr. French obviously agrees, for he has chosen the items in the three volumes on a most solid basis of scholarly reason. But he has done more: he has shown real imagination in searching out illuminating bits of fact and comment which less perceptive scholars might well have overlooked.

Two more volumes will bring the work to its conclusion. Already, however, it is indispensable for all who read or study Milton as poet or pamphleteer and for all who desire to find out why Milton would still be a very great man if he had never written a line of poetry. Since literary criticism, as we understand it, did not exist in Milton's time, little commentary on the poetry appears. More references to the prose works are to be expected in view of their controversial content. Any considerable lack of material, in other words, is to be attributed to the non-existence of such material rather than to lack of diligence on the part of Dr. French. The massive ore of Milton learning is here in full measure.

DONALD A. ROBERTS is associate professor of English at the City College, New York.

Theater

Harold Clurman

WILLIAM SAROYAN'S "The Time of Your Life" (City Center) is a little classic of the American theater. I do not use the word "little" to indicate any lack of value or the word "classic" to signify any pretension of profundity. The simple fact is that in "The Time of Your Life" Saroyan has not only given us the essence of his talent, his personality, and his sense of life but in doing so has expressed in delightfully theatrical terms a certain American dream and a certain American tradition. It is the dream of freedom in an almost childlike aspect, the tradition of a lovable vagrancy.

Americans believe in work, in accomplishment, in success. What we have built as a result of this credo is the most complicated and gigantic civilization the world has ever known. This civilization is at once a smash hit and an unspeakable burden. We are both proud of it and weary; we groan under its duties as we exult in its products. We trumpet its triumphs as we reach for our sleeping pills.

The typical hero of such a civilization is the super-colossal achiever of the greatest amount of financial, social, or physical displacement—some sort of personal atomic explosion. But such heroes—and we produce them constantly—soon become as stupefying as the works they create. We seek relief from them in anti-heroes—those with whom we can laugh, those toward whom we can feel kindness, those whom we envy not because of their greatness but, on the contrary, because of their littleness, their endearing inconspicuousness.

This sentiment produced such symbols as Chaplin's early pictures and motivates the hobo figure of our popular literature and stage. Saroyan's "The Time of Your Life" is a charmingly effusive, drunkenly dreamy, deft and darling piece of hoboism. We are nuts, but we are good, says the hobo poet; we know that life can be sweet because there is sweetness in all of us, but we allow ourselves to become bewildered—we have lost our "foundation"—through the fraudulent mechanism of the world which has been elaborated around us. People who are full of hate may be brushed aside without malice, like bugs. For the rest we have only to accept the life process—inhale and exhale; there is romance, fun, genius, and song on all sides.

Saroyan's play is wayward and airy. It is inspired by the bonhommie of the bar, the mildness, good nature, and cosmopolitan color of San Francisco itself. It moves in circles like a carrousel to beer-hall music spiced with strains of Orientalism and a gently drugged jazz. The dialogue is like a delicious babel of homespun jokes mingled with the strange clamor made by all the languages and races of a port town. There is the constant echo of laughter, and now and again the faint suspicion of a sob. The pervasive quality as well as the "philosophy" of the play is one of lyric anarchism.

If I speak with unabashed affection of "The Time of Your Life" it is not without a certain pang of regret. For I must make a public confession now—sixteen years after the event: I once turned down the opportunity to produce this gay and lovely play. It has always been difficult for me to explain or even fully to understand the reason. Perhaps there is in this play, besides the things that endear it to me, a certain cloying infantilism, exemplified by the scene in which the play's central vagabond and his companion vie with each other as to which can consume the greatest number of jelly beans, the "wiser" of the two exclaiming, "I've been wanting to do this all my life."

It is this trait in the play that spoils it for some people and probably spoiled it for me on that lamentable occasion sixteen years ago. But every work suffers from the defects of its qualities, and it is a serious critical weakness to detect the vice before one has a chance to appreciate the virtue of what is fundamentally a healthy, joyous dramatic spree in praise of folly.

NEXT WEEK

John Ciardi will review

E. E. Cummings's

"Poems 1923-1954"

PURPOSE OF THE RELIGIOUS ADVERTISEMENTS

BELIEF IN GOD ROBBED OF SOCIAL JUSTICE BY ANCIENT ORTHODOXY. — SOCIAL JUSTICE OVERSHADOWED BY "RIGHTEOUSNESS." — REVERSAL OF EMPHASIS INEVITABLE AND IMPERATIVE. — Previous advertisements have emphasized that the Hebrew prophets preached a God of social justice (not socialism or communism), and that they were endorsed repeatedly by Jesus of Nazareth. But it is appalling to consider that when Belief in God came down from the hills of Palestine and entered the stream of World History, social justice faded from the religious pattern and was overshadowed by "righteousness."

That God requires righteousness is very familiar to all of us from childhood. We were all told, in forceful generalities, that God would punish us if we did not "do right." And yet, very few people, even today, know that the Hebrew prophets proclaimed a God of social and economic justice, and that the prophets were endorsed repeatedly by Jesus. All church people today—orthodox and liberal alike—are honest and sincere. The transformation of Belief in God from its earlier sense of social justice to a merely individual righteousness was accomplished in the far-away Past by orthodox authorities unknown to the masses of the laity today.

RETURN OF RELIGIOUS EMPHASIS TO SOCIAL JUSTICE INEVITABLE AND INDISPENSIBLE. — No reflection upon the sincerity of present-day church people is implied by the religious problem that has thus come to us from the far-away Past. Nevertheless, if the churches do not choose to follow the prophets and Jesus, and put social justice (not socialism or communism) at the foundation of their belief in God, they will inevitably invite disaster at a time when social problems are pressing upon us as never before, and when social consciousness is rapidly replacing the ancient rugged individualism of orthodoxy and Herbert Hoover.

It is impressive to look back into the hills of Palestine, and to study the great struggles which destroyed paganism and endowed the term "God" with social justice. But it is appalling to think how the insidious propaganda of "Righteousness" has been so successful in banishing the sense of social justice from religion, and in reducing the highest concept of the human mind (i.e., "God") to the state of conventional respectability with which it circulates in our churches, Sunday schools, law courts, colleges, current literature, etc.

FREE MATERIAL AVAILABLE.—A free circular is being sent out, upon request, giving additional information. Its title is, Bulletin of Bible and Hebrew History. If you have already seen it, please do not ask for another copy, because it is in short supply. But if you have not seen it, you may send a three cent stamp to cover postage on one copy.

IN ADDITION TO ABOVE CIRCULAR, FURTHER MATERIAL IN PREPARATION. — The title of the new circular is, Restoration of Social Justice to Religious Belief. It emphasizes that the process of restoration has already begun, and that these advertisements and circulars are intended to promote the process. The new material will not be ready for some time, however. But if you wish to have a copy, send an additional stamp at once, so as to be in line for it when ready. A request not accompanied by a three cent stamp (or two three cent stamps in case both circulars are desired) will necessarily bring no results. The great majority of those asking for the printed matter have carefully included postage. And please try not to confuse the two circulars; the first being, Bulletin of Bible and Hebrew History, already printed; and second, Restoration of Social Justice to Religious Belief, in preparation. You do not incur any responsibility (financial or otherwise) in requesting the printed matter.—L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, New York.

(Advertisement)

DO YOU TEACH?

Political Science?

Economics?

Civics?

Sociology?

History?

Literature?

IF YOU TEACH one of the above, or a related subject, then **The Nation** can be a valuable classroom aid for you. That's because **The Nation**, America's oldest liberal magazine, is unique in helping students maintain a balanced view of all areas of today's news — political, military or economic.

In addition to its outstanding reporting and analyses of issues and events—domestic and foreign—**The Nation** presents, in its literary section, the work of such distinguished writers and critics as John Aldridge, Carlos Baker, Van Wyck Brooks, Waldo Frank, Maxwell Geismar, Joseph Wood Krutch, and Archibald MacLeish.

We INVITE YOU to join with the many other teachers who have been using The Nation for years in their classroom work. You can use the magazine one month or for the semester, in bundle orders of ten copies or more to the same address, for the:

SPECIAL CLASSROOM RATE OF 40 CENTS PER STUDENT PER MONTH.
(Desk copy supplied free for the teacher.)
Students save 50% on the regular purchase price

Payment need not be made in advance. Merely send in your order telling us how many copies you will need and for how many weeks (we'll be glad to accept a one-week trial order at 10 cents per copy) and we will bill you later. Send in your order now so that we can serve you most efficiently. Address it to:

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT
THE NATION
333 Sixth Ave. New York City 14

Films

Robert Hatch

AS FILM craftsmanship "The Wages of Fear" is entirely admirable. In matters of direction, photography, acting, and editing it is at a level of excellence completely above the "good" pictures one sees from week to week. For adequate comparison one has to recall "Forbidden Games" or "The Magic Garden" or "Paisan." But in any moral sense "The Wages of Fear" is a bad picture, cruel and essentially meaningless.

The picture was directed by H. G. Clouzot—who made "Quai des Orfevres" and collaborated on "Le Corbeau"—using an international cast on location in Central America. Clouzot also adapted it from a novel by Georges Arnaud. The leading actors are Yves Montand and Charles Vanel, both French, supported by Folco Lulli, an Italian, and Peter Van Eyck, whom I believe to be American.

The story opens on the porch and in the cafe of the hotel-general store which is the social center of a remote and squalid Central American oil town. A dozen or so idlers are scattered about the premises, grumbling at the heat, trying to cadge credit from the proprietor, making idle love to the native slavey, and desperately wishing they had the several hundred dollars needed to get a man out of this slow but deadly trap. Apparently there is no work for them in the oil camp, and, to be fair about it, they look incapable of any solid work, though you sense about each of them that he was once effective and perhaps even skilled.

The picture sets up the atmosphere of sloth and dirt and decay, the mood of impotent violence, with a few casual and entirely simple scenes. There is no trick to it that you can detect, but in ten minutes you feel that you have been loafing with these men for months.

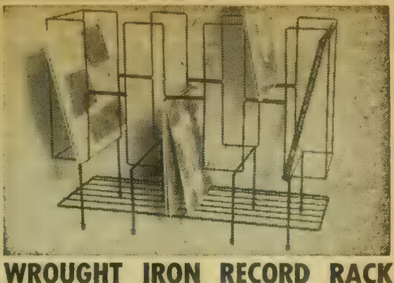
At this point a well three hundred miles up country catches fire; nitroglycerin is needed to blow it out, and it must be trucked from the base in town over almost impassable mountain and jungle roads. It is suicide work and suicide wages are offered —$1,000 per man. Four volunteers are chosen from the idlers, and the main story begins. The two Frenchmen take one truck, Lulli and Van Eyck the other; roaring in low gear, they creep out into the night. The deadly odyssey is a rack on which the audience is stretched to an ever-tighter tension. It moves from almost hysterical melodrama to loathsome horror to the gratuitous killing off of everyone principally concerned. It is the torment and disgust of war without the conflict of war; it is the courage of monomania, the heroism of Russian roulette, the resolution of a man who will beat and humiliate and in the end kill a friend to get through—and make $1,000.

I have rarely been so gripped by a picture, and never so disgusted with myself afterward. M. Clouzot is bent on reducing his spectators to a pulp, and he largely succeeds by the not very honorable means of reducing his characters to pulp. Why, if two trucks full of nitroglycerin must be sent three hundred miles over the most villainous roads imaginable, was not a pilot truck sent ahead to fill the worst holes and remove the worst obstacles? Because it makes a better story the other way. Incident after incident on the journey is cynically contrived for maximum scariness. The whole episode is as synthetically thrilling as a ride on a scenic railway, but the people are so real you can smell their terror. I think it is as cruel a game as was ever dreamed up to feed the sadism of a Roman emperor. I admire it but I also deplore it.

EXCEPT for murder, which always has a certain dramatic flashiness, most crime is boring. Its practitioners seem an unimaginative and imitative lot, which is probably just as well. The group that held up the Brink offices in Boston a year or so ago was witty and stylish; it was entirely successful. So the Brink robbery should provide a rare chance for turning a real crime to good account as entertainment. But "Six Bridges to Cross," whose hero is supposed to have executed that excellent larceny, is a mulish and sentiment-sodden film. Jerry Florea is just naturally bad, and Detective Gallagher, who tries to reform him, is just naturally gullible, and the audience just naturally fidgets while these two work out their dreary duet over a period of about twenty years. Jerry, the brilliant schemer, always uses the same disguises and always cooks up the same type of alibi; it is a real libel on the Boston police that he should be allowed to run loose at all. "Six Bridges to Cross" is no impediment to anyone wishing to turn the Brink case into a good yarn.

"THE TIGER AND THE FLAME" is, I believe, the first technicolor film made in India with Indian technicians and actors. It boasts a cast of 25,000, which is a warning that it is a somewhat primitive work. More developed film projects get along on less man-power.

The story is a heroic folk legend based on the incidents leading up to the Sepoy Rebellion. Its heroine is an Indian Joan of Arc who dies as a symbol of India's coming freedom. The acting is stiff, the story is mechanical, and the thread of action is repeatedly broken for not particularly effective moments of spectacle. The sets are over-elaborate, and the colors are garish—bazaar rich, they looked. I doubt that the picture is as good a sample of Indian taste as "The Gate of Hell" is of Japanese taste. It was an odd sensation to watch Orientals playing English soldiers and diplomats. They were as convincing, probably, as Warner Oland used to be to the Chinese.



WROUGHT IRON RECORD RACK

Holds 200 long-play records. Also accommodates 78 RPM albums. Black finish with rubber tips to protect your furniture. Size 19½" high, 25" long, 9½" deep. Sturdy construction. Ten separate sections allow for ideal storage of music by style, composer, artist. Several racks may be placed side by side to form a complete library of records. Please remit with order. Satisfaction Guaranteed or Money Refunded. Shipped Express Collect. **$9.95**

LESLIE CREATIONS
2116 Robbins St. • Dept. 230 • Phila. 49, Pa.

Gian-Carlo Menotti's
The Saint of Bleecker Street

"THE MOST POWERFUL DRAMA OF THE SEASON!"
—ATKINSON, Times

"STUNNING, WONDERFUL MUSICAL THEATRE!"
—CHAPMAN, News

BROADWAY THEATRE
Broadway & 53rd Street
Eves. 8:30. Sat. Mat. 2:30
(No Mid-week Mat.)

Music

B. H. Haggin

MORE THAN ONCE, when discussing the decline in the broadcasting of music by the American networks, I have pointed out that even at its highest point it hadn't approximated what the British Broadcasting Corporation has done. That is, the American networks, exploiting names that had prestige for the mass public, had presented the great orchestras and the Metropolitan Opera, and had seen music almost exclusively as the standard orchestral and operatic repertory; whereas the BBC had systematically explored the entire musical literature—the literature not only of opera and the orchestra but of solo instruments, the voice, and chamber groups, the unfamiliar music of the past, the new music of today. This was true twenty-five years ago, when I first got to know what the BBC was doing, and found that it included the survey called "Foundations of Music"; and from an article by the English critic Gerald Abraham in the *Saturday Review* a year ago I learned of a project carried out by the BBC's Third Program—a "History in Sound of European Music" comprising "more than a hundred weekly programs of music and explanatory talk, each program lasting half an hour to an hour. It was planned on the assumption that the music of every known period contains at least a proportion of still living art, well worth listening to if only we can conquer any initial strangeness of idiom. The things broadcast were, of course, not all masterpieces, but none of them was a mere museum piece. The result was a revelation of vitality and beauty . . .; the public response was far larger and more favorable than anyone had dared to hope."

Moreover, this project made possible another. In addition to being in charge of the radio series Abraham was one of the editors of the "New Oxford History of Music"; and as such he was concerned with the problem that faces every writer or editor of a book on music—the difficult problem of illustration. In a book one can quote a poem and reproduce a picture, but one can't provide the sound of a piece of music. At most one can print the piece in musical notation; but not everyone can read this notation or translate it into the real or imagined sound of the piece; and this difficulty is greater with old music: it isn't, as Abraham pointed out, merely that one will get a false idea of old keyboard music—or, I might add, old vocal polyphony—by playing it on the modern piano; it is also that one needs to grasp "a strange style of performance, strange types of sound, an unfamiliar spirit." The piece may seem "dry and repellent . . . on paper, yet how fresh and alive and delightful it may be when an imaginative and accomplished scholar-executant . . . makes it sound."

Abraham therefore interested HMV in recording some of the performances of unfamiliar old music that had been prepared for the broadcasts and issuing them as a "History of Music in Sound," each of whose ten volumes covers the period dealt with in the corresponding volume of the "New Oxford History." The first volume of the "New Oxford History" to be issued here is Volume 2, "Early Medieval Music up to 1300" (Oxford; $8.75), which contains references to the recordings of [illegible] of the pieces in Volume 2 of the "History of Music

LECTURES

ECONOMICS FOR THE WORKING MAN
A series of 13 lectures presenting a systematic analysis of our economy by
PROFESSOR OTTO NATHAN
for many years teacher and lecturer at colleges and in workers' education.
Tuesdays, 8:15 PM—First Lecture, Feb. 15
Admission (at door): Single Lecture 50c, Series $5.
LABOR TEMPLE, 242 E. 14 St., N.Y.C.

FORUM

Dr. Henry Steele Commager
discusses
AMERICA —
HERITAGE AND DESTINY
at The Broadway Forum
Broadway Tabernacle Church
56th Street and Broadway
SUNDAYS AT 5 P.M., Feb. 6, 13, 20, 27
$1.00 a lecture $2.00 the series

FILM

The stirring CBS film based on Justice William O. Douglas' "An Almanac of Liberty" will be shown at the Riverside Plaza Hotel, 253 West 73 St., nr. B'way; Wed., Feb. 9, 8:30 P.M. Admission Free. Auspices: Brotherhood, Free Israel and Gamut Chapters, New York, Jewish Conference.

PUBLICATIONS

SOCIALIST BOOKS. Catalog, literature, Free. New York Labor News Company, Dept. M, 61 Cliff Street, New York 38, New York.

LET US find that hard-to-find book for you. OSTER'S, Dept. C, Times Square Station, New York 36, N.Y.

AUDIO

HI FIDELITY
RADIO-PHONOGRAPH
sales, installation and service
VECTOR LABS
217 3rd Ave. ■ N. Y. C. 3 ■ GR 3-7686

RECORDINGS

THE FIRST L. P. RECORDINGS
FROM THE U. S. S. R
TO REACH THIS COUNTRY
(33 RPM)
Vocal, Orchestral and Instrumental Selections, Ballet Suites, Complete Operas, Violin Selections by the World Famous Performers:
OISTRAKH and GILELS
Works of the Following Composers:
Babadjanian, Balakirev, Borodin, Chaikovsky, Cui, Franko, Glazunov, Gliere, Kabalevsky, Kalinnikov, Karlovich, Khachaturian, Machariani, Miaskovsky, Moniushko, Prokofiev, Rachmaninoff, Rimsky-Korsukov, Shostakovich, Smetana, Taneev, Taktashvilli, Veniavsky, Verdi
Price: 10" records $3.25
Price: 12" records 3.95
Ask for our catalog D-Records
FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.
55 West 56 Street
New York 19, N. Y.
822 Broadway
New York 3, N. Y.
GRamercy 3-2018-19

BUY
UNITED STATES
SAVINGS BONDS

in Sound" (RCA Victor LM-6015). And on the other hand the volume of recordings is accompanied by a booklet containing material from the book—the text of each piece of music or a substantial part of it in musical notation, plus translations, informative notes, and bibliographies. In his introduction to the booklet Dom Anselm Hughes, like Abraham, contends that the music on the records "should not be regarded merely as a collection of interesting but dead museum specimens"; in his introduction to the book he writes that "until recent times the music of this period was regarded as merely embryonic, interesting only because it contains the seed of later developments. Increasing knowledge has given us a clearer view and deeper understanding." But I must report that of the pieces on the records only very few have more than historic interest for me; and I will add that I found many more that were "fresh and alive and delightful" in the Haydn Society's "Masterpieces of Music Before 1750."

Having the phonograph to provide necessary illustration isn't the only way the "New Oxford History" benefits by the interval of fifty years since the original "Oxford History." In their general introduction the editors point out that "during the first half of the present century an enormous amount of detailed work has been done on every period covered by the original volumes. New materials have been discovered, new relationships revealed, new interpretations made possible"; and reliable editions have been published "of a mass of music which was previously available only in manuscript or in rare printed copies. All this ruled out further revision of the original volumes, and made possible "an entirely new survey of music from the earliest times down to comparatively recent years, including not only the achievements of the Western world but also the contributions made by eastern civilizations and primitive societies."

Abraham also is editor of a symposium, "Handel" (Oxford; $6), which includes a chapter on the operas by E. J. Dent. And another book which, as I have glanced through it, seemed very good is Karl Geiringer's "The Bach Family: Seven Generations of Creative Genius" (Oxford; $7.50).

Letters

Dear Sirs: Jennings Perry's article on the Louisville indictments in your issue of January 15 brings to your readers a gruesome example of the witch hunt's descent to lower levels. Of the seven friends of the Negro who have been indicted, one has been in jail without trial since September 24, 1954 (his bail was set at $23,000 but was later lowered to $10,000); a seventy-nine year-old man has been in jail since October 1, 1954, also without trial (his bail was set for $20,000 and later reduced to $10,000); and a third, Carl Braden, has been convicted of "sedition" and sentenced to fifteen years in jail. His bail has been set for $40,000 and he is in jail pending the appeal of the case and the amount of bail.

All seven of the defendants have asked the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee to give them legal aid and help them to raise the exorbitant bail and other court costs. One of the seven is Louise Gilbert, a social worker in Louisville who as the chairman of the local branch of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom sent out a letter asking her fellow-citizens to show patience and tolerance for their Negro neighbors. Miss Gilbert will be in New York on February 10 to speak at a meeting called by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee at the Carlton Terrace, 2633 Broadway (at 99th St.). Harvey O'Connor, chairman of the E.C.L.C., will preside at the meeting. In addition to Miss Gilbert the speakers will be two distinguished attorneys who have recently visited Louisville in connection with these cases: Louis L. Redding of Wilmington, Delaware, and Leonard B. Boudin, general counsel of E.C.L.C., who assisted in the legal defense of Mr. Braden in the trial court.

Anyone who cares to contribute to the defense of the Louisville seven, or to help in meeting the bail bonds necessary to get the three out of jail, may do so by sending their money to the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, 421 Seventh Ave., New York 1.

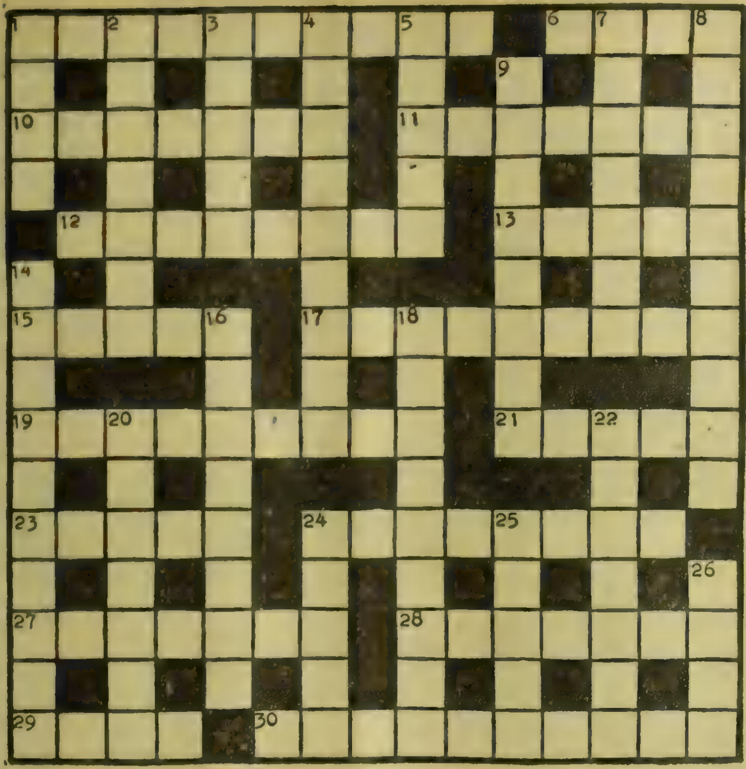
CLARK FOREMAN
Director, Emergency Civil Liberties Committee
New York

CORRECTION

In B. H. Haggin's article in the January 29 issue the last sentence in the fourth paragraph should have read: Both composers exhibit competence in putting sounds together—Riegger in an idiom that communicates nothing to me, Mennin in one that I find intelligible but uninteresting.

Crossword Puzzle No. 605

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 One who teaches you to go around in good condition qualified for this. (10)

6 and down 4 Virtuous, and not too bright! (4, 3, 6)

10 and 11 Referred to generally in fat people? (2, 5, 7)

12 A bad case with the shakes is developed by the abstemious. (8)

13 Sounds like I will make way. (5)

15 Noel's other name. (5)

17 A good score not now attached to the building. (9)

19 What one might give lawyers for servants. (9)

21 Title superior to 22. (5)

23 Hail and farewell? (5)

24 Put in the decimal, if the pencil isn't like this. (5, 3)

27 Moral. (7)

28 What one might have to turn at the console, as an instrument of thought. (7)

29 Trim. (4)

30 Precise, or the face of something original. (10)

DOWN

1 Grip, somewhat like the head of 30. (4)

2 See 14 down.

3 Accustom. (5)

4 See 6 across.

5 Brings into the wind. (5)

7 Swollen and sun-ripe. (7)

8 Serene star of the orientals. (10)

9 Do sufferers from it make poor correspondents? (8)

14 and 2 down List of Lancasters and Yorks? (10, 2, 5)

16 Rather bothersome, but is put in the shade. (8)

18 Repose I make cordlike. (9)

20 With projections to do the changing. (7)

22 Title somewhat inferior to 21. (7)

24 Ionized. (5)

25 It was 20 like a saber long ago. (5)

26 Nothing under a deep blue. (4)

• • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 604

ACROSS: 1 NETHERMOST; 10 GUELPHS; 11 STOICAL; 12 INDISCRIMINATE; 14 EXECRATE; 15 SIERRA; 16 CREAMS; 18 BADGERED; 22 PORTAL TO PORTAL; 24 SHEARER; 25 HARPIES; 26 and 8 down OUTSELLS; 27 OLD MASTERS. Down: 1 NEGLIGENCE; 2 TREADLE; 3 EXPOSURE METERS; 4 MUSKRAT; 5 SESAME; 7 INCITER; 9 SOUNDING BOARDS; 13 HANDCLASPS; 17 ERODENT; 19 APOTHEM; 20 RATLINE; 21 and [illegible] PLURAL WIFE; 23 OSLO.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York.

RESORTS

50 Miles to FOREST HOUSE

Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes. All sports.

FOREST HOUSE

Lake Mahopac, N. Y. ■ Tel. Mahopac 8-3449

For Your YEAR-ROUND Vacation Plans

CARAN LODGE

Sylvan Lake ■ Hopewell Junction ■ New York

60 miles from New York on Taconic Parkway

Tennis, Folk Dancing and Singing, 4 cozy fireplaces, 10 minutes from James Baird Golf Course. Children's Day Camp. Food . . . Superb and Abundant.

Take a drive and have Sunday Dinner with us
Reservations:

New York HI 6-7506 Hopewell Junction 6-2632

THE PINES. Modern year-round retreat for adults in the Blue Mountains of Pennsylvania Dutch Country. Continental cuisine. Intimate group of congenial people. 95 miles from N. Y. C., 60 miles from Philadelphia. Write: Mrs. Ann Wunthal, Danielsville, R. D. 1. Tel.: Bath Te 7-6501.

CAMERAS ETC.

GERMAN CAMERAS & BINOCULARS. Import your own. Savings up to 35% on new **Zeiss, Rolleiflex, Exakta,** and all other makes. Experienced, intelligent, (and objective) advisory service for the technician or hobbyist. Please specify interests and requirements. Immediate airmail reply. **Worldpost, Tangier International Zone, Morocco.**

PERSONALS

COMFORTABLE home, large library, studio, Bucks County, Pa. available without rent to responsible person (or couple), who desire country living year round. Owner home week-ends. Car necessary. **Please Write Box 390, c/o The Nation.**

ON YOUR next trip east or west on U.S. Highway 80 stop at **Guilbert's Pharmacy, Gila Bend, Arizona.** An oasis in the desert.

N.Y.C. SECRETARY eager to learn chess, will exchange secretarial service weekly for competent chess instruction. **Box 391, c/o The Nation.**

VACUUM CLEANER. Rated best by Ind. Consumer Research Org. Regularly $69.95 — **SPECIAL $46.95. Standard Brand Dist.,** 143 Fourth Avenue (13th & 14th Sts.), N.Y.C. GR 3-7819. 1 hour free parking or 2 tokens.

Advertising Rates

CLASSIFIED

74c a line (6 words)

Three-line minimum

•

CLASSIFIED DISPLAY

$7.42 per inch (minimum)

Remittance must accompany all orders

•

The NATION
333 SIXTH AVENUE
New York 14, N. Y.
CHelsea 2-8400

Printed in the U. S. A. by Southern Farmer, Inc., P. O. Box 509, Montgomery, Ala. 6

American Research Council invites you [illegible] use this amazing book a full year without obligation to

BOOST YOUR INCOME AND SAVINGS IN 1955

THE NATION'S ANNUAL GUIDE TO INCREASING YOUR CAPITAL AND INCOME

ATOMIC ENERGY AND URANIUM: 45 leaders in atomic power; 65 leaders in uranium and [illegible] booming "wonder metals."

3½% Government guaranteed savings; 100 Savings & Loan Assns. paying up to 3½%.

MUTUAL FUNDS: Latest data comparing over 60 leading investment companies for income, safety, capital gains.

150 Growth Stocks for capital appreciation; [illegible] growth prospects in the *next* decade.

350 Heirloom Stocks paying dividends for 25 years; 100 "Stock Aristocrats" that have never shown a loss; 30 "Dividends Guaranteed" Stocks.

120 Leading candidates for stock splits [illegible] near future.

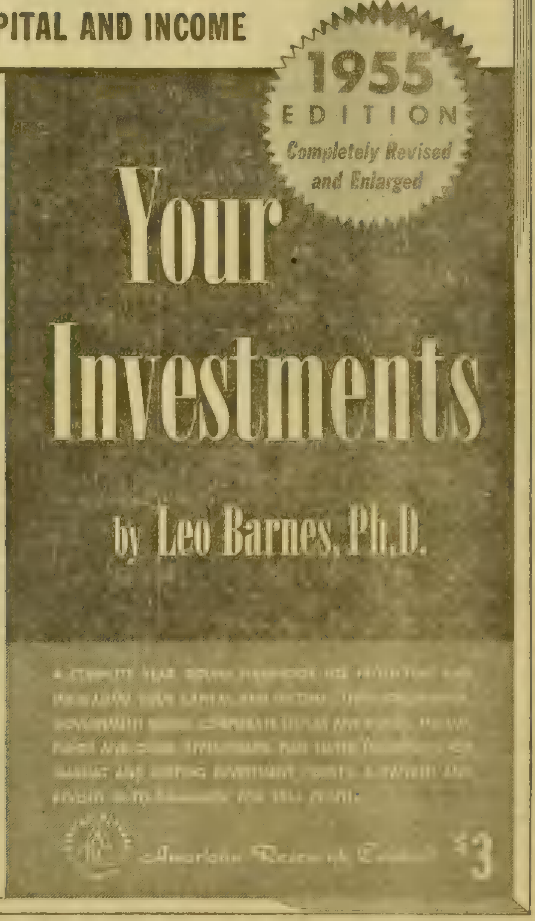
CANADA: 75 most favored Blue Chips for the prudent investor; 80 [illegible] promising growth stocks; Canadian mutual funds.

TAX SHELTERS: How to get top [illegible] from [illegible] exempt municipals; [illegible] tax-free dividends and [illegible] stock dividend payers.

100 "Asset rich" stocks selling below [illegible] working capital.

100 Top Stocks favored by 1000 institutional [illegible]

PLUS THOUSANDS of other selected opportunities in stocks, convertibles, preferreds, bonds, [illegible] special [illegible]



1955 EDITION

Completely Revised and Enlarged

Your Investments

by Leo Barnes, Ph.D.

American Research Council $3

shown [illegible] size — actual size, 8⅜ x 11.

“THE ENCYCLOPEDIA BRITANNICA OF WALL STREET” [illegible]

“THE ANSWER TO THE INVESTOR'S PRAYER” [illegible]

At Last! Thousands of New Opportunities to Make Your Money Work for You and Assure Your Financial Security.

Why should you let your hard-earned savings be cut in half by rising prices and inflation — or give you [illegible] tiny, inadequate income? With this completely new 1955 handbook, your savings can share in America's tremendous industrial growth, including for the first time opportunities in the expanding Atomic Energy, Uranium and Wonder Metals industries. Now you can choose intelligently for yourself between 4% income, with your savings guaranteed by the government, or 15% from certain sound stocks—select the best mutual fund for income, safety or capital growth – pick for yourself from the selected lists of stocks and bonds for maximum income, growth, tax-free yield, speculation, etc. – and find the best protection for your money against the dangers of recession or inflation, as well as the best opportunities to increase it.

“A VALUABLE VOLUME FOR THE INVESTOR” [illegible] New York Times)

“A [illegible] handbook for those interested in [illegible] to their money.” (Dun's [illegible])

Dr. Leo Barnes, noted economist and investment analyst, has completely revised YOUR INVESTMENTS for 1955 and brings you hundreds of brand-new money-making opportunities for this year. Here you see in [illegible] moment the advantages and disadvantages for you of every type of investment, from Savings Banks and Savings and Loan Associations to Mutual Funds, Stocks, Bonds, Rights and Warrants, etc. Not only does it show you how to put your money to work profitably, when to buy and sell, how to use formula plans, dollar averaging and other professional techniques for successful investing – but it puts at your fingertips thousands of carefully selected specific investment opportunities.

> ☛ *“YOUR INVESTMENTS by Dr. Leo Barnes is [illegible] most excellent handbook, decidedly helpful to either amateur or experienced investor. It is clearly and simply written, particularly well arranged, beautifully printed on fine paper. I am much pleased with it.”*
> *(W. R. C., Port Washington, N. Y.)*

SEE IT NOW [illegible]
Plus Free “Tax Savings for Investors”

No expense has been spared to make the 1955 YOUR INVESTMENTS the most useful time-saving and money-making aid ever prepared for the investor. Nowhere else can so much valuable information be found at [illegible] cost of less than hundreds of dollars. Use it under this unprecedented no-risk guarantee. *If after [illegible] full year you are not satisfied with your capital gains and income growth, return the book for full refund without question. But the valuable “Tax Savings for Investors” remains yours without charge in any event.*

FREE LASSER GUIDE REVEALS NEW [illegible] SAVINGS FOR INVESTORS

NEW YORK, Jan. 9, 1955 — The big new Eisenhower tax law offers extraordinary, new tax-saving opportunities for investors. Specific ways to take advantage of these savings are outlined in [illegible] special study, "New Tax Law Savings for Investors," just prepared by the famed **J. K. Lasser** Tax Institute.

This valuable money-saving study —sent free to users of the new 1955 YOUR INVESTMENTS—gives dozens of year-'round tax-saving suggestions, ideas like: "How to get the most out of dividend income tax credits."—"How to get a bargain rate on security gains [illegible] losses."—"Four basic tax rules affecting all investments." And you get some wise tax tips [illegible] your handling of stocks, bonds, mutual funds and other investments.

Answers to Questions Like These May Mean Thousands of Dollars in Extra Income and Capital in 1955

- ☐ How can I protect my capital against either depression or inflation? *See Chapters [illegible] & 11*
- ☐ Is it possible to get a big income like 15% on limited capital? *See Chapters 18 & 31*
- ☐ If I want an investment plan that works automatically, how do I go about it? *See Chapter 26*
- ☐ How can I convert a Government Bond capital loss into a capital gain? *See Chapter 10*
- ☐ How can I use "Rights" or "Warrants" for maximum capital gain? *See Chapter 18*
- ☐ How can I select the Growth Companies of tomorrow? *See Chapters 4 & 7*
- ☐ Which companies are candidates for stock splits in 1955? *See Chapter 12*
- ☐ What common stocks are now selling below net working capital? *See Chapter 9*
- ☐ How can I use puts, calls, and short sales to protect profits? *See Chapters 19 & 32*
- ☐ Which 110 companies are most likely to profit from the boom in *Atomic Energy, Uranium and Wonder Metals?* *See Chapter 7*
- ☐ Which are the 80 best Canadian growth situations? Which Canadian Mutual funds are best for me? *See Chapters 8 & 10*
- ☐ What are the 100 top stocks favored by 1000 big institutional investors? *See Chapter 5*
- ☐ Which [illegible] stocks have dividends *guaranteed?* What 40 companies raise dividends repeatedly? *See Chapters [illegible] & 13*

FREE [illegible] year free — refund guaranteed. Also receive [illegible] Tax Institute's valuable [illegible] Tax Law [illegible] investors [illegible] 1955 yours to keep free [illegible]

At your bookseller or mail coupon below. Only $3.00

American Research Council ARC

11 East 44 St., N. Y. 17 **Tel: OX 7-0265**

AMERICAN RESEARCH COUNCIL, INC.
Publication Division: 11 E. 44th St., N. Y. 17

Please send me ...... copies of YOUR INVESTMENTS 1955 at $3.00 each. I enclose payment with the understanding that full refund is guaranteed for a full year. **Also send me free Lasser's “New Tax Law Savings for Investors in 1955.”**

Name ....

Address ....

City .... Zone ..... State ....

(N. Y. City residents please add 3% Sales Tax) N-57

FE 14 55

SO ROUND, SO FIRM . . . SO FULL OF BUNK - JOSEPH J. SELDIN

PUBLIC

THE Nation

February 12, 1955
20c

Peace in Asia Now?

The Price in Formosa

An Editorial

The Price in All Asia

By Douglas F. Dowd

Smog Over Science	*Gene Marine*
Facts Versus Theory	*J. A. del Vayo*
Abettors of Tyranny	*George Seldes*

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

OFF THE EDITORS' SPIKE

CONSUMER REPORTS for February contains material which provides an interesting footnote to Mr. Seldin's article on cigarette advertising on page 136 of this issue of THE NATION. According to this source, the latest Consumers Union cigarette analysis indicates that nearly all American brands have actually increased their nicotine content during the two-year period which has witnessed the rise of the "cancer scare." Of twenty brands included in this year's test and the test made two years ago, Consumers Union reports that only two—John Alden and Sano regulars—showed the same amount of nicotine in 1955 as in 1953. All the others were found to contain more.

■ A Dow-Jones ticker-tape system of reporting is needed nowadays to chart dominant and minor trends in the civil-liberties field, tracing the ups and downs, the zigs and zags. For some reason the "downs" continue to receive more prominence in the news than the upbeat items. Recent events on the plus side include Harvey Matusow's sensational repudiation of the important phases of his testimony in the Clinton Jencks perjury prosecution, the Lattimore case, and in the case of the "second-string" Communist leaders. Matusow has set example for other professional informers; let's hope they follow it. His book, "False Witness," which will be published in late February or March, is a time bomb that could touch off a chain reaction. Other plus-side items are former Senator Harry P. Cain's blistering attack on the loyalty-security program and the $25,000 in damages awarded to two New York Democrats who had been smeared as "reds" by the Yorkville Democrat, another indication, as the New York Post observed, that the price of slander is rising. Note, too, another acquittal—of librarian Thomas Browne Bennett in a case involving a charge of perjury based on a denial of Communist Party membership. Coming in the wake of the acquittal of M. L. Edwards on a similar charge, this latest verdict indicates that juries are beginning to draw a bead on the pernicious abuse of the perjury accusation to entrap political dissenters.

Of the more recent unfavorable civil-liberties items the most significant, perhaps, is the majority opinion of the California Supreme Court (January 25) in the case of Black vs. Cutter Laboratories, in which it was held that an employee could be dismissed for the offense of having declined to deny membership in the Communist Party, despite provisions to the contrary in a collective-bargaining agreement. Chief Justice Phil Gibson and Justice Carter joined in a brilliant dissenting opinion written by Justice Roger J. Traynor. Speaking of the majority opinion, Justice Traynor said: "Thus by judicial fiat, but without the temerity to declare that Communists are deprived of civil rights, the court abrogates not only the right of employers and unions to contract for the employment of Communists, but the right of Communists as a class to enter into binding contracts. . . .If it is illegal to employ a Communist, is it illegal to allow a Communist unemployment benefits? If the threat of Communist activity makes an employment contract with a known Communist illegal as against public policy, does it also invalidate other contracts? Thus, can a landlord break his lease with a Communist on the ground that his building may be sabotaged? Can a buyer refuse to accept and pay for goods purchased from a Communist on the ground that they may contain cleverly concealed defects? Can a seller refuse to deliver goods sold to a Communist on the ground that they may be used to promote Communist activities? . . . If contracts with Communists are illegal, cannot Communists themselves violate them with impunity?" Good questions these.

■ Nation readers will not want to miss the extraordinarily interesting exhibition of paintings and drawings by Ben Shahr which may be seen at the Downtown Gallery, 32 East Fifty-first Street, New York, through February 12. The exhibit includes such well-known early work as Bartolomeo Vanzetti, Apotheosis, Two Witnesses: Mooney Series, and Don Quixote, all dating from the early 1930's; such fine samples of his work in the 1940's as Allegory, Nocturne, Spring: 1940, and —a favorite of mine—Miners' Wives, as well as fifteen works of the first four years of this decade, among them the superb Credo: 1954. At the end of the third week more than 5,000 people had seen the show, the largest attendance for a comparable period in the twenty-five-year experience of the Downtown Gallery.

■ Nowadays it is necessary to read a lot of papers in order to keep abreast of the latest activities of Senator William F. Knowland. For example, one learns from the Texas Observer that the Senator spent three days recently in Houston as the house guest of Hugh Roy Cullen, the Texas oil tycoon who has been one of Senator McCarthy's most important backers. Dickson Terry of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, the latest reporter to check up on Cullen's campaign contributions, reports that Cullen is estimated to have spent $750,000 to elect right-wing candidates in 1952. This is fifteen times the sum reported to the Clerk of the House of Representatives. Records there show that Mr. Cullen spent $53,000 to influence elections to the Congress which passed the tidelands-oil legislation; in 1952 his influence was felt in twenty-three states besides Texas.

■ Now that United States aid is being funneled directly to Laos, Cambodia, and South Vietnam, rather than through France, the manipulation of the local currency—the French were very liberal in permitting piastres to be exchanged for francs at the official rate—has been brought under control and the end of the racket is in sight. One consequence is the tendency of certain elements of the French population to move from South Vietnam. Since French currency is "soft" and cannot be used in dollar and pound markets, the Vietnamese were forced to make most of their purchases in France; now the lion's share will be spent with American firms, not because of direct pressure or control—no strings are attached to American aid —but largely as a matter of convenience. Whatever the reason for the shift, the French do not care for it. "We are being eliminated, not by our adversaries," reports Jacques Soustelle, newly appointed French Governor of Algeria, in Combat, "but by our allies."

■ Another minor consequence of the Geneva accord which has not been too widely commented upon in the American press has been the collapse of the De Castries legend. According to Paul Ghali, of the Chicago Daily News foreign service, General De Castries is now the scapegoat on whom the French pin the onus for Dienbienphu. Since his return to France in September, De Castries has been mentioned just once in the press which built him up into a national idol. Formerly legends of this kind survived for decades, even generations; nowadays they often collapse about as quickly as they are inflated.

C. Mc. W.

To Our Subscribers

The Nation has undertaken new printing and distribution arrangements which have led to delay in receipt of issues by some subscribers. The situation will be adjusted within the course of the next few weeks. We ask our subscribers to be patient with us.

EDITORS, THE NATION

Volume 180, Number 7
New York, Saturday, February 12, 1955

THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Price for Formosa Peace

PEACE at a price is possible for the Formosa Strait. But there is no power on earth that will produce a cease-fire within the framework of the President's message and the Congressional resolution. In undertaking such a task the Security Council is deliberately tied in a strait-jacket. Nor should one be surprised by Peking's refusal to participate in discussions putting it in the position of defendants before a body which includes a Nationalist China able to exercise a veto along with the United States, Great Britain, France, and the Soviet Union. If the Soviet delegate was wrong in seeking Security Council debate on a resolution charging the United States with aggression, his logic was irrefutable when he insisted that tensions can be relieved only when the causes producing them are removed or at least discussed.

Since the Seventh Fleet, the Allied armies, and the brand of aggressor imposed by the U. N. all failed to deter Mao in the Korean war in 1951, the present challenge is not likely to bring meek acquiescence. In the four years which have elapsed Red China has consolidated its internal, military, and diplomatic positions, and can bargain from real strength. It is worth recalling that the Korean war ended in 1953 on terms much worse for the Allies than those which could have been arranged two years earlier—and that a cease-fire was linked to later negotiations aimed at a political settlement.

It is safe to predict that fruitful discussions on Formosa will take place only under auspices that assure Peking equality and recognize that there is a Chinese case as well as a United States case. Neither the Security Council itself nor the premises of the proposed truce offer such assurance now.

To Americans and others, with the agonies of the Korean war still vividly in mind, there is a potent allure in the very phrase "cease-fire." And a cease-fire which involves nothing else seems an eminently reasonable proposal. Why should not the Chinese Communists agree?

The reason is simple. What Peking needs and wants is a political settlement which would recognize it as *the* government of China, restore its normal relations with the world, establish its rights in the United Nations. The desire of the Western world for a cease-fire is its best leverage to bring about discussions looking toward a political settlement which might achieve this. Without a political settlement a cease-fire freezes the status quo and hurts Red China's interests. Formosa and the Pescadores, occupied by the Nationalists, are about a hundred miles from the Chinese mainland. In themselves, even together with the offshore islands—Quemoy, Matsu, the Tachens—they constitute no danger. Without the Seventh Fleet and American support of Chiang these islands would long ago have come under Communist control. But in the light of the new American position Peking has reason to discern a real threat to its sovereignty.

THE "misalliance" of the past five years between Chiang and the United States will probably be formalized through the mutual-defense treaty. This recognizes the Chiang regime as the government of China. It serves notice on Peking that if it assaults Formosa and the Pescadores it takes on the United States as an adversary. And the new Congressional resolution enlarges the guaranty to include the offshore islands at the discretion of Washington. Nor are there any indications that the United States would beat its guns into plowshares even if there were to be a cease-fire. Communism and Communist regimes have been designated as the enemies of the United States. The President's message and the Congressional resolution were hardly reassuring to the Chinese Communists despite the careful tone of the New Zealand resolution in the Security Council. Moreover, Ambassador Lodge was careful to destroy any illusion that an approach to a cease-fire carried even a suggestion of political settlement. In the same breath he voted for the invitation to Peking and proclaimed that this did not alter American opposition to the recognition of the regime or to its being seated in the United Nations. Against this background there was no likelihood that Communist China would appear before the Security Council in the role of defendant.

Now that Peking has turned down the U. N. invitation, members of the Council are anxiously considering what further steps to take. As the body charged with preserving the pace, the Council has a solemn obligation to view the situation in its broadest terms, even if this means parting company with the United States government as to the best way of doing so.

It can give real impetus to a lessening of tension if it recognizes the essential facts. What are they? (1) A Chinese civil war did take place, in the course of which the Communists came into effective control of the entire country of 600,000,000 people. (2) Chiang Kai-shek, defeated on the mainland, fled to Formosa.

In This Issue

EDITORIALS

The Price for Formosa Peace 129

ARTICLES

Washington in Focus
by Max Freedman 131

Price for Asian Peace:
Dollars Without Strings
by Douglas F. Dowd 132

Facts Versus Theory:
U. S. Policy Backfires
by J. Alvarez del Vayo 135

So Round, So Firm:
So Full of Bunk
by Joseph J. Seldin 136

Abettors of Tyranny:
New Critics of the Press
by George Seldes 138

Smog Over Science:
The Question of Security.
by Gene Marine 140

BOOKS

The Seductiveness of E. E. Cummings
by John Ciardi 142

"The Wizard of the North"
by Joseph Wood Krutch 142

Footnote to Texas History
by Stanley Walker 143

Beethoven According to Freud
by Waldo Frank 144

Selected New Books:
American History
by Keith Hutchison 145

Biographical and Personal
by Mark Gayn 146

MUSIC by B. H. Haggin 147

LETTERS 148

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 606
by Frank W. Lewis opposite 148

OFF THE EDITOR'S SPIKE
by C. McW. opposite 129

Editorial Board

Freda Kirchwey	Editor and Publisher
Carey McWilliams	Editorial Director
Lillie Shultz	Director, Nation Associates
Victor H. Bernstein	Managing Editor
J. Alvarez del Vayo	Foreign Editor
Martin Solow	Assistant to the Publisher
Harold Clurman	Theater
B. H. Haggin	Music
Robert Hatch	Films
Gladys Whiteside	Copy Editor
Caroline Whiting	Assistant Literary Editor
Alfred Maund	Editorial Assistant
Mary Simon	Advertising Manager

Contributing Editors: Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus, Keith Hutchison, H. H. Wilson, W. Macmahon Ball, Maxwell Geismar, Bruce Catton.

The Nation, February 5, 1955. Volume 180, No. 6

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1953, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Company, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879 at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Second-class reentry pending, Montgomery, Alabama.

Subscription Prices Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

(3) The United States chose to take sides in that civil war by arming Chiang and sending the Seventh Fleet to protect Formosa. (4) Even with the reorganization of Chiang's army by the United States the four years which have elapsed have lessened rather than increased the chances of overthrowing the Communist regime except by internal revolution or an atomic war. (5) The intervention of the Seventh Fleet under the guise of preventing an extension of the Korean struggle was planned by the American military authorities to hold territory they considered necessary to the strategic line of defense of the United States and therefore presumably of the Western alliance. However, Washington's unilateral concept of its strategic needs hardly constitutes a warrant for United Nations indorsement of its China policy. And that may be why the United States did not initially try to involve the U. N. in the Formosa situation. Now its proposal of a cease-fire on the basis of the status quo was in effect a request for a blanket indorsement by the U. N. of its own stand in support of Chiang.

TO buttress this position, a curious anomaly has been produced—the theory that Formosa is China but does not belong to China. From 1895 until it was liberated by the American forces Formosa was a Japanese dependency. In 1943, at Cairo, the United States and Britain promised to return Formosa to the Chinese republic at the end of the war. This occurred. The Chinese government, then headed by Chiang Kai-shek, accepted the Japanese surrender of Formosa in 1945 and took over, implementing de facto the Cairo declaration. Now, says Mr. Churchill, the Cairo declaration is outmoded. But if Formosa is not recognized as Chinese territory, what is Chiang doing there? And to whom does Formosa belong? And if Formosa is not Chinese, why is Ambassador Tsiang occupying the seat belonging to China in the Security Council?

The United States can no longer avoid coming to grips with this problem, difficult and distasteful though it may be. If we want peaceful coexistence, then we must be prepared to deal with regimes we dislike as well as those we like. As a way out of the dilemma the recognition of two Chinas has been informally suggested. This is a manifest absurdity. Instead of pacification, two Chinas would insure a continued struggle until one regime vanquished the other. It would not be a way out of the dilemma but a way into a new labyrinth. Which China would occupy *the* Security Council seat with its veto powers?

After the North Koreans invaded South Korea, there was a unilateral declaration of intention by the United States to resist the attack. And what was privately heralded in advance as a one-week police operation to end a local aggression extended into a bloody three-year war, involving the United States and its allies through the U. N. It is the recognition of these facts and the fear of a military incident which could involve them all in a new and vastly more dangerous war that are responsible for the off-stage dissonance between the United States and its allies, despite their seeming harmony in the Security Council.

With the accrued experience of recent years, members of the Security Council are in a position to avoid dangerous pitfalls and play a creative role in the present crisis. They can do so by abandoning the idea of acting directly through the Council itself and arranging instead a conference, under U. N. auspices, to discuss a cease-fire, a political settlement, and the disposition of Formosa. Participants in such a conference should include the United States, Britain, France, Russia, and Red China, with the addition of India or some other neutral Asiatic power.

IMPLICIT in such a plan would of course be ultimate recognition of the Chinese Peoples Republic as China's representative in the U. N., irrespective of whether or not the United States or any other government maintains diplomatic relations with it. If the United States should remain stubborn on this point, our allies should be reminded that they have an obligation to move ahead, none the less. The Geneva conference was held in the face of American opposition. It produced results for which the United States now is claiming much of the credit.

A similar conference respecting Formosa should bring about fruitful results. There is no excuse for a failure to attempt it, not even the excuse of strategic considerations. For military experts no longer claim Formosa is "indispensable" to the American defense line. Just the other day Hanson Baldwin, New York *Times* military analyst, said that our military chiefs consider Formosa and the Pescadores important chiefly for political and psychological reasons. Should we retreat from our position, American prestige would suffer, especially among Chinese abroad and other Asians.

The fact is that the United States has been steadily losing ground with the peoples of Asia because of its heavy military support of corrupt and reactionary governments. Continued backing of Chiang's police state on Formosa, coupled with the threat of war, atomic or otherwise, in defense of his regime seems an odd bait indeed to attract the friendship of Asian peoples. If we want peace, we must be prepared to pay a price for it. It is small enough—weighed against the risks of our present policy.

Washington in Focus

by Max Freedman

WHILE the Eisenhower Administration was brooding on Formosa, suddenly the center of activity moved elsewhere. There was the Security Council's debate in New York; more significant was the meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London where Nehru held the pivotal role. But most important of all was the obstinate enigma of Peking. All talk soon returned to that dilemma. How would China's rulers interpret American policy? Would they accept the assurances of peace or would they concentrate on the threats? No one pretended to have the answer, and the uncertainty proved that the real debate had only started.

From the beginning it has been evident that Formosa is much more than a problem in security. It has been suggested that Formosa might become another Okinawa, a link in the island chain of security on which American policy in the Far East rests. But Formosa is more than a strategic island. It is the home of an alternative Chinese government. The political threat posed on Formosa stirs the suspicion and resentment of Peking. As the State Department tried to shape a new policy, it decided to establish the security status of Formosa while leaving its political destiny in doubt. The question now is whether such a dual policy can be enforced.

Enough has been learned of the secret testimony before the Senate committees to establish the fact that Chiang Kai-shek knows beyond all doubt that he cannot rely on American aid if he should attempt an assault on the Chinese mainland. There are the strongest reasons, in fact, for believing that Chiang has abandoned this dream and has given rather precise assurances on this point.

It now is clear that Chiang always feared a cease-fire. When the first moves toward a cease-fire were made last September he foresaw that his political authority would be questioned by some governments. He therefore decided to accept the Formosa pact outlined by Mr. Dulles.

But if he submits to the evacuation of Tachen, and then consents to the loss of Quemoy and Matsu, he will acknowledge his weakness beyond hope of reprieve. His writ on Formosa may become clouded and precarious. Embittered by misfortune or stung into folly, he may decide to redeem his cause from the charge of surrender by an appeal to force.

Now it is easy to say that many Americans, like Mr. Attlee in Great Britain, would view with detachment and relief the erosion of Chiang's power and his disappearance as a political force. But that can hardly be the policy of an Administration sworn to protect its "loyal ally."

The anxiety about Chiang's intentions is yet another liability imposed by the partnership with Nationalist China. He is using his very weakness as a bargaining point with Washington. Some of his best troops are on the offshore islands. Their loss would endanger his power in Formosa. He was urged long ago to make a better disposition of his forces. He refused. Now he has succeeded in giving an importance to Quemoy and Matsu which neither their strategic value nor their political significance can even remotely justify.

But there has been unexpected support for at least a few of Chiang's demands. The Philippines have been most insistent in advising the State Department to resist the surrender of Quemoy and Matsu. Similar warnings have come from Korea and Japan. All these governments have said that the loss of the islands would be represented by Peking not as a victory over Formosa but as a retreat by the United States, with resultant damage to the security of Southeast Asia.

Against this advice has stood the massive caution from Great Britain that it is most unwise to make commitments that cannot be redeemed in the event of danger except at a ruinous price. In addition, Britain has repeatedly urged the State Department to remember that diplomacy should be flexible in method even while pursuing rigid objectives.

In Washington there is considerable support for the view that President Eisenhower could have carried Congress with him if he had openly written off Quemoy and Matsu. Others argue, however, that it was very sensible to cloak the ultimate status of these islands, thus leaving room for diplomacy. Whatever else may still be obscure, it certainly is plain that the door has not been left open for American diplomacy. During the most anxious period of this crisis, American policy has been immobilized. Peking's mind has been completely closed to Washington. In the search for a cease-fire at the United Nations the State Department dared not take the lead. Co-operation with Prime Minister Nehru and Sir Anthony Eden had to be far more cordial in private than the Department could admit in public.

Even if Mr. Eisenhower's policy succeeds, it will have exacted a harsh price. For it has elevated Formosa to an importance and given it a sense of urgency altogether unrelated to America's interests in the Far East. The State Department has been worrying about the political future of Nationalist China while trouble grows in Indonesia, while Indo-China is riven by problems, while the economic aid program for Asia mocks the early hopes, and while the Western nations are still trying to build an effective barrier against subversion and aggression.

After facing all these risks and taking so many incautious steps toward the abyss, the Administration is now saying that no clear-cut solution may be possible now, and American-Chinese relations will continue to be controversial.

PRICE FOR ASIAN PEACE

Dollars Without Strings . . *by Douglas F. Dowd*

OF the many slogans circulated by the present Administration the latest—"competitive coexistence"—is probably the most defensible morally. It also seems a relatively effective way of maintaining peace and achieving a reasonable world. In comparison with "massive retaliation" it certainly has much in its favor. Fortunately, the saber-rattling slogans have so far yielded only noise. What may be expected of "competitive coexistence"?

The term has been defined as economic, political, and social competition between the non-Communist and Communist systems without rivalry in arms. Its first promising manifestation was F. O. A. Administrator Stassen's tentative proposal of an Asian aid program made at the meeting of the Colombo Consultative Committee in Ottawa last October. Stassen's remarks were strikingly, perhaps deliberately, similar to Marshall's at Harvard in 1947, which were followed by the inauguration of the Marshall Plan. Most public discussion of the matter since then has been in terms of a "Marshall Plan for Asia."

Stassen's proposal, in his own words, was "that those who have help those who have not to help themselves." Who, in all conscience, could object to that? Still, several questions should be raised and answered before the cheering begins: (1) What is the likelihood that Congress and the Cabinet will support such a plan in principle and practice? (2) Under what conditions would the recipient nations in Asia—the plan envisages an arc beginning at Japan and ending with Afghanistan—accept such aid? (3) Assuming the approval of some kind of program in principle at both ends, how much aid is needed, how should it be used, and how administered?

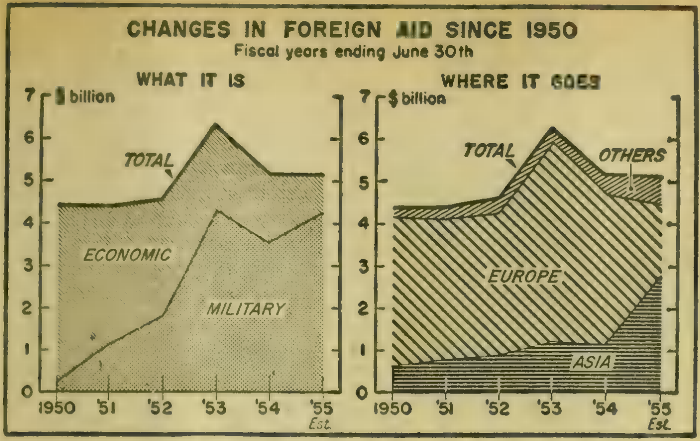
The groundwork for obtaining the support of the United States government was laid when former Budget Director Joseph Dodge was called back to Washington. Dodge was asked by the President to formulate the government's position on foreign economic matters, and to set up and head a Council on Foreign Economic Policy. His primary responsibility at the moment appears to be mediation between budget-conscious officials like Secretary Humphrey and advocates of increased aid for Asia (and/or Latin America) like Stassen. One thing seems clear: Eisenhower is determined to have some kind of Asian aid program. Whether Congress will approve a new aid program of any kind is less certain. And there is considerable

DOUGLAS F. DOWD is assistant professor of economics at Cornell University.

doubt that the program approved would entail significant changes in the American contribution to Asian economic development. The first tantalizing speculations talked of billions; we now hear that Secretary Humphrey is confident that aid given for this purpose will run well under $100,000,000. Secretary Dulles has even been quoted in the press as denying categorically the rumor that the Administration was contemplating an aid program for Asia.

Even a small amount cannot be regarded as in the bag. Congress is hardly in the mood to approve new foreign-aid expenditures. Most Congressmen seem to be looking forward eagerly to June 30, 1955, when the F. O. A. is due to expire. Preoccupied with the budget and taxes, they have little understanding or sympathy for the social and economic problems of the world outside this country. Of course, there is a Fulbright or a Lehman here and there, but the group for which Senator Knowland speaks is more numerous. And its solution for the "Asian question" is not a tractor but a bomb. Eisenhower can probably push an aid program of some sort through Congress. But the budget-slashers and the Know-Nothings together will keep it small.

Moreover, they will attach so many strings that the program would be unacceptable to at least three of the most important Asian nations—India, Burma, and Indonesia. Some Asian nations have shown that they will play in almost any game we devise. But the neutralism of India, Burma, and Indonesia was not idly adopted, nor is it likely to be idly cast off. The dilemma which this poses has been neatly summed up by *Business Week:* "If you make the proposal look too anti-Communist, neutral Asian countries probably won't go along. If you don't make it anti-Communist enough, the United States Congress might balk at providing the funds." The acceptance of aid by all the Asian countries in what we may call Stassen's arc would seem to be contingent on the following minimal conditions—no political strings, no dictation as to the economic institutions of the recipient countries, some assurance that promised aid will not be withdrawn within a specified period.



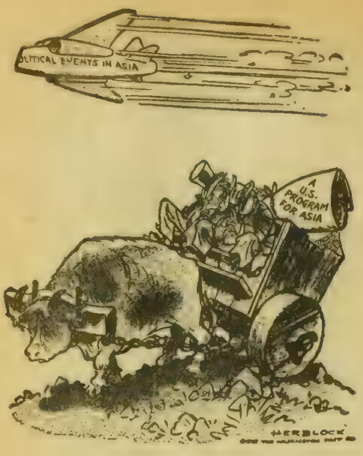
So much said, there seems very little point in going on to the third question. But let us suppose that Congress, despite all, will judge the whole matter in a rational way. What, then, should be the amount of aid, the uses to which it is put, and the system of administration?

By now every literate human being must be acquainted with the pitiful living conditions of most of the inhabitants of underdeveloped areas, of which Asia is the most populous. The causes have been described as a conglomeration of intertwining vicious circles beginning and ending with backward technology, heavy emphasis on primary production—foodstuffs, fibers, minerals—with consequent "lopsided economies," low productivity, small and misdirected aggregate savings and investment, poor health, illiteracy, high death rates and even higher birth rates: the mind boggles. It should be added that they "got that way," not through some penchant for disaster, but with the generous help of the industrialized, relatively wealthy countries. Perhaps it is time that Europe and ourselves began to make repayment for the direct and indirect benefits accruing to us from our use of the "backward" countries—as markets, sources of raw materials, investment outlets, even as providers of soldiers in both world wars.

The underdeveloped countries are now trying to industrialize. How rapidly they can do it, whether in fact they can do it at all, will depend to a critical degree on help from outside. The question is not: are they going to try? It is with what means, with what success, and, if they fail, with what consequences for us all?

Among the means, capital is the first essential. And if expanded production is to keep ahead of population growth, domestic capital must be supplemented by external capital. For the Asians, with their short life expectancies and exploding populations, it is not in the long run but in the short run that we're all dead. But Secretary Humphrey, watching his dollar, argues that large-scale spending in Asia is "waste," since a base must first be created for a going productive economy. That is true—a base must first, or at least simultaneously, be created. But with what? Certainly not with the small surplus of the Asian economies. Nor with the private investments of Americans and Europeans, for profits would be low and long in coming. (Since World War II, even with government guaranties against capital loss through expropriation and the like, private investors have been notoriously shy of sinking money in the underdeveloped countries—except in those on the oil circuit.) With intergovernmental loans? Perhaps, if in much larger than current quantities and with effectively subsidized interest rates.

The base—what economists call the "social overhead"—consists of transportation, communications, water, and power systems; housing, educational, and medical facilities; and a few basic industries like cement, fertilizer, metals, and tools. To get these going, much more than capital grants is necessary—a trained



"Backward" People

labor force, an efficient and responsible administration, some natural resources. This means that technical assistance must be provided and morale built up.

HOW much capital is needed to start the whole process cannot be precisely determined. The U. N.'s special report on the question, in 1951, estimated that the underdeveloped countries in the world would have to import ten billion dollars of capital annually in order to raise their per capita income by 2 per cent annually; 80 per cent of this would be required in South Central Asia and the Far East. Cut the latter amount in two, as ex-Premier Yoshida did recently in asking for Asian aid. Can the industrialized nations afford even a four-billion-dollar annual gift? Indeed, yes. The United States alone could afford it, without feeling the pinch. After all, our gross national production "normally" increases by some fourteen billion a year. Thus our real income could continue to increase nicely while we gave away four billion of it. Moreover, if we don't give it away, there is good reason to believe that our real income will go down—unless we utilize alternative "giveaways" in the form of armaments or some kind of domestic public works.

Would a giveaway program to Asia, and/or the other underdeveloped countries, be sound? From the point of view of the health of the American economy, it certainly would be, for it would provide expanding markets for American and European goods—and let us not forget that the specter of German and Japanese competition is again disturbing the dreams not only of European but of American and Canadian producers. Would it be a sound method of financing the economic development of the underdeveloped countries? If by "sound" one means realistic and desirable, the answer is again a vigorous yes, provided it is done in time. Of the three major sources of external capital—private loans, intergovernmental loans, and grants-in-aid—the first two combine the disadvantages of inappropriate direction (that is, not for social overhead), inadequate amounts, too great expense, and the possibility of a real or fancied extension of imperialism. There remain grants-in-aid, or very long-term, low-interest (in effect, subsidized) loans, operating through some international financing and development agency. It is a canon of "sound finance," tediously reiterated to prove that capital grants must go awry, that the appropriate guiding mechanism for capital flows is the market. But market criteria are seriously relevant only to the activities of private individuals interested in private gain. Those criteria were not used, for example, by the United States government, or suggested by its business community, when the construction of the railroad system in this country was subsidized, with incalculable benefit to our industrializing economy. The guiding criteria for capital flows to underdeveloped countries should be social need, not potential private gain.

Suppose, further, that we allow considerations of simple humanity to intrude here. Might they not justify the United States in giving away any number of billions annually, even if that entailed, say, a 2 to 3 per cent cut in our income? But perhaps that would be asking too much of a people desperately in need of color TV!

The needed aid in Asia is undoubtedly not less than one billion annually for at least ten years, and it is probably some multiple of that. We shall know only when the Asian nations come up with a list of specific interrelated projects, as the Marshall Plan nations in Europe did. Suppose this sum is in one way or another provided. How should the program be administered? In this connection, surprisingly, the happiest notes have been sounded by administrators, Senators, and the press. It is widely agreed that the administrative unit should be multinational—no one has suggested the United Nations, although that would seem to make sense—with aid from both Europe and the United States channeled through a regional authority.

SUCH an authority is found ready-made in Asia in the Colombo Plan Council. The Colombo Plan's nature and purpose are revealed in its full name—the Colombo Plan for the Cooperative Economic Development of South and Southeast Asia. The six-year program came into existence in 1951. Sponsored originally by Great Britain for the Commonwealth nations, the Colombo Plan now includes as members or observers all the Asian nations except Korea and de facto China. Even Japan was admitted last October. The major difficulty of the program lies not in its administration but in the lack of funds to finance anything but projects for increasing agricultural production, including the construction of multi-purpose dams. It would seem to be an excellent administrative unit for an expanded Asian aid program, but there is one big objection. As the London *Economist* said recently of this "Asian watering can":

> To be properly effective it needs much more money; the only hope is that the Americans will come in with a massive contribution; but this will mean that American influence will predominate, probably causing a breakdown of the unique Colombo Plan relationship. It would be a pity if this happened. [Asian countries] . . . see in [the plan] no sign of a threat to their sovereignty, no suggestion of a political line-up in the cold war. This is a valuable asset; it should not be squandered. Irresistibly, therefore, the conclusion is reached that the Colombo Plan should not, after all, be transformed into something bigger.

It is hard to believe that the Asian members would dissent.

The success of any Asian aid program will also be affected by economic and political relationships among the nations of the world. The reliance of the underdeveloped countries on the export of one or a very few primary commodities puts their economies in a precarious position; this is because, of all goods entering into world trade, the prices of primary commodities undergo the widest fluctuations. As a result these countries suffer from the persistent danger that any plans they may make will be blocked by falling trade receipts. Paper schemes have emerged to meet this problem, such as international commodity-stabilization programs, but opposition to them is powerful and effective. The underdeveloped countries, given external aid, can make progress despite this obstacle, but a given amount of aid will go farther if the context within which it is used does not periodically get all gummed up.

Nothing has yet been said here of anti-communism, which is of course at the base of the Administration's proposal. Can a negative purpose yield positive results? A "Marshall Plan for Asia" proposed by the United States because the people of Asia need help which the United States is able with ridiculous ease to supply would doubtless succeed; ways would be found to make it succeed. But if it is put forth because *we* need help in a world power struggle it would be much less likely to succeed and might not even come into existence. Why? Because the Asians will turn it down, and because the American people are unlikely to lend adequate political or fiscal support to a program motivated by fear, suspicion, and pessimism. Such a program for Europe was generally supported, it will be said, but much of the enthusiasm over the Marshall Plan was due to its strong humanitarian appeal. Apart from Stassen's "have and have not" phrase, the official pronouncements on the new program have not even mentioned tne Asian people except as potential soldiers.

We are a great country and a generous people. Not just because it would be profitable but because it is essential to our survival as a worth-while society, we must set our minds and hearts to work in ways that betoken good means used for good ends in a good spirit. I believe it was Harold Laski who pointed out that "the surest way to bring about the destruction of a civilization is to allow the abyss to widen between the values men praise and the values they permit to operate."

FACTS VERSUS THEORY

U. S. Policy Backfires . . *by J. Alvarez del Vayo*

FACTS are sticky things. They outwit the smartest magician. The facts of the first six weeks of 1955 have destroyed the comfortable but artificial theory that peace can be assured by a simple demonstration of strength.

Two facts have dominated this initial period of the year: the efforts of the Western European governments to speed up ratification of the London and Paris agreements arming Germany, and President Eisenhower's message to Congress of January 24 asking for blank-check authorization to use United States armed forces to defend Formosa. In the official interpretation of both moves, as in the half-official commentary of columnists and broadcasters, their supposedly constructive character was consistently emphasized. It was in a spirit of peace, not of war, that the projected German divisions in Europe and the United States navy in the Strait of Formosa would provide a deterrent to any lust for expansion. But in reality, instead of acting as a deterrent, the decision to rearm Germany and the display of force off the China coast have provoked a series of reactions from the Communist side none of which can be considered a retreat or a sign of reduced tension. The result has not been gestures of peace but bitter reciprocal denunciations, threats of war, military and naval deployments.

Moscow has intensified its efforts to block the London and Paris agreements. Enumerated in order, the successive Russian warnings about the consequences of German rearmament form an impressive ensemble: Foreign Minister Molotov's interview in the Soviet press of November 19, 1954; the Soviet note proposing a conference in Moscow on European security; the declaration issued by that conference—held with the participation of only the Communist states; the note to France threatening renunciation of the treaty of friendship between the two countries if the treaties rearming Germany were ratified; the similar note to the United Kingdom.

Parallel actions of a more conciliatory sort have, it is true, been taken, such as Russia's declaration ending the state of war with Germany, but on the whole the result has not been a retreat; rather it has amounted to a clear warning that the Western strategy of "strength" will be answered by a similar strategy on the part of the Communists. Nor has this warning been conveyed only by notes and pronouncements. By unexpectedly convening the Soviet parliament at the beginning of this month and by accepting the resignation of Anastas I. Mikoyan, Minister of Domestic Trade and one of the chief advocates of an increased consumer-goods output, Moscow let the world understand that it was taking notice of the military measures adopted by the West. The editorial in *Pravda* (January 24) left no doubt about the reasons for Mr. Mikoyan's departure. It said that giving consumer goods priority over the development of heavy industry would mean surrendering industrial initiative to the capitalist countries, which "would endanger the security of the Soviet Union," and referred pointedly to "the acute international situation that requires the Soviet people to exert the greatest vigilance"—a clear reply to the rearmament of Germany.

AS regards Peking, the deterrent effects of the American display of force in the Formosa area have been equally imperceptible. Nobody expects a massive assault on Formosa now, but the campaign inside Communist China for the liberation of that island received a new impetus with President Eisenhower's message. The optimism that had prevailed in the office of Mr. Hammarskjold, United Nations Secretary General, about the possible early release of the American fliers has yielded to increasing skepticism. "From the point of view of the fliers," a high-ranking U. N. official said the following day, "the timing of the Presidential message could not have been more unfortunate."

These are facts whose fateful meaning cannot be changed by any official interpretation or by wishful thinking. The truth is that after a few months of reduced international tension following the Geneva conference, we find ourselves in the midst of a new atmosphere of alarm and hostility. It is a state, not of war, but not of peace; one which fits well with the attitude of those who are ready to face any risk except the risk of negotiation.

This is not to absolve the Soviet Union of its share of responsibility for failing to bring the German problem to a clear-cut decision. The Russians could certainly have taken advantage of the situation created by the killing of E. D. C. in the French National Assembly to put forward the proposal that free elections in the whole of Germany under international supervision be carried out in the present year—as they did, but too late, when the alternative to E. D. C. had already been formulated. It would have deprived of their most plausible excuse those who resist a negotiated settlement of the German issue. This Russia could have done. But would it in fact have changed the course of events; modified the cold-war strategy of the West?

I could fill pages with remarks made by Mr. Dulles before, during, and after the Berlin conference—which I covered for *The Nation*—showing that his chief preoccupation was to avoid any agreement that might endanger or delay approval by the European parliaments of the treaties to bring a rearmed Germany into the Atlantic coalition. The fear that hung over the Berlin conference was less a fear of failure than of an accord that would kill those twelve German divisions before they were born. The same kind of fear followed Mr. Hammarskjold on his recent mission to Peking. In official and other influential quarters in this country the chief worry was lest the negotiations for release of the fliers might be linked to some sort of agreement on other issues, such as Peking's accreditation to the U. N. or the future of Formosa.

The German divisions, Formosa's definite integration into the military system of the United States, the bases in Spain, the arming of the Arab states—it is such practical and concrete things, and not the nebulosities and hazards of negotiation, that form the substance of American policy. It is a policy that can be defended from the point of view of national interest. But it should not be "sold" to the American people as a policy aimed at coexistence or as a road to peace. It may not lead to war, but it makes war a much more tangible, near-at-hand possibility.

SO ROUND, SO FIRM

So Full of Bunk . . *by Joseph J. Seldin*

LOOKING toward eventual adoption of an industry-wide "code" of advertising, the Federal Trade Commission recently wrote to all cigarette companies proposing certain do's and don'ts in cigarette advertising. This interest in cigarette advertising on the commission's part is not new. In 1942 it issued complaints against Philip Morris, Pall Mall, Camel, and Lucky Strike, and several years later against Old Gold and Chesterfield. On the basis of medical testimony the F. T. C. ordered the respective makers to stop advertising that "Camels will never harm or irritate the throat," that Old Golds "contain less nicotine" or less tars or resins than any other brand, that Philip Morris protects smokers from smoker's cough, and that "independent tobacco experts prefer" Lucky Strike two to one.

The smoke of all cigarettes, the F. T. C. said, contains throat irritants "in essentially the same quantities and degrees," and any excess smoking of any brand will irritate even a normal healthy throat. The F. T. C. did not know of any process by which nicotine, tar, and resins could be removed or substantially reduced without at the same time rendering the tobacco leaf unfit for the manufacture of cigarettes. In fact, it found that the actual difference in nicotine content between Old Gold and the other tested brands was only $\frac{1}{177,187}$ of an ounce per cigarette. Someone estimated that smoking a pack of Old Golds daily for an entire year would yield the negligible benefit at the end of the year of $\frac{1}{24}$ of an ounce less nicotine. Yet on this head of a pin danced a multi-million-dollar advertising campaign.

The situation is even more serious

JOSEPH J. SELDIN is a New York advertising man and free-lance writer.

now than when the F. T. C. first opened fire on cigarette-advertising claims, for in the last few years scientific studies have accumulated statistical evidence of a close relationship between smoking and lung cancer. Final proof of cause and effect is lacking, but the question how many of the 23,000 deaths from lung cancer in 1953 were caused by cigarette smoking is plaguing government health officials, cigarette companies and their advertising agencies, and smokers. Let us see what each of these interested parties is doing about it.

IN its letter to the cigarette companies the F. T. C. asked them to drop any claim that cigarette smoking in general or the smoking of any brand in particular was "not harmful" or "non-irritating," and also to drop descriptive words like "smooth" and "soothing," since in the public mind such words "imply lack of harmful or irritating effects." It even requested the elimination of references to larynx, lungs, nose, or any other part of the body, and to digestion, energy, nerves, or doctors. In no way were the ads to imply "medical approval." If the cigarette companies wondered what themes were left for cigarette advertising to use, the F. T. C. suggested themes of "taste, flavor, enjoyment, and other similar matters of opinion."

The reaction of the cigarette companies to the smoking—lung cancer controversy was to form the Tobacco Industry Research Committee. Set up by fourteen companies on January 3, 1954, this committee announced that its purpose was to conduct research into all phases of tobacco use and its effects on health. Several distinguished scientists were appointed in an advisory capacity and a fund of $500,000 was created, although ten months later only six research grants totaling $82,000 had been authorized. From time to time the committee has issued to the newspapers reassuring statements from more than thirty cancer authorities to the effect that there was no real proof that smoking caused lung cancer.

Privately, in tobacco trade circles, the belief is expressed that the smoking habit is too firmly intrenched to be overturned by cancer talk. Lewis Gruber, vice-president and director of sales of the P. Lorillard Company, said at a trade meeting: "We do not accept the pessimistic conclusion that the human race will give up tobacco after 350 years because of unproved statistical medical findings." Mr. Gruber saw in the sale of nearly four billion cigarettes in 1953, triple the consumption of twenty years ago, "no sign of anything like saturation." The market was big enough, he said, to absorb the production of all brands—fifteen new ones had been introduced since January, 1953—and there was "no end in sight" to the tobacco industry's expansion. His confidence was justified by Lorillard's latest announcement to its stockholders, which reported earnings of $5,092,712, or $1.79 a share, in the first nine months of 1954, compared with $4,724,526, or $1.66 a share, in the first nine months of 1953.

In their trade publications many advertising men have expressed the belief that the cigarette makers brought their troubles on themselves. "By stressing the health angle in cigarette advertising," one trade paper said, "the industry is only confirming the public's fear that smoking is harmful." Advertising men generally agreed that to say "my brand is less harmful than yours" was to stress the danger of smoking; what was needed was to "stop all cigarette advertising that hurts rather than helps the sale of the product."

Their reply to the F. T. C.'s charge that much cigarette advertising was misleading was that the ordinary person "couldn't possibly be misled by the claims made in a cigarette ad." As proof, they pointed out that audience tests by a research organization showed belief in cigarette advertising to run only from 4 to 8 per cent as against 25 to 30 per cent for refrigerator commercials. As for overstepping the bounds of good taste, a leading trade publication warned that "most of the provisions [of the suggested code] enter areas which, in our belief, may represent a serious encroachment upon the right of free expression."

The smokers, for their part, showed their concern by turning in droves to the filter-tips for protection from nicotine and tars. Sales of standard-type cigarettes fell 15 per cent in the first six months of 1954, and those of filter-tips jumped 198 per cent. Today 10 of every 100 smokers use filter-tips.

UNFORTUNATELY, tests conducted by the American Medical Association offer no assurance that appreciable amounts of nicotine and tars are trapped by the filter-tips. By means of an automatic smoking machine equipped with motor-driven valves to simulate the periodic "puff," the A. M. A. tested five brands of filter-tips and reported: "In all cases the fraction of nicotine removed by the filter from the smoked portion of the cigarette is small." It is apparently the smokers who are trapped. And the question is still: what can be done for them? It is high time that a "no fooling" approach be taken to the lung-cancer threat to sixty million smokers. The government, the tobacco companies, and the advertising agencies all bear a public responsibility that requires concerted action.

The truth-in-cigarette-advertising campaign started by the F. T. C. should be pressed without compromise. The Public Health Service should warn smokers against the hazards of excess smoking. All cigarette advertising should contain the warning, and it should appear on each pack and carton. The government should support cancer research in a big way. Less than $6,000,000 in government grants went to cancer research in 1953, a miserly figure compared to the government's "take" of more than $1,500,000,000 in cigarette excise taxes, paid incidentally by the cigarette smokers.

The cigarette companies have not absolved themselves of responsibility by setting up the Tobacco Industry Research Committee and appropriating some $300,000 (up to January 17) for cancer research, especially when they spent $80,000,000 on "unbelievable" advertising in 1953. They should accept willingly and publicly a truth-in-advertising code. The advertising agencies' tongue-in-cheek insistence on free speech is no excuse for misleading ads. Elementary justice demands that the smokers, who foot all the bills, should know whether they are smoking themselves to an early death.

ABETTORS OF TYRANNY

New Critics of the Press . . *by George Seldes*

LAST week I listed some of the principal publishers, journalists, and newscasters who represent a new and powerful threat to the freedom of the American press. Masters of invective and of the libel-proof smear, they are seeking to discredit as Communist, pro-Communist, or Communist-inspired anyone in radio, TV, or the publishing world, no matter how conservative, who doesn't happen to agree that Senator McCarthy is a twentieth-century St. George. Supporting the Hearst and the McCormick press in this campaign is a handful of weekly and monthly publications, a few of which are important enough to warrant mention here.

The July, 1954, issue of the *American Mercury* contains an article by Chesly Manly, United Nations correspondent for the Chicago *Tribune,* which deals mainly with the menace of what the author calls "Sulzbergerism." In the article the weekly *New Leader* is quoted to smear Harrison Salisbury, former New York *Times* correspondent in Moscow; Herbert Matthews, a veteran *Times* writer, is attacked for allegedly favoring "the Communists in the Spanish civil war" and for calling the Dominican Republic a "tyranny"; and Lester Markel, Sunday editor of the *Times,* is described as "an abettor of the Communist conspiracy"—a statement that seems libelous.

The following month the *American Mercury* published an article by Harold Lord Varney on the news coverage of the army-McCarthy hearings. Mr. Varney said:

> The institution which came out of the controversy covered with pitch was the metropolitan press. With a few honorable exceptions the role of the big-city newspapers in the McCarthy lynching was dirty and dishonorable. . . . Top-flight papers like the New York Herald Tribune and the Baltimore Sun, the Washington Post, even the ordinarily ethical New York Times resorted to such persistent slanting.

In the September issue of the same magazine Varney's victim is Walter Lippmann, *Herald Tribune* columnist, who is called "a credulous purveyor of the half-truth and the smear." John T. Flynn, contributing to the same issue, lumps the *Times,* the *Herald Tribune,* Methodist Bishop Oxnam, Catholic Bishop Shiel, Adlai Stevenson, President Eisenhower, and Gus Hall, national secretary of the Communist Party, as a group "united in one great cause—the war on Senator McCarthy because he is fighting Communists in government." "Alone the Communists are helpless," writes Flynn, "but they have allies."

The publisher of the *American Mercury* is Russell Maguire, a millionaire ex-broker who said goodby to Wall Street when, according to *Time* of December 9, 1952, "the S. E. C. forced him out for 'flagrant violations of the law.'" Maguire has collaborated with Allen Zoll, whose American Patriots, Inc., was one of the few organizations named in the Attorney General's "subversive" list as fascist. Maguire has also helped to distribute a foul anti-Semitic publication, "Iron Curtain Over America."

The *Freeman,* recently taken over by the Foundation for Economic Education, calls itself a "libertarian" monthly. An article in its September, 1954, issue denounced the continuance of what it calls "the same kind of naive, biased, and inaccurate journalism that helped the Reds gain control in China." The reference was to the press treatment of events in and around Formosa. "American correspondents . . . do not want to report the truth," the article said. Another writer in the same issue attacked the "'liberal' press, especially the metropolitan papers which are known for their opposition to Congressional investigations of alleged Communists." The *Freeman* has a long record of reaction; before it was taken over by its present publishers, its board of directors included H. W. Prentis, Jr., of the Armstrong Cork Company, who subsidized many anti-labor and right-wing groups; Jasper Crane, vice-president of duPont, and J. Howard Pew of the Sun Oil Company, the last two having been influential in formulating the anti-labor and anti-New Deal policies of the National Association of Manufacturers.

The *American Legion Monthly* features many of the contributors to the *Freeman* and the *American Mercury,* and the general political line is the same. According to the New York *Times* of May 23, 1954, the magazine's publisher, James F. O'Neill, denounced the *Times* in particular and the American press in general in a public speech. Many of our largest newspapers, magazines, and radio and TV networks, O'Neill charged, have become "glorified transmission belts, if not for Communist propaganda, then certainly for what you ought to call domestic or international collectivism." There are "too many of the wrong kind of people" in American journalism, he said, adding that the press was feeding the public "propaganda when they pay their nickels in the hope of getting honest news objectively presented." The *Times,* in O'Neill's view, exerted "a terrific force often contrary to the best interests of this country"; he objected strongly to the stream of ideas originating "in the Times Square—not Union Square—area."

The new critics complain bitterly that they are not getting a fair break in the press and on the air waves. But the complaint contradicts their own claims. The 46,828,000 families in America buy 54,000,000 newspapers daily, listen to about

---

GEORGE SELDES is the former editor of In Fact *and author of "Lords of the Press" and many other studies of American journalism. This concludes a two-part article.*

as many radio sets, and will soon be looking at as many TV screens. Fulton Lewis insists that 16,000,000 people listen to him on the Mutual radio network. Winchell's supporters boast that he is heard or read by 30,000,000 persons. The McCarthyite-Hearst complex of newspapers, syndicated columnists, magazines, radio and TV outlets, and news services may well reach the majority of the country's reading and listening audience. The Chicago *Tribune,* the most widely read standard-size newspaper in the United States, and the New York *Daily News,* the largest-selling tabloid, claim combined circulation of more than 3,000,000 on week days and nearly 5,000,000 on Sunday. Whether or not the audience of the pro-McCarthy media is as large as claimed, it is certainly larger than that of the anti-McCarthy media.

AS I pointed out last week, the press was almost 100 per cent with McCarthy when he first launched his anti-Communist crusade. Although there were earlier scattered attacks on the Wisconsin Senator—the position taken before the McCarthy committee by James Wechsler, editor of the New York *Post,* was supported by four of ten members of a committee of the American Society of Newspaper Editors—most observers agree that the real turning point came in early March, 1954. It was then that the army released its report accusing McCarthy and his counsel, Roy Cohn, of attempting to extort favored army treatment for G. David Schine, and that Ed Murrow made his famous TV broadcast exposing the McCarthy techniques. But two other events took place the same month which have been less publicized but may have had an even more important role in turning the tide against McCarthy.

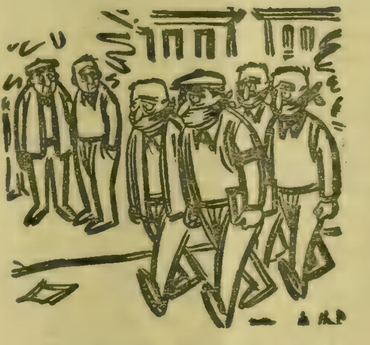
In the middle of March, President Eisenhower visited his friend Paul Hoffman, then head of the Studebaker Company, at the latter's home in Palm Springs, California. The day after the President's departure Hoffman gave a radio interview in the course of which he emphasized that an atmosphere of fear and hysteria was bad for business. He did not name McCarthy, but the implication was plain. A few days later many newspapers carried a summary of a *Fortune* magazine poll of 253 top business executives in 30 cities who seemed to agree that McCarthyism was indeed very bad for business.

What is bad for business is bad for newspapers, as advertising managers are always quick to point out. Mr. Hoffman's statement and the *Fortune* poll certainly made it easier for many newspapers to speak their minds at last. "If the newspapers were responsible for inflating McCarthy," Lester Markel of the New York *Times* told a student group gathered in a studio of radio station WQXR in New York on March 27, 1954, "they are also responsible for deflating him."

"Why was he built up in the first place?" a student asked.

"He did not make the wave; he rode the wave," Mr. Markel replied. He added: "The press has a very grave responsibility, and I think the press has not exercised it."

McCarthyism littered the psychic shores of America with fear and confusion; it intensified the postwar age of anxiety; it stimulated witch-hunting and book-burning, character assassination and anti-intellectualism. Under such circumstances it was natural that Moscow revived the fascist label and placed it on the new American reactionaries. But the Communists were not the only ones to do so. *Editor and Publisher,* chief spokesman for an American press which is 90 per cent Republican and probably 98 per cent conservative, was one of the first American publications to see the totalitarian aspects of McCarthyism. Of Senator Joe's move to boycott the Milwaukee *Journal* and *Time* magazine, *Editor and Publisher* said: ". . . a new low in politics . . . this strikes at the very roots of press freedom — the economic power that makes a free press possible . . . the whole thing reeks of totalitarianism." The Milwaukee *Journal* accused the Senator of using Hitler's "big lie" technique, and many other journals agreed. The Protestant *Christian Action* magazine saw McCarthyism as a "totalitarian trend" and a greater threat to our institutions than domestic communism. The A. F. of L. plumbers' union demanded McCarthy's ouster "before he accomplishes his apparent purpose of building a fascist movement." In November, 1953, the House of Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal church warned against "creeping fascism." *Time,* keeping an even temper despite McCarthy's boycott maneuver, quoted the London *New Statesman and Nation* as saying, "The Hitler-McCarthy analogy is surprisingly apt." The York, Pennsylvania, *Gazette and Daily* published frequent editorials on McCarthyism headed Fascism, American Style. Representative Sam Rayburn of Texas declared that "there is greater danger of fascism in America than of communism" *(Time,* February 22, 1954). In fact, the tendency to equate McCarthyism with fascism was widespread except in that section of the American press which had published the works of Mussolini, Hitler, and Goering in the early 1930's.



Courtesy Des Moines Register

"That's the college debating team —dedicated to freedom of inquiry, freedom of exchange of ideas, freedom of speech."

McCARTHY may have been using Hitlerian methods, but as of today he does not represent a fascist menace because he lacks an organized following. His supporters, realizing this, tried to gather ten million followers for him and in one state, Oklahoma, began to form a political party. But the greater danger lies in the current maneuvering within the Republican fold. If Senator Knowland and the Wisconsin Senator can capture half the Senate, they can impose their policies through a "palace revolution" and will not need organized mass support.

Meanwhile the campaign against the big press, which is with few exceptions a Republican press, is of extraordinary significance. Mussoheads of *Il Mondo* (an opposition paper), that is my program." Any dictator can silence the opposition press, and all who have taken power have done so. What we are witnessing in America today is something typically American in one respect—an attempt to destroy an opposition by arousing popular opinion against

smear can prove as effective a weapon against a democratic press as the threat of violence against its editors.

In my opinion this is the most dangerous activity of the McCarthyite movement. It is not aimed chiefly at the small "dissident" press, the "liberal" organs, but at the basically

which includes many of the biggest and most powerful newspapers now being published. If these newspapers can be discredited or silenced, conservatism will have been superseded by extreme reaction, and there will no longer be any debate as to whether fascism can happen in this country or not.

SMOG OVER SCIENCE

The Question of Security . . *by Gene Marine*

Berkeley, California.

THE cloud that hung over Berkeley, California, during the last week of 1954 had nothing to do with the drizzle and smoky haze that darkened the city. It was another kind of cloud—the kind that dampens the laughter of a group and makes conversations break off in mid-sentence.

To attend a convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Science can be an exciting experience. The activity, one feels, is combined somehow with detachment; one senses the presence of great minds and the free flow of ideas; one has the electric pleasure of watching and listening as tiny, isolated experiments and studies are pieced together into a mosaic of advancing knowledge. But the scientists who gathered at Berkeley were conscious of a feeling that the air was not quite fresh and the light not quite clear. There was a sense of oppression which seemed to stem from the convention's preoccupation with security.

The subject turned up in address after address, in corridor conversations and lunch-table discussions, and the conclusion was always the same: science is being slowly but inexorably stifled. The reference, of course, was not to the federal government's attitude toward its employees but to the whole idea that, in the words of the Oppenheimer security board, "there can be no tampering with the national security, which in times of peril must be absolute."

The National Association of Science Writers scheduled a symposium on Science and Security at which Dr. George Beadle of Caltech, the new A. A. A. S. president, shared the platform with the University of California's Dr. Joel Hildebrand, dean of the country's chemists. Dr. Hildebrand minced no words in telling the writers what he thought of government officials who cringed at the shadow of a McCarthy: "That fear has even operated to withdraw support of research involving no question of security whatever, that could yield results of great value in the relief of human suffering. In such a case the principal loser is the public, not the scientist." Dr. Beadle was equally blunt. He summed up the feeling of the convention's scientists when he said that any system effective enough to keep all our scientific accomplishments from the Russians "would have to be so elaborate and rigid that it would reduce communication among our own scientists to the point where scientific progress would stop."

The idea was not new: Norbert Wiener in "The Human Use of Human Beings," published in 1950, told how during the war he solved a particular equation but could not make the solution known, with the result that in other branches of the war effort progress was held up for months, or perhaps years. What was new was the omnipresent preoccupation with the problem, to the exclusion of any other unifying theme.

Dr. J. B. Condliffe, Berkeley's distinguished professor of economics, addressing the Social Science section, emphasized the danger. "It seems clear from the history of scientific thought that a negative approach to the problem of security runs the grave risk of destroying the communication and cross-fertilization of ideas that has been the very heart of scientific progress." He continued: "There is no proof that our secrets will be better kept by applying the regulations and criteria more rigidly and over a wider range of scientific and related activities. This is an illusion, an imaginary Chinese Wall or Maginot Line."

DR. E. U. CONDON, in his address as retiring president, made no reference to his repeated security troubles, but Dr. Warren Weaver, speaking next, made it for him. Such men as Condon, Dr. Weaver said, were victims of "a sickness of rumor and anxiety, of suspicion and disgust, and, at its worst, of fear and tragedy. . . . In its worst part it is the horrid result of political pressure, of personal selfishness, and of the pathological arrogance of demagogues with small and nasty minds."

Again and again the convention returned to the subject. Any ob-

---

GENE MARINE is a San Francisco journalist who covered the recent annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science on special assignment for The Nation.

server could perceive that more was involved than the irritation of single-minded men at complex bureaucratic procedure. Science was in a corner and fighting for its very life. The theme cropped up in the Phi Beta Kappa address, given by Conway Zirkle of the University of Pennsylvania. Dr. Paul Klopsteg of the National Science Foundation referred to it in addressing the Industrial Science meeting. At the session on Scientific Editorial Problems, Nash Candelaria delivered a paper on Security and the Editor which contained, for one listener anyway, much of the quiet horror of Orwell.

As recipient of the William Procter prize for research Vannevar Bush referred to the "Red scare" of the early twenties and continued: "The situation today is much more threatening. If all people knew the wide extent of the threat—which goes far beyond the few spectacular cases that make the headlines—if they understood how closely it fits into our enemy's designs and how successful those designs are proving, then there would be a return to reason in a hurry."

The director of the Medical Branch of the University of Texas, Chauncey D. Leake, added his voice: "We cannot escape the conclusion that our security regulations and the authoritarian methods by which they are enforced are detrimental to our best scientific interests and indeed to our very safety,"

Nor were the shafts aimed only at the federal security program. Dr. Bart Bok, a native of Holland who came to America to become professor of astronomy at Harvard and director of the Harvard Observatory, spoke on The Role of Science in International Cooperation and devoted at least half his time to a bitter attack on the McCarran-Walter Act, which he called a serious barrier to scientific progress. Scientists, he pointed out, simply do not try to come to international conferences in the United States any more; even those whose visas are cleared get their clearances too late to make use of them. At a recent conference to which twenty foreign scientists from outside the Iron Curtain were invited, only four could get visa clearances in time to attend. Wars, as another scientist pointed out, begin usually with a breakdown in communication.

Edward U. Condon

If the erosion of science by the security concept was not mentioned directly, there were oblique references to it. A group discussing ways to improve the quality of science teaching in public schools was forced to consider the effect of "security" on the desirability of a scientific career. A speaker on cultural anthropology was forced to note its effect on the study of international relations. The bibliographies attached to papers on every subject, from astronomy to nuclear physics, were almost entirely composed of American items, with an insignificant sprinkling of English and French.

The question of what to do about it all came up of course again and again, both formally and informally, but even tentative answers were sparse. Dr. Bok urged that scientists participate in UNESCO projects and keep up correspondence with their colleagues in other countries—even in Iron Curtain countries and in fields where Marxist theory and practice have corrupted the pursuit of truth. Also, he suggested, they might work for repeal of parts of the McCarran Act.

Dr. Beadle insisted that all discoveries in basic or fundamental science should be unclassified, whether "carried out in government laboratories, in universities, or in industrial laboratories." One of the reporters promptly remarked that the Department of Commerce had set up an Office of Technical Information whose purpose, as he described it, was "to screen unclassified information which may at some future time be useful to an enemy." It got a laugh, but it was an uneasy laugh, and the uneasiness was not dissipated when a scientist wondered aloud whether the information in question had anything to do with AD-X2.

AN observation made by several speakers—including Bush, Condliffe, and Weaver—but most explicitly by Dr. Hildebrand was, that the stifling effects of the current obsession with security are due primarily to a misunderstanding, by politicians and public, of the nature of science and the activities of scientists. "Science," Hildebrand pointed out, "is essentially not a warehouse but an enterprise," and people do not generally understand its active character. "Good telling" of the "stories" of the mistakes and false starts and interactions of scientists, he said, "would help to make clearer to the public the dependence of scientists upon free exchange of information." That Dr. Hildebrand realized the difficulty of this type of approach was evident, but he insisted that "one of the prices one must pay in a democracy is the effort and skill required to gain popular understanding and support."

Would popular understanding be enough? Or is the search for absolute national security incompatible with the scientific search for truth? One speaker — Dr. Condliffe — may have uncovered the underlying dilemma: "We are faced," he said, "with a tragic paradox. The applications of scientific research are undermining the very existence of the nation-state by destroying its protection in time and space; but in face of this harsh fact national security is proclaimed as the absolute value and given priority over all other social values."

There is of course no simple answer, and any attempt to resolve the dilemma will have to be born of bold and imaginative thinking, not bound by outworn concepts. If science must continue under the cloud that hung over the Berkeley conference, it will lose its way and stand still.

BOOKS

The Seductiveness of E. E. Cummings

POEMS 1923-1954. By E. E. Cummings. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $6.75.

By John Ciardi

WHAT is most fascinating to me about Cummings, aside from the presence of a talent that takes and stays, is the way he can be both silly and profound, sometimes both at once. Perhaps more than any other poet since Rimbaud, Cummings has set out to perfect the sophomorism of the race. The perfection and the sophomorism are there equally: the perfection because Cummings is a man and a talent, the sophomorism because there is not and never will be a world as simple and as over-defined as the one Cummings wills us to believe is real.

Like the Stoics, those sophomores of philosophy, Cummings admits no degrees in good or evil: the man one yard outside Athens and the man ten leagues outside are equally *not in* Athens.

So good is good and bad is bad, and nowhere in Cummings will they meet. Because Cummings is a sentimental romanticist the good is always "lady," nature, life, rebellion. Because he is also a satirist—and it is his least talent—the bad is always business, officialdom, and the prison of the closed mind. It is an irreproachable system. It says "peace is good and war is bad," and it says "freedom is good and captivity is bad." What it never expresses is the possibility that that good which is freedom may very possibly depend upon that evil which is war. Nothing in the framework of Cummings's rhetoric permits such cross-distinctions.

And it may be this very oversimplification that makes Cummings so attractive. To us in the age of anxiety, of ambivalence, of aspirin—whatever it is—any man who can be so authoritatively over-simple and over-definite is likely to seem a refreshment and a security.

What's more, Cummings is superbly seductive. His intellectual integrity seems a natural force in itself. This, after all, is the man who went to jail in France (see "The Enormous Room") rather than say four silly words to French bureaucracy. The rest of us know very well we would have said the silly words and felt wholly justified. But we must still admire the man who wouldn't. And there is the heart of Cummings's seductiveness: his refusals are better than ours. He refuses better than most people affirm. Like Olaf, perhaps, who may have been a damn fool too, but who has to win in the end:

> preponderatingly because
> unless statistics lie he was
> more brave than me: more
> blond than you.

And finally—and to begin with—Cummings is an artist, wherein what he thinks is not the point but how he *feels* his thinking. Any boy debater in the country could knock over his stated propositions; the fact remains that the human feeling he brings to those propositions will exercise the race for as long as it reads English.

I will still wish the man would change his photographer. One more jacket picture like this one and it will be time for Harold Vinal to write a poem about E. E. Cummings.

JOHN CIARDI is associate professor of English at Rutgers University. He has recently published a translation of "The Inferno."

"The Wizard of the North"

SIR WALTER SCOTT. His Life and Personality. By Hesketh Pearson. Harper and Brothers. $4.

By Joseph Wood Krutch

THIS is the seventeenth of Mr. Pearson's brisk, readable biographies—all published within twenty-five years. Obviously they cannot all be "definitive," but they usually take advantage of whatever new information has come to light, and they have a justification other than the obvious commercial one that people will buy a new biography of Scott or Disraeli or Whistler when they would not buy an old one. If they are not reassessments in any profound sense, they do reflect shifting attitudes toward the various subjects.

High-school students still have "Ivanhoe" thrust down their throats—which is unfortunate, because the only things worth reading unwillingly are the absolutely first-class. With glorious extravagance Bernard Shaw once said that there was nobody, "not even Sir Walter Scott," whose works gave him so great a conviction of mental superiority as Shakespeare's did. Probably not many people now read "Ivanhoe" or even the best of Scott's novels of their own free will, and it is hard to imagine him enjoying a revival. But his career and personality are still interesting, and it is upon the career and personality that Mr. Pearson concentrates. It may be a little extravagant to say, "Cervantes had killed romance, which was reborn in Scott." After all, the "Gothic" romance had been popular for a generation before Scott's time. Nevertheless, he did embody for the man in the street that aspect of romanticism which meant "the past" as triumphantly as Byron embodied the aspect which meant rebellion, the passionate heart, and picturesque Satanism.

Probably no other English writer with the possible exception of Byron or Dickens ever sprang so suddenly into popularity or sustained that popularity through so many works. For a few years Scott was the overwhelmingly most popular poet and for rather more he was the no less overwhelmingly most popular novelist. But one of his many virtues as a man was that, far from losing

---

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH, formerly The Nation's *literary editor and drama critic, has just received the National Book Award for "The Measure of Man."*

his head, he rather underestimated his importance. While contemporaries were calling him the "Wizard of the North" and comparing him with Shakespeare in a fashion quite different from Shaw's, he himself could say: "No one can both eat his cake and have his cake, and I have enjoyed too extensive popularity in this generation to be entitled to draw long-dated bills upon the applause of the next." Asked by his printer what he thought of his genius in comparison with that of Burns, he replied: "We ought not to be named in the same day"; and with more generosity though less judgment he also sincerely believed himself inferior to such a minor contemporary as Joanna Baillie.

Most of his many virtues, as well as his limitations, were as untypical as modesty is of the literary man. His senses were rather blunt, and despite his prodigious memory and knowledge of the past he was not at all what is called intellectual. He rode hard, and many of his tastes were simply those of the country gentleman. He was more impressed by the Duke of Wellington than by any other man he had ever met. Good-humored, generous, and fanatically honest, he was of course a Tory and little inclined to question the status quo. Living uncompromisingly by the code, he hardly imagined that it could be questioned. Above everything else he was a man of honor in contradistinction to what is sometimes called a moral man. And that, of course, is what infuriated Shaw, to whom the merely chivalric was the enemy of those transvaluations upon which true justice and morality must be founded.

Perhaps the fact that the intellectual and the scientific worlds have been for almost half a century on Shaw's side is as much responsible as are changes in mere literary taste for the low esteem in which Scott is held. But it may also be that his novels are less likely to be revived than is some respect for the kind of virtue he stood for. We have learned that honorable playing of the game is not enough. Great injustices are compatible with it. What we are just beginning to realize is that honor, though not enough, is indispensable, and that if many reforms, including of course both national socialism and communism, have turned out badly, that is partly because chivalry and honor were despised as weakness. Most mere "realists" as well as most revolutionists are convinced that you cannot succeed if you permit yourself scruples. Experience seems to be demonstrating that you cannot succeed if you don't.

It can hardly be said that Mr. Pearson argues this thesis explicitly. But he furnishes some material for such an argument when he presents a believable picture of a man who lived by the chivalric code. Scott could never have inspired a successful revolution. On the other hand, he would have done all he could by precept and example to prevent moral principle from becoming dishonorable practice.

Footnote to Texas History

SAMUEL MAVERICK, TEXAN: 1803-1870. A Collection of Letters, Journals, and Memoirs. Edited by Rena Maverick Green. San Antonio: Privately Printed.

By Stanley Walker

FROM 1835, when Samuel Augustus Maverick made his first trip to San Antonio, down to this day, the name of Maverick has always meant a great deal in Texas. Mrs. Rena Maverick Green, who is a granddaughter of this original Texas Maverick, and whose own contributions to life in San Antonio have been considerable, has spent many years in bringing together the papers dealing with the life and times of S. A. Maverick; now she has edited them with competence and scrupulous scholarship and seen to their publication. The result is a good-looking book, of enormous historical value.

Many misapprehensions have grown up about the Mavericks, and in some quarters they are regarded as slightly eccentric, which is hardly the correct word. Virtually all of them, beginning with Samuel Augustus Maverick, have been persons

---

STANLEY WALKER is a Texas rancher and free-lance writer.

ACCENT

A Quarterly Of Modern Writing
entering its 15th year with
Winter 1955:

Finnegan's Wake—The Gist of the Pantomime by J. S. Atherton
Was Lawrence a Symbolist? by Mark Spilka
Stories by Rex Worthington & Frank Holwerda
Poems by E. E. Cummings, Millen Brand, T. Weiss, Jascha Kessler, Virginia Kidd, Dell Hymes, Grace Carnot, Flora J. Arnstein, Mason Jordan Mason
Reviews: Dudley Fitts on MacLeish; Thomas H. Carter on Wyndham Lewis; Babette Deutsch on Stephens & Cummings

A Special Offer To Readers of THE NATION

Although many back issues of ACCENT can no longer be supplied, we are offering a combination of

(a) ACCENT ANTHOLOGY

A 687-page selection from Volumes I-V (1940-45). The book (published by Harcourt, Brace) contains:

Fiction by Katherine Anne Porter, Irwin Shaw, J. F. Powers, Roger Martin du Gard, Walter Van Tilburg Clark, Kay Boyle, Eudora Welty, etc.
Poetry by Dylan Thomas, J. F. Nims, Jean Garrigue, John Berryman, Wallace Stevens, Marguerite Young, Horace Gregory, etc.
Criticism by Cleanth Brooks, Henry Miller, F. O. Matthiessen, Eric Bentley, David Daiches, R. P. Blackmur, Marjorie Brace, Delmore Schwartz, Kenneth Burke, etc.

(b) 30 POST-WAR ISSUES

Thirty issues from the years 1946-54, containing more work by several of the writers mentioned above, plus such writers as

Randall Jarrell
Caroline Gordon
Bonaventura Tecchi
Francis Fergusson
Robert B. Heilman
Richard Eberhart
William Humphrey
F. Garcia Lorca
Marianne Moore
William C. Williams
R. V. Cassill
James T. Farrell
William Sansom
Bertolt Brecht
Wallace Fowlie
Valery Larbaud
Italo Svevo
William Goyen
Peggy Bennett
Hugo von Hofmannsthal

SEND ONLY $10.00 FOR ACCENT ANTHOLOGY ($4.00) AND 30 BACK ISSUES (TOTALING $10.90) — A SAVING OF $4.90.

ACCENT
102 University Sta., Urbana, Ill.

Enclosed:
☐ $1.50 for 1 year ☐ $2.50 for 2 years
☐ $10.00 for ANTHOLOGY & 30 ISSUES

Name ______________________
Address ______________________
City & State ______________________

of marked individuality—intelligent, well-informed, many-sided in their interests, public-spirited, often shrewd in business matters, quick to fight on the side of the angels, and possessing an eye for beauty and a feeling for the richness of life. It is a very old family, famous in Texas, but its traces may be found in New England, New York, the Carolinas, and Alabama.

The matter has often been explained, so that there should no longer be any misunderstandings, but it is made clear again in this volume precisely what was the origin of the word "maverick." The word first was applied to unbranded calves which neighbors found in the carelessly tended herd belonging to Samuel A. Maverick on his ranch below San Antonio. Neighbors got into the habit of branding these animals as their own; later, "mavericking" became a word for putting one's own brand on another man's calf anywhere on earth. Now, by simple extension, the word, as applied to a person, has come to signify one who wears no man's brand—a man of independent spirit, shy of labels, unwilling to be a toady in any circumstances. In this sense it has become a fine and honorable word.

The Samuel Augustus Maverick who appears in this book was a man of education, ambition, patriotism, and varied interests. His services to Texas were many, and covered a long period. That he was not killed at the Alamo was because he happened to be away at the convention for Texas independence. He guided sturdy Ben Milam in Milam's capture of San Antonio. He served as mayor of the city, and in the legislature. He experimented with the growing of grapes. Quite a man—brave, sensible, generous when the occasion called for it, imaginative, steadfast in his principles, and capable of a touching devotion.

A good job, this, a clear portrait of a man and a footnote to history of the first importance.

SAMUEL
MAVERICK

TEXAN: 1803 - 1870

ORDER FROM

RENA MAVERICK GREEN
616 Maverick Building
San Antonio, Texas

HELP YOUR
HEART
FUND®
HELP
YOUR HEART

Beethoven According to Freud

BEETHOVEN AND HIS NEPHEW. By Editha Sterba and Richard Sterba. Pantheon Books. $5.

By Waldo Frank

A FIRST point in favor of this book is that one reads it without being reminded that its authors are professional psychoanalysts. They employ Freudian insights, of course, but without stress or surfeit. And they spare us the Freudian jargon, which is justified—like any abstraction of the sciences—only for strict methodological ends.

The book is a portrait of the personal life of a very great man. It is derived from unimpeachable sources: correspondence with friends, family, women patrons; Beethoven's legal papers and his brothers'; the notebooks; and above all the hundreds of surviving "conversation books"—hundreds more were inexcusably destroyed by Beethoven's first biographer, Anton Schindler—to which the master's discussions with friends and family were largely confined after his deafness. The result is convincing. And a chief reason for this is one which the book's authors do not claim at all—its internal corroboration by the music.

Beethoven's first chroniclers, who should be called his hagiographers, managed to sanctify their image only by turning the nephew, Karl, into a precocious and vicious youth unworthy the love and care of his tortured uncle. This fiction may now be buried. Karl, after his miraculous survival of the attempted suicide to which his guardian-uncle drove him, became a respectable member of Vienna's bourgeois society; he had been, by all the evidence, a boy normally bright, normally well-behaved, more than normally considerate of the agonizing Prometheus whose cloudy passions uprooted his childhood and chained his adolescence to the violent moods of a deaf old man with the energies and the frustrated manias of a titan. The record of what Beethoven did, after the death of the boy's father, to replace the father, to destroy the mother's good name, to wrench the child from his natural maternal moorings, to win legal and emotional possession of the harried youngster, reveals a man of ruthless and demonic will. And the music of Beethoven's two first periods reveals elements germane to these traits of power-seeking passion.

The technical virtuosity is often sheer rhetoric, assembled like artillery fire. The lyricism and extreme tenderness of feeling often lapse into the sentimental, the self-indulgent. The animal spirit of the fast final movements, often based on the country dance, is organized into sophistication. Only with the third period—the four last quartets, the final sonatas for piano, violin, and cello, the Missa Solemnis, the great climax of the Ninth Symphony—are these qualities transfigured into the pure peace of great music.

Beethoven the artist finally triumphed over the scoria in his nature. Not the man—until the very end, when he confronted the failure of his possession of his nephew. After the attempt on his life the youth emerged emotionally free of his uncle. And Beethoven accepted the boy's freedom. But Beethoven's breath was too deeply involved in his passions to survive their sacrifice. Within a year he sickened and was dead.

Not the revelation of his great

WALDO FRANK is a distinguished novelist and cultural critic.

final art but the spiritual weakness and technical virtuosity of his earlier music flowed into the romanticism of Beethoven's successors—until with Richard Wagner we find a flowering of the lust for power and a self-indulgence that are frighteningly close to other expressions of the German character. One understands Hitler's ecstasy, listening to Wagner. And one anxiously asks whether the potent German people can achieve an approximate purification like that of Beethoven in his final phase.

Selected New Books

American History

THE STORY OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE. Pictures by Hirst Milhollen and Milton Kaplan. Text by Dumas Malone. Oxford. $10. The story of the inception and drafting of the Declaration of Independence and of the subsequent "fortunes of a sacred document," together with brief biographical sketches of the fifty-six Signers. Professor Malone's very readable text supplements 267 illustrations—reproductions of paintings, prints, cartoons, photographs—admirably selected and arranged by Messrs. Milhollen and Kaplan of the Library of Congress.

THE COMING OF THE REVOLUTION: 1763-1775. By Lawrence Henry Gipson. Harper. $5. An account of the events leading up to the Revolution calculated to shock Colonel McCormick and the D. A. R. The foremost American authority on the first British Empire, Professor Gipson gives George III and his ministers their due—perhaps a little more than that—and does not hesitate to deflate many of the alleged grievances of the colonists. Unfortunately, his concentration on political and fiscal questions results in a slighting of the social factors that were so important in the growth of American nationalism.

POLTROONS AND PATRIOTS. A Popular Account of the War of 1812. By Glenn Tucker. Bobbs-Merrill. 2 vols. $10. The author of this stirring work has dug deeply and profitably into the newspaper files of his period. An objective reporter, he distributes the blame for this most unnecessary of wars with an even hand and also deals fairly with the stupidities and atrocities that blemished the conduct of both sides. It is a pity, though, that he did not allow more space for the Treaty of Ghent, which in itself settled none of the disputes between Britain and America and yet established prin-

PURPOSE OF THE RELIGIOUS ADVERTISEMENTS

BELIEF IN GOD ROBBED OF SOCIAL JUSTICE BY ANCIENT ORTHODOXY. — SOCIAL JUSTICE OVERSHADOWED BY "RIGHTEOUSNESS." — REVERSAL OF EMPHASIS INEVITABLE AND IMPERATIVE. — Previous advertisements have emphasized that the Hebrew prophets preached a God of social justice (not socialism or communism), and that they were endorsed repeatedly by Jesus of Nazareth. But it is appalling to consider that when Belief in God came down from the hills of Palestine and entered the stream of World History, social justice faded from the religious pattern and was overshadowed by "righteousness."

That God requires righteousness is very familiar to all of us from childhood. We were all told, in forceful generalities, that God would punish us if we did not "do right." And yet, very few people, even today, know that the Hebrew prophets proclaimed a God of social and economic justice, and that the prophets were endorsed repeatedly by Jesus. All church people today—orthodox and liberal alike—are honest and sincere. The transformation of Belief in God from its earlier sense of social justice to a merely individual righteousness was accomplished in the far-away Past by orthodox authorities unknown to the masses of the laity today.

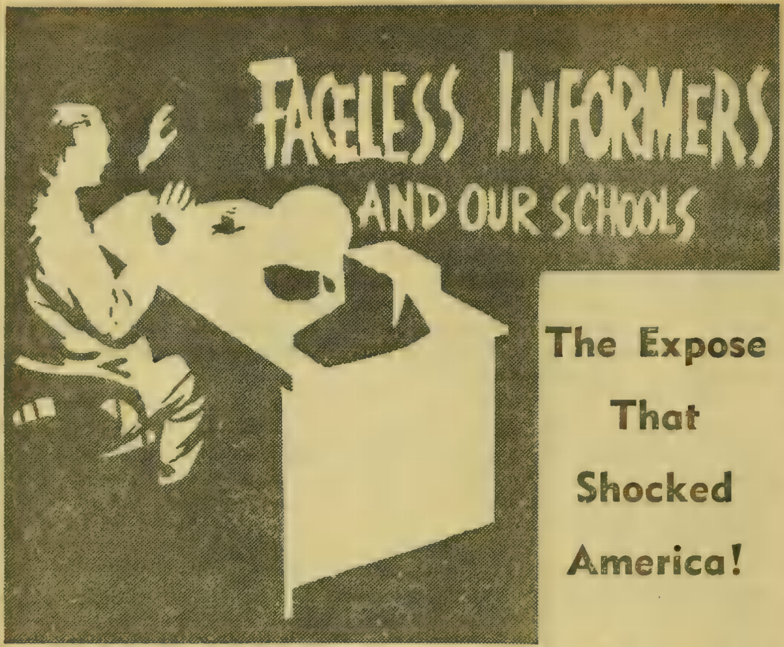
RETURN OF RELIGIOUS EMPHASIS TO SOCIAL JUSTICE INEVITABLE AND INDISPENSIBLE.—No reflection upon the sincerity of present-day church people is implied by the religious problem that has thus come to us from the far-away Past. Nevertheless, if the churches do not choose to follow the prophets and Jesus, and put social justice (not socialism or communism) at the foundation of their belief in God, they will inevitably invite disaster at a time when social problems are pressing upon us as never before, and when social consciousness is rapidly replacing the ancient rugged individualism of orthodoxy and Herbert Hoover.

It is impressive to look back into the hills of Palestine, and to study the great struggles which destroyed paganism and endowed the term "God" with social justice. But it is appalling to think how the insidious propaganda of "Righteousness" has been so successful in banishing the sense of social justice from religion, and in reducing the highest concept of the human mind (i.e., "God") to the state of conventional respectability with which it circulates in our churches, Sunday schools, law courts, colleges, current literature, etc.

FREE MATERIAL AVAILABLE.—A free circular is being sent out, upon request, giving additional information. Its title is, Bulletin of Bible and Hebrew History. If you have already seen it, please do not ask for another copy, because it is in short supply. But if you have not seen it, you may send a three cent stamp to cover postage on one copy.

IN ADDITION TO ABOVE CIRCULAR, FURTHER MATERIAL IN PREPARATION. — The title of the new circular is, Restoration of Social Justice to Religious Belief. It emphasizes that the process of restoration has already begun, and that these advertisements and circulars are intended to promote the process. The new material will not be ready for some time, however. But if you wish to have a copy, send an additional stamp at once, so as to be in line for it when ready. A request not accompanied by a three cent stamp (or two three cent stamps in case both circulars are desired) will necessarily bring no results. The great majority of those asking for the printed matter have carefully included postage. And please try not to confuse the two circulars: the first being, Bulletin of Bible and Hebrew History, already printed; and second, Restoration of Social Justice to Religious Belief, in preparation. You do not incur any responsibility (financial or otherwise) in requesting the printed matter.—L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, New York.

(Advertisement)



How the FBI Appointed Itself to Police our Schools

NOW READ, in pamphlet form, the sensational series of articles which appeared first in the Denver Post. "The FBI," says the Post, "is no longer concerned wholly with the suppression of crimes and the investigation of persons being considered for positions in the federal government. Without possessing any detailed authority to do so, the FBI is undertaking to volunteer information to governors of states and school authorities regarding the hiring of teachers."

HARD-HITTING, fully documented stories by Post Associate Editor Lawrence Martin reveal: "G-Men's Unwritten Charge Fires Three Utah Teachers," "California Shows Zeal in Subversives Dragnet," "New York's Hunt for Reds Holds Trap for Teachers," "Curtain of Official Secrecy Protects Hidden Informer." (These are a sampling of the topics covered in this series.)

THE NATION
333 Sixth Avenue,
New York City 14
I enclose $ .... for .... copies of "FACELESS INFORMERS."

Single copies 25c
10 copies.... $2.50
25 " $5.75
50 " $11.00
100 " $20.00

NAME ....
ADDRESS ....
CITY ....STATE.......
2-12-55

THE DENVER POST not only poses the problem but points a way towards solution. You will want to read this important document and you can order copies now from THE NATION. (See coupon.)

ciples of negotiation and arbitration that have precluded conflicts between the two countries.

AMERICAN DEMAGOGUES: TWENTIETH CENTURY. By Reinhard H. Luthin. Beacon Press. $5. A comparative study of modern American demagogues, including such characters as Huey Long, "The Man" Bilbo, Vito Marcantonio, Gene Talmadge, and Joe McCarthy. Mr. Luthin concludes that while American democracy encourages demagogues up to a point, the people are not apt to stay fooled long. Worth reading, although the author, overanxious not to appear academic, uses a curiously flat variety of journalese.

KEITH HUTCHISON

Biographical and Personal

THE UNTOLD STORY OF DOUGLAS MACARTHUR. By Frazier Hunt. Devin-Adair. $5. Another fat addition to MacArthuriana, done by a devout admirer. The usual vilification of F. D. R., George Marshall, et al.; but also much "inside" information that must have come, if not from the General's own famous trunks, then from his aides. Livelier than the Willoughby-Chamberlain book and putting a heavier accent on MacArthur's non-military activities.

CLOSE CONTACT. By Brigadier C. H. Dewhurst. Houghton Mifflin. $4. The chief of the British Military Mission in East Germany in 1950-53 tells of his life with the Russians and takes a long-range view of the Soviet Union. Often witty and usually level-headed, but lighter than air in some of its speculations on Soviet policy and how to counteract it.

THE MEMOIRS OF MARSHAL MANNERHEIM. Translated by Count Eric Lewenhaupt. Dutton. $6.75. The twentieth century's greatest Finn tells the story of his long and tumultous life as a czarist general in World War I, commander-in-chief in two anti-Soviet wars, and twice President of his country. A valuable historical document, despite the Marshal's appalling naivete.

BURMA UNDER THE JAPANESE. By Thakin Nu. Edited and Translated by J. S. Furnivall. Macmillan. $3. Burma's prime minister tells the story of his reluctant war-time collaboration with Japan. The little book, written nearly ten years ago, shows no signs of the iron which has helped Nu to guide post-war Burma through its harsh trials, but it casts a fascinating light on the workings of an almost Gandhian mind.

MARK GAYN

Music

B. H. Haggin

BERLIOZ'S "Les Nuits d'ete," the set of songs in which we hear some of the most wonderful manifestations of his powers, is sung by Steber with an orchestra under Mitropoulos on Columbia ML-4940; and the record is one of the year's outstanding events. The performance is not the one with the New York Philharmonic that was broadcast from Carnegie Hall early in 1955, of which I heard a friend's tape recording, but one recorded in a studio the following season; and this is regrettable. For the recorded performance is a superb one—with Steber's opulent and powerfully expressive singing in a context of wonderfully enlivened orchestral playing; but the broadcast performance was even better—more animated, less ponderous; and it was better transmitted to the ear. The record gives us Steber much closer to the microphone than the broadcast did; and this intensifies the tremulous shrillness of her upper notes in "Villanelle" and a few notes in the other songs. It also results in something less than the perfect balance of voice and orchestra and the clarity of the orchestra in the broadcast: in "L'Ile inconnue" not only is the orchestra blanketed when Steber sings, but the exciting rapid passages for low strings in the coda are blurred even when she is silent—this possibly as a result of the excessive studio resonance that is heard also in "Villanelle"; and in "Au Cimetiere" the violin harmonics beginning at *tremblant* and the four-note descending figure of muted violins and violas under *Les belles de nuit demi-closes* are not clearly audible.

Steber's Countess in "The Marriage of Figaro" ten years ago has remained in my memory as one of the great operatic impersonations of my experience; and it was one of my reasons for attending a recent performance of the work at the Metropolitan. I found it changed, but in its different ways still great. Ten years ago Steber's youthful appearance and voice made her Countess a young woman; and the strength of the impersonation was that it conveyed as no other had done a neglected young wife's beauty, spirit, and wounded pride, her humiliation at having to scheme with her servants against her husband. With the pounds the years have added to her body, and the amplitude these pounds have added to her voice, her Countess today is the older woman usually seen in the work, with that older woman's sorrow, and her zest, not humiliation, in her participation in her servants' schemes. She is less touching than the young Countess; but she benefits by Steber's powers of presence and projection; and what raises the impersonation to greatness is the singing—its vocal beauty, musical phrasing, expressive power, and grandeur of style.

When Steber first sang the Countess it was with Sayao, Novotna, Pinza, and Brownlee in performances by Bruno Walter. This time the Susanna was Conner, the Cherubino Miller, the Figaro Siepi, the Count London, of whom only London operated on Steber's level of distinction and power. And the performance conducted by Stiedry not only lacked animation, vitality, and brilliance but was unbelievably ragged; nor was it only in the breathless *Aprite* of Act 2 that the singers and orchestra weren't together, even in his sluggish tempo, but in moderate-paced passages in the last act, in which one might have thought he was employing a technique to defeat the singers' attempts to get into gear with the orchestra.

I also attended the performance of "Don Giovanni" in which Steber sang Donna Anna for the first time. She began with a tremulous shrillness in her upper register that continued until *Non mi dir,* where suddenly the voice was steady and clear all the way up, and the singing, which had been impressive even with the tremulous shrillness, now was sensational. I know nothing about the technique of singing; but I got the impression that it was sheer effort that had steadied and cleared the voice, and that the effort hadn't been made, or perhaps had been saved, until *Non mi dir.* And I will add that even with the tremulous shrillness her voice and singing were a pleasure to the ear that had had to endure the rasping, acidulous, tremolo-ridden voice of Harshaw in the part and her smearing of the florid passages of *Non mi dir,* in recent years.

There was also beautiful singing by Valletti as Don Ottavio and Dolores Wilson as Zerlina, but successively less attractive contributions by Siepi in the title role (with a rhythmically slovenly hurling forth of the Champagne Aria), Corena as Leporello, and Amara as Donna Elvira. Rudolph conducted with authority a performance that was animated and finished—with a few ragged moments that seemed to be the fault of the singers or to be caused by all the clambering they had to do over the ramp of the new set.

New FOLKWAYS Releases

PETE SEEGER

FP43 Pete Seeger Sampler (with concert)

FP48-5 Frontier Ballads, Vol. 1

FP48-6 Frontier Ballads, Vol. 2
(both available in one album FP5003)

FP701 American Folk Songs for Children

FP711 Birds, Beasts, Bugs & Bigger Fishes

FP3 Darling Corey (Pete's "Standby")

All 10" long play records:
List $4.75 . . . Net $3.50

Enclose 20c per record for postage and packing; 30c west of Mississippi

The Music Room
JU 2-4290 ■ 129 West 44 St. ■ New York

Gian-Carlo Menotti's
The Saint of Bleecker Street
"THE MOST POWERFUL DRAMA OF THE SEASON"
"STUNNING ... FUL MUSICAL THEATRE"

BROADWAY THEATRE
Broadway & 53rd Street
Eves. 8:30. Sat. Mat. 2:30
(No Mid-week Mat.)

BUY
UNITED STATES
SAVINGS BONDS

Letters

Patriotism or Self-Delusion

Dear Sirs: Among a wealth of fine NATION articles, I want to give special praise to two outstanding examples of foreign reporting—Mendes-France, Man on a Tightrope, by Fred Clarke (January 8, 1955), and Warnings from Bonn, Revolt against Rearmament, by Carolus (January 22). These articles demolish the idea that Western Europe is united in favor of German rearmament, the new myth cultivated in this country. When are we going to stop equating self-delusion with patriotism?

New York JOHN M. PICGERING

The Formosa Resolution

Dear Sirs: I think THE NATION could perform a very necessary service by finding out for its readers who in the Administration brought off the blank-check declaration of war on China. The plan seems too complicated to have come from Secretary Dulles, too subtle to have come from Admiral Radford. Moral considerations aside, it is one of the most brilliant political moves in recent years.

The reason advanced for President Eisenhower's request that Congress recognize him as an honest-to-God commander-in-chief is that this would show that the country is united on Formosa. This may or may not be true. If the President's action proves wrong (unpopular or tragic), our free press will be able to prove that a Democratic Congress forced it on Saint Dwight of Abilene.

Obviously it will be good for the appearance of the economy. Even if there is no fighting for some months, the possibility of the chip's being knocked off our shoulder should ease the way to still another New Look if our dynamic, expanding economy flags. It also makes more acceptable increases in draft calls, which keep that many more off the unemployment rolls.

The State Department will then be able to push the imprisoned-airmen affair out of sight for the time being. This is probably the major reason for the timing of the President's request. So far as propaganda is concerned, the airmen are worth considerably more to the Administration in prison or dead than they would be if free. This issue can be brought up again at any time.

As I write, the Senate is splitting hairs as to whether the resolution would permit us to attack the mainland, and at what level such an order would be issued. Our fixation on Formosa can only mean that it is our intention to land on the continent eventually. Chiang's old men have been unleashed, leashed, and now are apparently back in the dog house for good. They will probably furnish rear-echelon stevedore service for our troops.

The President expressed the hope that the U. N. could arrange a cease-fire. This looks as if we are again setting up our favorite patsy. Neither Chinese group wants it. The Russians might be able to put enough pressure on the Communists to make them agree to it, and we are certainly able to put pressure on the Nationalists, but will either the Soviet Union or ourselves do it?

Princeton, N. J. F. W. JAMES

Benjamin Franklin

Dear Sirs: Those Americans who firmly believe that no government post should be in the hands of an official who does not have a 100 per cent simon-pure security clearance would be shocked to know that one of our greatest patriots was an out-and-out security risk. I refer to Benjamin Franklin. Judged by the standards applied in present-day security hearing Franklin would not have been cleared.

In the first place, he was involved in numerous intrigues with women of little virtue. In the famous "Autobiography" he admits to this quite frankly. As a result of one such affaire d'amour a son was born, William Franklin, later to become governor of New Jersey. It is only fair to note that Franklin afterward married the woman whom historians believe to have been the mother of the child.

Consider also his relations with Thomas Paine. When Paine was preparing to leave England on his journey to America, he obtained a letter of introduction from Franklin. Although this may seem innocent enough, it takes on a more serious hue when we recollect that Paine harbored and expressed some very radical opinions, especially in the field of religion.

Finally, Franklin expressed a very irreverent opinion of our national emblem, the American eagle, and said he wished the bird had never been chosen. His own words are: "He is a bird of bad moral character; he does not get his living honestly; you may have seen him perched on some dead tree near the river, where, too lazy to fish for himself, he watches the labor of the fishing-hawk, and, when that diligent bird has at length taken a fish and is bearing it to the nest for the support of his mate and young ones, the bald eagle pursues him and takes it from him. With all this injustice he is never in good case but like those among men who live by sharping and robbing, he is poor and often very lousy."

ELMER S. NEWMAN

Cleveland, Ohio.

Just Received Volume 27 of the

GREAT SOVIET ENCYCLOPEDIA

In Russian

(Vol. 28 expected shortly)

Deluxe printing and binding. Profusely illustrated with color plates and maps. This new, enlarged edition will consist of 50 volumes. The Collegium of Editors and contributors include leading personalities in Soviet Arts, Literature and Science.

Regular price—$9.50 per vol.
Our Subscription offer $8.00 per vol.

MIKHAIL BUBENOV
THE WHITE BIRCH-TREE

The famous war novel in 2 handsomely bound volumes.
820 pp Price both vols. $1.75

FREDERICK ENGELS
ANTI-DUHRING

(Revolution in Science)
Well bound 546 pp.—$1.00

A. M. BAKHAREV
"I. V. MICHURIN"

The great remaker of nature. Profusely illustrated. Well bound.
152 pp—50c
Again in Stock

ALEXEI KOZHEVNIKOV
LIVING WATER

An intensely absorbing novel. A realistic and poetic portrayal of the Khakass people and their splendid efforts to turn the dry Siberian steppes into a land of plenty. Literary prize winner. Profusely illustrated
605 pp. — Price $1.50

A. S. MAKARENKO
A BOOK FOR PARENTS

The best seller in Soviet Literature in English in this country. A must reading for all interested in child psychology. 410 pp.—$1.25

Ask for complete catalog E-55 and "Periodica"

FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.
55 W. 56th St. 822 Broadway
New York 19 (12 St.) N. Y. 3
[illegible] 3-2018-9

PUBLICATIONS

SOCIALIST BOOKS. Catalog, literature, Free. New York Labor News Company, Dept. M, 61 Cliff Street, New York 38, New York.

FREE catalogs on Social-economics Movements, etc. regularly from: The Hammersmith Bookshop, Beadon Rd., London, W6, England.

LECTURES

ECONOMICS FOR THE WORKING MAN

A series of 13 lectures presenting a systematic analysis of our economy by
PROFESSOR OTTO NATHAN
for many years teacher and lecturer at colleges and in workers' education.
Tuesdays, 8:15 PM—First Lecture, Feb. 15
Admission (at door): Single Lecture 50c, Series $5.
LABOR TEMPLE, 242 E. 14 St., N.Y.C.

DETROIT MEETINGS

REVIEW OF THE MONTH FORUMS

Friday, Feb. 11. Polish movie, "The Last Stop"—The story of Auschwitz.

Friday, Feb. 18. Perspectives for American Socialism as seen by the Proletarian Party. Speaker: L. Wysocki, National Secretary.

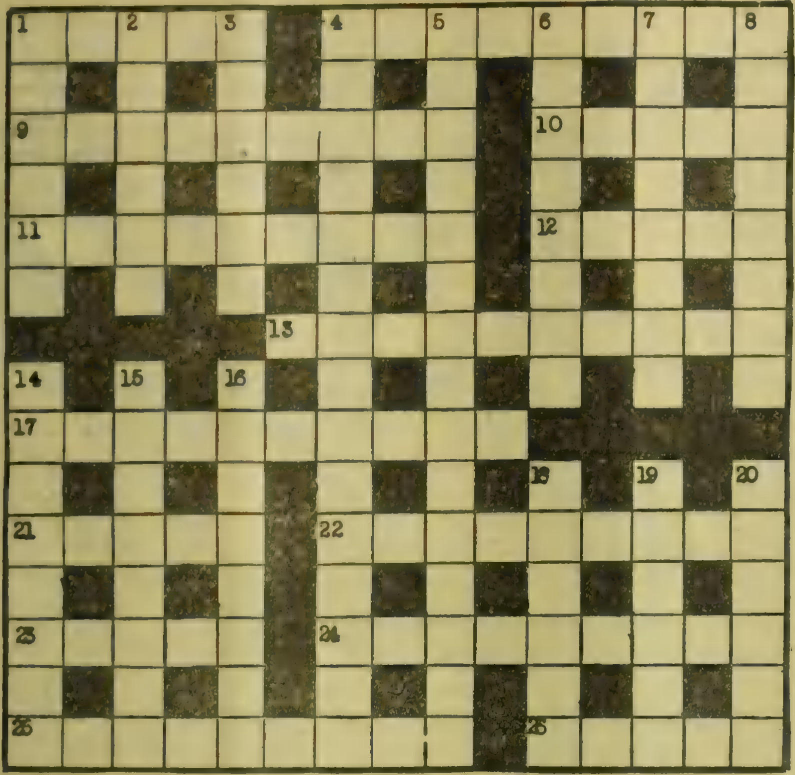
Meetings: 8 P.M., Highland Park YMCA, Detroit, Michigan.

AUDIO

HI FIDELITY
RADIO-PHONOGRAPH
sales, installation and service
VECTOR LABS
217 3rd Ave. ■ N. Y. C. 3 ■ GR 3-7686

Crossword Puzzle No. 606

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Be out of the first six letters dialed? (5)

4 Filibuster in Colorado? (5, 4)

9 What a railroad inspector does? (9)

10 Some think it makes a good sound heart, for example. (5)

11 Such a composition might be slow and against no composition. (9)

12 and 21 Paradoxically, Kipling's were from the hills. (5, 5)

13 Is a sea coming from selfish people? (10)

17 Rug of close weave with a lot of holes? (4, 6)

21 See 12 across.

22 Long and narrow and pointed at both ends? (9)

23 A quartet of fish? (5)

24 Pen and ink and e'er confused. (9)

25 Did a sort of screen inside get seen? (9)

26 Like a roof, perhaps, with a hat on? (5)

DOWN

1 A calif looks better with a massage. (6)

2 A country is able to take a prosecutor, finally. (6)

3 Fond of making tea inside? (6)

4 Will you follow me? (7, 8)

5 No sides in common. (15)

6 Looking for something in store for you? (8)

7 Urges a boy to eat. (3, 5)

8 Burns suggested we take a cup of it, for old time's sake. (8)

14 More than worried — positively shaken! (8)

15 Place a regular humdinger up with this. (Sounds like a wolf!) (8)

16 Gives Catherine the cold shoulder? (3, 5)

18 The look of a snake with its tail coiled, etc. (6)

19 Traveling companion in the joint? (6)

20 Equipped— with teeth. (6)

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 605

ACROSS: 1 PROFITABLE; 6 and 4 down PURE AND SIMPLE; 10 and 11 in ROUND FIGURES; 12 ASCETICS; 13 AISLE; 15 OLSEN; 17 PARTHENON; 19 RETAINERS; 21 AMEER; 23 ALOHA; 24 POINT OFF; 27 ETHICAL; 28 ORGANON; 29 TIDY; 30 PRIMORDIAL. DOWN: 1 PRIG; 3 INURE; 5 LUFFS; 7 UPRISEN; 8 EASTERNERS; 9 AGRAPHIA; 14 and 2 down TOURNAMENT OF ROSES; 16 NUISANCE; 18 RESTIFORM; 20 TOOTHED; 22 EFFENDI; 24 POLAR; 25 TIGER; 26 ANIL.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York.

RESORTS

50 Miles to FOREST HOUSE

Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes. All sports.

FOREST HOUSE

Lake Mahopac, N. Y. ■ Tel. Mahopac 8-3449

RESTAURANT

BALALAIKA

157 West 56 Street
New York City
Gypsy Orchestra
Dining — Dancing
Two Shows Nightly
Banquet Department
For reservations call PLaza 7-2334

FORUMS

Dr. Henry Steele Commager
discusses
AMERICA —
HERITAGE AND DESTINY
at The Broadway Forum
Broadway Tabernacle Church
56th Street and Broadway
SUNDAYS AT 5 P.M., Feb. 6, 13, 20, 27
$1.00 a lecture $2.00 the series

CAMERAS-ETC.

GERMAN CAMERAS & BINOCULARS. Import your own. Savings up to 35% on new Zeiss, Rolleiflex, Exakta, and all other makes. Experienced, intelligent, (and objective) advisory service for the technician or hobbyist. Please specify interests and requirements. Immediate airmail reply. Worldpost, Tangier International Zone, Morocco.

PERSONALS

WELL-EDUCATED WOMAN of progressive mind and cultural tastes, would welcome exchange of views with others, on topics of word interest. Write to: D. Lippmann, P. O. Box 443, Philadelphia 5, Pa.

ON YOUR next trip east or west on U.S. Highway 80 stop at Guilbert's Pharmacy, Gila Bend, Arizona. An oasis in the desert.

17" TV, TABLE MODEL, Top Rated, Regularly $149.95—SPECIAL $109.95. Standard Brand Dist., 143 Fourth Avenue (13th & 14th Sts.), N. Y. C. GR 3-7819. 1 hour free parking or 2 tokens.

Advertising Rates

CLASSIFIED

74c ■ line (6 words)

Three-line minimum

■

CLASSIFIED DISPLAY

$7.42 per Inch (minimum)

Remittance must accompany all orders

●

The NATION
333 SIXTH AVENUE
New York 14, N. Y.
CHelsea 2-8400

Printed in the U. S. A. by Southern Farmer, Inc., P. O. Box 509, Montgomery, Ala.

An Historic Announcement to Music-Lovers from the Directors of the World-Famous Concert Hall Society

TO INTRODUCE YOU TO AN EXCITING MUSICAL EXPERIENCE, YOU'RE INVITED TO ACCEPT

10 ALL-TIME GREAT JAZZ CLASSICS $1.00

NO STRINGS ATTACHED!
NO OBLIGATION!

Even if you never buy another record from us—now or later—you can now obtain all the advantages of a Trial Membership in The Jazztone Society

Long Playing

Not $1 each— but $1 FOR ALL TEN!

FEATURING THIS "WHO'S WHO" IN JAZZ:

COLEMAN HAWKINS
KING OF THE TENOR SAX

Art Tatum
[illegible] OF THE KEYBOARD

EDDIE CONDON
THE "SPIRIT OF DIXIELAND" AND HIS GUITAR

SIDNEY BECHET
NEW ORLEANS' GREATEST SOPRANO SAX

Erroll Garner
WORLD'S MOST POPULAR JAZZ PIANIST

DIZZY GILLESPIE
[illegible] "BOP" TRUMPET

TEDDY WILSON
[illegible] OF "SWING" PIANISTS

PEE WEE RUSSELL
THE CLARINET IN CHICAGO STYLE

JACK TEAGARDEN
MAN WHO PLAYS THE BLUE [illegible]

Charlie Parker
THE FABULOUS "BIRD" ON ALTO SAX

AND INCLUDING: Rex Stewart, Red Norvo, Albert Nicholas, Flip Phillips, Billy Taylor, Milt Hinton, Sonny Berman, Bill Harris, Serge Chaloff, Ralph Burns, Chuck Wayne, Artie Bernstein, Don Lamond, Fernando Arbelo, Buck Clayton, Sid Catlett, Slam Stewart, Wardell Gray, Howard McGhee, Dodo Marmarosa, Barney Kessell, Jo Jones, Bobby Hackett, Bud Freeman, George Wettling, etc., etc.

A Treasury of Jazz Performances, Encompassing Every Jazz Era—

Featuring such classics as *Jelly Roll Blues, Honeysuckle Rose, Basin Street Blues, Relaxin' at Camarillo,* etc.

SPECIAL NOTE: The famous Concert Hall Society gold-sputtered [illegible] process, employed in these recordings, [illegible] you of the finest high-fidelity reproduction.

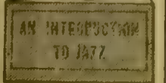
NOW you can begin to build that library of the imperishable "all-time greats" of jazz—through the JAZZTONE SOCIETY's amazing introductory offer: 10 superb jazz classics, not $1 each, *but all ten for $1!*

These recordings feature *all* the fine jazz musicians you see listed above — a veritable "who's who" of Jazzdom!

Half A Century of Jazz

Every jazz era, every jazz style; virtually the entire history of jazz can be traced in the wide range of these selections. Hear the dean of old-time New Orleans' jazzmen, Sidney "Pops" Bechet. Listen to clarinetist Pee Wee Russell, trombonist Jack Teagarden, and guitarist Eddie Condon. The scintillating keyboard "swing" of Teddy Wilson, Erroll Garner and Art Tatum—the dazzling "bop" trumpet of Dizzy Gillespie and the imaginative improvisations of such "greats" as Coleman Hawkins and Charlie Parker — *all* of these and many others are included in this dazzling long-playing record feast—YOURS FOR JUST $1! *Even if you never buy another record from the JAZZTONE SOCIETY!*

Yours FREE



Fascinating, comprehensive treatise on Jazz, by leading authorities on different jazz styles.

We make this amazing offer because this is the best way to show you the quality of these Jazztone Society recordings. Only by hearing them can you appreciate their technical and artistic excellence, their amazing fidelity. JAZZTONE SOCIETY recordings are obtainable nowhere else, meticulously processed to the high standards of the world-famous Concert Hall Society, and pressed on quiet-surfaced plastic.

The Finest in Jazz Recordings — Yours at More Than 50% Off the Usual Cost!

As a Trial Member, you will never be under any obligation to buy any other JAZZTONE SOCIETY recordings—*now or ever!* You do have the right, however, to try any of the Society's selections. Each month, you receive an advance description of these. You are not obligated to keep those you select — *even after you've listened to them!* You pay only for those that you want to keep — at the special Member's low price of just $2.75, plus a small shipping and excise tax fee, for each 12-inch long-playing micro-groove disc! Each one averaging nearly an hour's playing time! *A saving of over 50% off their usual retail price of $5.95!*

Offer Limited — Rush Coupon NOW!

Here's your chance to be first to own these 10 wonderful "gems of jazz." If not delighted your $1 will be refunded. But this offer may have to be withdrawn at any time, so mail coupon with $1 NOW! **THE JAZZTONE SOCIETY, Dept. NA-2, 43 West 61st Street, New York 23, N. Y.**

MAIL THIS COUPON NOW!

The Jazztone Society, Dept. NA-2
43 West 61st Street, New York 23, N. Y.

I am enclosing $1.00 as complete payment; please send me, postpaid, the ten high-fidelity long-playing "all-time great" jazz classics, PLUS a free copy of "An Introduction to Jazz." Also reserve a Trial Membership in my name.

I am not obligated to buy any other recordings from the Society. I am to receive an advance description of future monthly selections. I may try any of these—free of charge—without paying a penny in advance. I may reject any recording, before or after I receive it. And I may cancel my Trial Membership at any time.

In the future, for each selection I decide to keep — I will pay the special low Member's price of just $2.75 plus few cents shipping and excise tax fee . . . *a saving of over 50% off their usual retail price!*

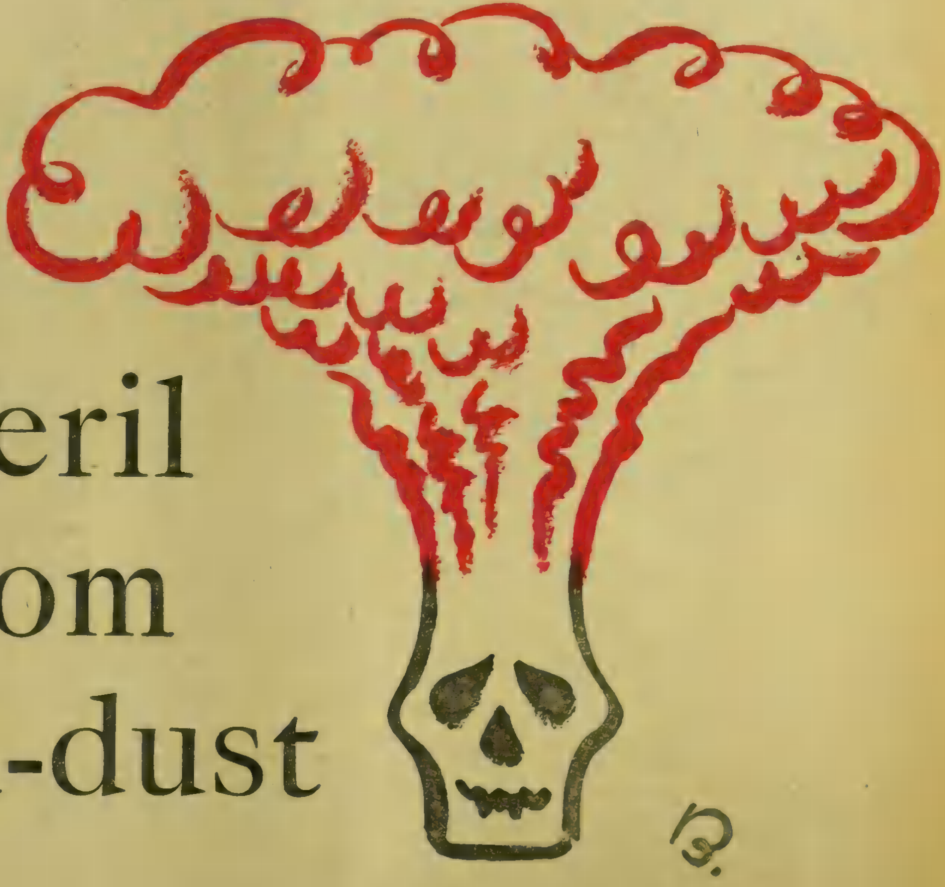
Name...
(please PRINT)
Address...
City.................................Zone.......State....................

KREMLIN KALEIDOSCOPE: COMMENT BY J. A. DEL VAYO. MAX FREEDMAN

THE Nation

BURLINGAME
PUBLIC LIBRARY
Burlingame, Calif.

February 19, 1955
20c



Peril from A-dust

by C. H. Waddington

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

The Case of Malcolm Cowley

John W. Aldridge

OFF THE EDITORS' SPIKE

CRITICS OF the American free-enterprise system will be embarrassed to note that Raymond Spector, the advertising man responsible for the Hazel Bishop lipstick promotion—"The amazing new lipstick that stays on—and on—and on!"—is now "the richest man in the advertising business," having cleared $10,000,000 since 1949. In October, 1950, Hazel Bishop, Inc., had a net worth of $34,000; today its securities are valued at more than $12,000,000. Last year the company spent $4,500,000 on advertising, $4,000,000 on TV alone. All of which reminds one of Chester Bowles's comment that the bill for a good-sized Asian economic-aid program would come to about the same total as our annual cosmetics bill, advertising included. The free-enterprise critics, of course, will want to know what happened to Hazel Bishop herself. Well, Hazel was awarded $300,000 last year after a protracted minority-stockholders' suit, and Spector, once virtually sole owner, still retains 55 per cent of the company.

● With Formosa so much in the news, it is passing strange that the press paid such slight attention to Albert Ravenholt's story (Washington Post, February 4) on Chiang's guerrilla activities. Ravenholt, with the Chicago Daily News service, has been consistently more interesting on Formosa than other American correspondents. Writing from Manila, he reports that the coastal islands have been the base for extensive guerrilla operations against the mainland conducted by Chiang with American help. Under the euphemistic name of "Western enterprises," they have been supported by this country since 1950; some of the expeditions were actually directed by American personnel who had come to Formosa "only to do business," although the disguise was soon dropped. According to Ravenholt, this use of the coastal islands illustrates how our "covert operations abroad sometimes help create conditions within which an open American policy is forced to operate. And the American people may belatedly learn of total United States involvement."

● Addressing the Texas Bankers' Association in Dallas, Heinz Luedicke, editor of the Journal of Commerce, compares the current economic recovery to a camel's hump—a rise, followed by a drop, and a leveling off. His main point is that the sharp upturn in automobile production, which is pulling related industries such as steel, glass, rubber, and many others along with it, has an "artificial flavor." The fact is, of course, that Detroit has been turning out automobiles like crazy—over 600,000 in January alone, 160,000 in the last week of the month. At what Business Week calls the present "rampant rate" automobile output could total 8,500,000 cars this year; the most optimistic forecasts, however, place this year's market at some 5,800,000. Whether the major companies are getting set for a tie-up during this spring's collective-bargaining negotiations or not, the effect of the frenzied production schedule will be to "firm up" labor's insistence on the guaranteed annual wage. The current rate is certain to produce widespread unemployment later in the year. Underlying labor's growing interest in the guaranteed annual wage, noticeable in the automobile, railroad, rubber, textile, meat-packing, glass, and electrical unions, is the belated recognition that unions must nowadays participate in management; that production must be planned. As a postscript it might be noted that General Motors' profits in 1954 were the second highest in its history—$806,000,000, 34.8 per cent over 1953. With civilian sales down 6 per cent and military sales down 24 per cent from 1953 figures, the company's fine 1954 showing is to be explained, in large part, by a reduction of $219,528,449 in federal taxes, most of it through the expiration of the excess-profits tax.

● Every effort was made by the right-wing press, with active support in Congress, to play down Harvey Matusow's press conference in New York on February 3. A few hours before the interview began, Representative Francis E. Walter created a timely diversion by charging that Matusow was a Communist "plant." From Washington, too, came opportune threats against the publishers of Matusow's book. The conference itself was a wild, free-swinging affair in which Matusow was more at ease than some of his former newspaper friends, who, wild with rage, threw questions at him for an hour or so. Instead of asking him about his work as an informer, Victor Riesel, Jack Lotto, and some of the others wanted to know what he thought about anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union. The question now arises: will the Department of Justice, which failed to take action against Whittaker Chambers, Manning Johnson, Leonard Patterson, and Paul Crouch, proceed against Matusow, the one informer whose admission that he gave false testimony runs counter to "official policy"? The major test of the effect of Matusow's testimony will come, of course, in the Clinton Jencks case. Without the testimony that Matusow gave at the trial, Jencks could not have been convicted. Not to grant Jencks a new trial now that Matusow admits that his original testimony was in part false, would compound the injustice implicit in Jencks's conviction.

● In granting certiorari in the case of Dr. Harry Slochower, the Supreme Court has gained one more opportunity to reverse a course of decision-making that has largely undermined teacher-tenure codes. The issue will turn on the meaning of "academic due process." Was Dr. Slochower deprived of tenure without due process when the authorities, acting under the New York City Charter and Administrative Code, discharged him without a hearing? It is also important to note that the court has expressed an interest in the retroactive application of the Feinberg law. Associate professor of German at Brooklyn College, Dr. Slochower had had twenty-seven years of service in the New York public-school system. "Academic due process" is the issue around which the struggle to restore tenure is likely to be fought. This issue and its application to certain pending Philadelphia cases—the discharge of Dr. Barrows Dunham at Temple University, of three instructors at the Jefferson Medical College, and of twenty-seven teachers in the public schools—is ably discussed in a report, Academic Freedom: Some Recent Philadelphia Episodes, copies of which can be obtained at 25 cents each from the American Civil Liberties Union, Greater Philadelphia Branch, 260 South Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia 2.

C. McW.

CORRECTION

In THE NATION of November 13, 1954, it was stated that the Voice of America had been forbidden to broadcast to Europe the news that Professor Linus Pauling had won a Nobel prize. The statement was incorrect. The Voice did broadcast the fact to Europe, but when one of its European offices asked that Dr. Pauling be interviewed on the air, the request was refused. Dr. Pauling's name has cropped up in Congressional inquiries, and although nothing has been proved against him, he has been on the Voice's "controversial" list.

Volume 180, Number 8
New York, Saturday, February 19, 1955

THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

The Formosa Treaty

UNDER pressure of the Moscow and Formosa crises it was perhaps to be expected that the Senate would rush to ratify the defense treaty with Nationalist China with no apparent concern over what this country has let itself in for. Even the two amendments proposed by Senator Morse, qualifying somewhat our commitment to the Nationalists, were defeated by thumping majorities after a minimum of debate.

What we find more surprising and disturbing is the all but total lack of public interest displayed in the treaty's earlier stages. There was no public hearing. But also there was no demand for one. The clerk of the Foreign Relations Committee told a would-be witness that just two organizations has asked to be heard—the Progressive Party and the American Labor Party. Senators report a dearth of mail. The treaty might have been one to regulate postal rates between the contracting parties rather than to pledge American arms and resources in the defense of an Asian satellite engaged in a civil war—whose very claim to the island it rules is officially in question.

What opposition developed in committee was squelched by the adoption of an "understanding" to the effect that no military action in defense of other islands, such as Quemoy and Matsu, would be taken without the advance consent of the Senate. But this stipulation has no legal effect, and was not incorporated in the treaty.

In view of everything we think the six Senators who had the guts to vote against the treaty deserve honor and special mention. They are: Dennis Chavez of New Mexico, Albert Gore and Estes Kefauver of Tennessee, Herbert H. Lehman of New York, Wayne Morse of Oregon, and William Langer of North Dakota.

Lethal Rain

THE importance of C. H. Waddington's piece on page 155 of this issue is highlighted by Commissioner Thomas Murray's comment of January 31 that the Atomic Energy Commission was sharply divided on a problem which could not be discussed publicly. On January 29, however, the A. E. C. announced that a super-super bomb, three times as powerful as the H-bomb, was now available. Could the unresolved issue be whether to stage further H-bomb tests this spring? Tests of this magnitude can only be carried out in the Pacific; there isn't enough "vacant" space elsewhere. Last year's disastrous experience, however, should have warned the Administration about the political consequences of further tests in that area; the possible biological consequences are suggested in Mr. Waddington's article. Incidentally, the California Civil Defense Office, which has access to some of the world's foremost authorities on radiation and other bomb effects, has announced that bomb fall-out can poison an area of 4,000 square miles. Fall-out may spread down-wind from H-bomb bursts in dangerous amounts for distances of 50 to 300 miles, and the fall-out path may vary from 10 to 50 miles in width.

But even the alarming California report may be on the optimistic side. Dr. Ralph E. Lapp writes in the current *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* that a super-hydrogen bomb would contaminate 10,000,000 square miles, an area about the size of Maryland, with lethal radioactive fall-out, traces of which might remain in the area for fifty years. The scientist estimates that a "small-scale" attack with twenty-eight bombs would blanket 50,000,000 Americans and two thirds of the nation's industrial centers with lethal blast and fall-out.

Unity for What?

BECAUSE of bitter disputes over craft versus industrial unionism as well as divergent political views, back in 1935 a group of unions quit the A. F. of L. and formed the Committee for Industrial Organization; subsequently it became the Congress of Industrial Organizations. Last week, the C. I. O. returned to the "House of Labor"; it will retain its initials as a special department of the A. F. of L. but the name has again been changed to Council of Industrial Organizations.

Clearly, a united labor movement will bring positive benefits on a straight trade-union level. The way should be paved for joint organizing campaigns—and here labor is sorely in need of new momentum for its organizing drives in recent years have been woefully ineffective. It will mean joint negotiations where there are overlapping jurisdictions and should presage a continued decline in raiding and jurisdictional disputes.

The value of the merger in the broader field of political action is more questionable. Between the two organizations there are sharp differences on basic policies. A. F. of L.'s George Meany has rebuked President

In This Issue

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 149

Two Strikes Against Egypt 151

ARTICLES

Washington in Focus
by Max Freedman 152

Soviet Shake-up:
A Kremlin Counter-Threat?
by J. Alvarez del Vayo 153

Peril from A-Dust:
A Threat to Mankind
by C. H. Waddington 155

Ladejinsky's Real Role:
Footnote to an Incident
by Helen Mears 157

Monopoly in TV:
Stiflimg the UHF Bands
by Hazel Cooley 159

BOOKS

The Case of Malcolm Cowley
by John W. Aldridge 162

Devil, Prophet, Artist
by Maxwell Geismar 164

FILMS by Robert Hatch 165

MUSIC by B. H. Haggin 167

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 607
by Frank W. Lewis opposite 168

OFF THE EDITOR'S SPIKE
by C. McW. opposite 149

Cover drawing by Oscar Berger.

Editorial Board

Freda Kirchwey Editor and Publisher
Carey McWilliams Editorial Director
Lillie Shultz Director, Nation Associates
Victor H. Bernstein Managing Editor
J. Alvarez del Vayo Foreign Editor

Martin Solow Assistant to the Publisher

Harold Clurman Theater
B. H. Haggin Music
Robert Hatch Films
Gladys Whiteside Copy Editor
Caroline Whiting Assistant Literary Editor
Alfred Maund Editorial Assistant
Mary Simon Advertising Manager

Contributing Editors: Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus, Keith Hutchison, H. H. Wilson, W. Macmahon Ball, Maxwell Geismar, Bruce Catton.

The Nation, February 19, 1955, Volume 180, No. [illegible]

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1955, in the U. S. A by The Nation Company, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y Entered [illegible] second-class matter, December 13, 1879 at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Reentered as second class matter at the Post Office Montgomery, Alabama. Printing Office 1603 Reuben Street.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1. Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address [illegible] well [illegible] the new

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

Eisenhower for talking of "coexistence." The C. I. O. has spoken eloquently for it. The A. F. of L. stand on China is rather to the right of the China Lobby. Influential C. I. O. leaders such as Emil Mazey, Walter Reuther's chief aide in the Auto Workers, and Victor Reuther, his brother, favor the admission of Communist China to the United Nations. On many key domestic questions, such as segregation, C. I. O. unions have been far ahead of the A. F. of L. both in concept and action. In the new organization, where the C. I. O. can be outvoted nearly two to one on the Executive Council, what will happen to more enlightened views? Will they be buried, shunted aside, in favor of "unity"? Or, in the end, will the C. I. O. people succeed in changing the A. F. of L.'s Neanderthal politics? Liberals everywhere will be watching carefully for the effect of the merger on the political attitudes of both groups.

More Words

The President's health message is so devoid of substance that it can be dismissed as little more than an essay in political rhetoric designed to assure the public that the Administration favors "health insurance." Read in connection with the budget message, it shows that the Administration would continue the current level of appropriations for general public-health services, hospital construction, and medical research with only moderate increases. Yet shortages in facilities continue to outpace current appropriations. For example, the proposed sum for health services in terms of per capita expenditures is only two-thirds of the average for the years 1948-52 and this despite the fact that forty million citizens, it is estimated, still live in areas without organized public-health services. Ignored is the problem of making up the deficit in physicians, nurses, dentists, and public-health officers. Ignored, too, is the key problem of how to meet the rising cost of medical care, with the exception of a limited measure of aid for recipients of public assistance and a mild "reinsurance" proposal designed to placate the rest of the population. In hearings before Congressional committees last year the experts were in substantial agreement that the Administration's reinsurance proposal would not accomplish its stated objectives. No verbal juggling can hide the fact that an adequate health program must be publicly financed and that it will cost a pretty penny, although the social dividends would be rich indeed. The President speaks, for example, of the "immense human waste and economic loss" of mental illness and of the great unmet needs in this field, despite current public and private expenditures of one and a half billion dollars a year. Yet the President's proposals would only add $15,000,000, or 1 per cent, to this total. This is not an unfair measure of the other improvements. With the exception of medical research, an area in which the President does propose that federal aid be expanded, his health program will neither eliminate the existing gaps and shortages in facilities and personnel nor meet the basic problem of rising medical costs.

The UHF Snafu

Two recent developments invest Hazel Cooley's article in this issue (p. 159) with special importance. One is the announcement by Senator Warren G. Magnuson that the Senate Commerce Committee will investigate monopoly trends in the broadcasting industry. In making the announcement Senator Magnuson released a report by Harry M. Plotkin, special counsel for the committee's study of television networks, which deals directly with the problem of ultra-high-frequency TV stations. The public is thus assured that the important UHF issue will now receive a thorough airing before an able committee assisted by expert counsel. The second development relates to the first. Recently the *Wall Street Journal* (January 19) told the story of how at least one UHF station, WVEC-TV in the Norfolk area, has managed to overcome most of the difficulties, described in Miss Cooley's timely article, which have beset UHF stations. As a first step Thomas P. Chisman, president of the company which operates the station, distributed kits to more than 1,000 television dealers and repair men in the area served by the station and explained how VHF sets could be converted to pick up UHF programs. Then he discovered a Long Island City manufacturer—Granco Products—that makes a do-it-yourself converter which sells for $29.95. The third step was to offer twenty of the biggest television dealers in the area free advertising over WVEC-TV if they would stock the new converter. Mr. Chisman reports that about 53 per cent of the 200,000-odd sets in the area can now receive the telecasts of his station in addition to those of the competing VHF station. The experience demonstrates the feasibility, given an aroused public opinion, of salvaging the great public-interest potential in UHF. The committee hearings should alert public opinion. In the meantime individuals and organizations interested in educational television—an issue related to UHF—should urge the committee to schedule hearings as promptly as possible.

Pennsylvania's Leader

Those concerned with improving that most backward part of our political system, state government, might keep an eye on Pennsylvania. Governor George Leader, elected last fall in an unprecedented sweep of a traditionally Republican state, has been devoting much of his time to a study of reports made by a nineteen-member advisory committee composed—shades of the New Deal!—entirely of professors. Most of these men were drawn from the institutes of state and local government at the University of Pennsylvania, Penn State, and the University of Pittsburgh. Each was assigned to study a department of government concerned with a field in which he had special knowledge; for example, former Surgeon General Thomas Parran, now dean of the graduate School of Public Health at Pittsburgh, reported on the Department of Health.

Additional fairly convincing proof of the young Governor's "vision" can be found in his appointment of Dr. James Charlesworth, professor of political science at the University of Pennsylvania, to a new post of Cabinet rank, Secretary of Administration. Dr. Charlesworth is president of the American Academy of Political and Social Science and author of a modern classic in the field, "Governmental Administration." The contrast betwen the Eisenhower Administration's reliance on the know-how of business men recruited for government and the Leader administration's consultation of university scholars may have consequences for the future of democratic government that will be interesting to observe. In any case, Mr. Leader has got off to an administrative start which picks up where his vigorous, principled campaigning left off last November.

Pennsylvania's new Governor showed himself in that campaign to be a fighting liberal and a vote-getter of extraordinary ability.

Two Strikes Against Egypt

IN the Middle East, where face-saving is the keystone of policy, Egypt's prestige has just suffered two heavy blows—both self-inflicted. The first resulted from its precipitate calling of a conference of the prime ministers of the Arab League countries in an attempt to delay Iraq's ratification of its treaty with Turkey. The conference ended in the kind of failure which spells the ultimate end of the league. That in itself is a net gain for the world, for the league's activities have been limited to its disastrous war against Israel and its subsequent refusal to end the war with a peace treaty. Suspicion and rivalry among the member states have prevented constructive action for the benefit of the region.

Iraq's Premier not only failed to make an appearance at the conference but the good-will mission sent to Iraq to work out a face-saving formula returned empty handed. Not even Egypt's threat of making a separate peace with Israel could save the day for Cairo. For the moment at least, Egypt has been displaced by Iraq as the leading power in the Arab world.

The most significant aspect of the meeting was Cairo's inability to rally the Arab states around the Arab Joint Defense Treaty as the basis of security measures in the Middle East. Iraq's defection will probably be followed by that of others, which will be lured to the West not by any genuine desire for an alliance but by the hope of getting free arms from the United States—arms which will be helpful to every government in keeping itself in power. An Arab arms race can be foreseen in the near future, augmenting political instability in an area where the primary need is a better standard of living for the impoverished population.

To Egypt's loss of face in the Arab world is now added the disillusionment of the democratic world with the Nasser regime as the result of the hanging of two Jews charged with being spies for Israel. There is no way at this distance of appraising the evidence against the two men, but in view of the nature of their offense, even as charged by the Egyptian authorities, their execution can only be described as sadistic. By refusing to temper justice with mercy in response to the pleas of governments and distinterested organizations and individuals, the Nasser regime lost a unique opportunity to convince world opinion that, although a military dictatorship, it is a responsible government seeking to establish decent standards. It may be assumed that this inhuman execution signifies both the shakiness of the regime and the ruthless measures Nasser and company are prepared to employ to remain in power.

Conscience requires that this crime against civilized concepts should not go unnoticed by the Western powers. The answer is certainly not to rush in with bribes of arms. This is the moment to make Western assistance conditional on peace with Israel—necessary both for regional stability and Western security.

Washington in Focus

by Max Freedman

WHEN the news first reached Washington of Malenkov's fall and the upsurge of new forces in Russia, several Republican leaders were meeting, by coincidence, that same morning at the White House. Senator Millikin was asked by two reporters what he thought of events in Moscow. The chairman of the Republican conference committee shrugged his heavy shoulders, bowed by illness, and murmured that he really had no comment because he never attended the party conferences in Moscow and knew none of their secrets. Adorned by this glint of humility, his comment gained in wisdom and stature as other members of Congress made remarks that wavered uncertainly between the obvious and the obscure.

A few hours later the President's press secretary, Mr. Hagerty, had his usual morning conference. He remained a courteous enigma as questions thrust toward him. President Eisenhower was awaiting a report from Mr. Bohlen in Moscow; what had happened was primarily the concern of Russia; there was no need to get excited here.

At the State Department many officials were chuckling over Mendes-France's remark that he always had suspected that Russia suffered from an unstable system of government. Mr. Hagerty's example was receiving the tribute of imitation. All official comment was reserved for the President. Unofficially however there was some shrewd and penetrating speculation.

A few older hands recalled George Kennan's verdict, uttered several times in the State Department and at least twice to small groups of reporters, that Malenkov would be no more than a precarious and interim figure in the struggle for mastery in Russia. Mr. Kennan had summed up his views with the sardonic quip that government by committee could never last and that one could discover the true successor to Stalin only by standing outside a window in the Kremlin and counting the bodies as they whizzed past. These officials dismissed as premature all talk about a new Russia. They thought Russia would be shaken by recurrent crises before one dominant leader imposed his authority on the Kremlin and made all other rivals quail before his power. During this distracted interlude Russia might follow a strenuous diplomacy but would shrink from a display of force that would lead to war.

They also believed that there was some truth to the reports that growing discontent with agricultural policies had contributed to Malenkov's downfall. According to their analysis, Malenkov had never possessed ultimate power, any more than Molotov had done when he bore the name of premier at one stage of the Stalin era. It therefore was possible to strip Malenkov of the credentials of leadership as resentment grew against unpopular policies with which he was identified. They saw him overthrown for reasons of domestic policy rather than for any mortal blunder in foreign affairs.

Khrushchev by universal consent was acclaimed the master spirit. No one however dared to predict how long he would exercise the substance of power while foregoing its pomp and pageantry. Since Malenkov, unlike Beria, had no armed power at his call, he might safely be tolerated; provided he made no bid for control.

It took few inquiries to discover that the State Department was more interested in Molotov's speech than in Malenkov's fate. One group suggested that Molotov was trying to recover the diplomatic initiative from Chou En-lai; a judgment that made utterly absurd Mr. Walter S. Robertson's conviction that China's rulers only echo the commands of Moscow. Another and larger group of officials believed that the Molotov speech was intended to be a dramatic signal that Russia was going to reconsider its foreign policies, though it might be some months before these new principles would be firmly defined and clearly applied.

This judgment obviously prevailed with President Eisenhower. Except for one important blemish, his answers at his press conference were admirable. He refused to see a sinister challenge in Molotov's statement. He declined to be frightened by Molotov's boasts about the hydrogen bomb. Nor did he try to admonish Russia with threats of America's atomic power. His recollection of his war-time partnership with Marshal Zhukov was like a sudden opening of friendship through the Iron Curtain. His one mistake was his rather embarrassed comment that he would have to consult his advisers before deciding whether it would be wise to renew the invitation to Zhukov to visit the United States. How much better it would have been if the message had gone to the world that the President did not know whether Zhukov still wanted to come, but he was certain that any Russian leader would be welcome in this country if he came on a mission of peace.

SENATOR KNOWLAND'S brief contribution to the debate on the Formosa treaty had at least one result: it deepened the confusion which already surrounds American policy. Senator George was trying to convince his colleagues that the treaty in no way confirmed Chiang Kai-shek's title to Formosa. He was making progress until Senator Knowland intervened with the warning that Chiang's authority had not been weakened by the treaty. Senator Alexander Smith agreed. Thus the two leading Republican supporters of Chiang publicly interpreted the policies of Mr. Dulles in a sense which contradicted the assurances and explanations privately given by the Secretary of State. To increase the perplexity, Senator George never challenged Senator Knowland and he allowed the meaning and scope of the treaty to remain vague and controversial.

It is apparent that different Senators, like different Ambassadors, have heard different stories from Mr. Dulles. No wonder Herbert Elliston could write in the Washington *Post* that "sophistry has long been the complaint about Mr. Dulles." Honor and logic alike prescribed a reservation in the treaty that the ownership of Formosa would remain an open question and that Quemoy and Matsu stood outside the immediate defensive obligations of the United States. Political realities, however, flashed their warning. At the mere sound of such a policy, the laboriously contrived unity of the Republican Party would have vanished; Chiang never would have accepted the changes. The treaty commanded a large majority only because its vagueness stilled present doubts without reducing future dangers.

INFORMERS who begin to inform on themselves paint a self-portrait that makes unnecessary any further stroke of angry criticism. As the squalid details of Harvey Matusow's career creep into light—he is loud-mouthed only about the more spectacular chapters of his conduct—he stands revealed as a man who manipulated his mediocrity and mendacity into instruments of public abuse.

Without official support he would have been harmless. He was used by the Department of Justice and the Republican Party. That is the paramount fact which cannot be obscured by the department's delayed sense of outrage. The Senate inquiry will fail in its central purpose unless indignant Democrats and penitent Republicans find out why Matusow was believed and supported by anyone with power in Washington.

SOVIET SHAKE-UP

A Kremlin Counter-Threat? . . *by J. A. del Vayo*

THOSE who thought that German remarmament could be achieved with little or no major world repercussions have now been confounded by events in Paris and Moscow. Of course no one familiar with the long debate that has been going on in the Soviet Union over agricultural production and the issue of heavy industry versus consumer goods will deny the important role played by internal Soviet affairs in last week's sensational developments. But the West, which has blundered many times in its interpretation of Soviet developments, would be committing still another blunder if it chose to dismiss last week's events as merely a consequence of domestic troubles and the conflict of ambitions among the heirs to Stalin. Similarly it would be oversimplification to ascribe Mendes-France's downfall to old rivalries and new envies among French politicians while overlooking the part played by the irreconcilable enemies of German rearmament who still wield great influence in France.

For weeks the Soviet press has been attacking the thesis that consumer goods should be given priority over heavy industry in Soviet factories. It was argued that such priority would endanger Soviet secur- of the country. The U. S. S. R. was ity at a time when, according to Russian commentators, the West was emphasizing the belligerent nature of the Atlantic Alliance by actions in Germany, Japan, and Formosa. At the same time the Soviet press has been campaigning against commodity speculators. There was an evident shortage of bread. The generally bad situation in agriculture was exposed with such bluntness that many Western diplomats were led to the erroneous conclusion that certain of the Soviet's recent "friendly" gestures in the international field represented a serious weakening in the internal structure being forced into "pacifist" gestures, so the diplomats argued, against its own will.

That the Western observers were wrong can be seen in the belligerent nature of the speeches before last week's session of the Supreme Soviet. Nevertheless the departing Premier, Georgi Malenkov, did make it plain that all was not well when in resigning he took upon himself the "guilt and responsibility" for the present state of Soviet agriculture—a target of sharp criticism in recent weeks by Nikita S. Khrushchev, head of the party. It must be remembered that earlier this year Khrushchev, addressing an audience of young men who were so soon to settle in Siberia, spoke hopefully of the prospects for increasing national strength by putting the plow to millions of uncultivated acres in northern Kazakstan, northern Siberia, and other Far Eastern regions which he had visited on his return from Peking. This visit to Peking must be kept in mind in view of the Formosa crisis and of the emphasis placed upon Sino-Russian friendship by every speaker at the Soviet parliament. Bulganin, the new Premier, accompanied Khrushchev to China's capital, and both men are apparently convinced that the Soviet Union could not remain passive in case of an attack by a major power upon the Chinese mainland.

Industrial, agricultural, and administrative problems all played a the Moscow shake-up was also closely related to the increasing international tensions which followed the London and Paris agreements to rearm Germany, President Eisenhower's message on Formosa, and the American Congress's approval of that message in the form of a resolution. It is perhaps too early to tell whether the changes in Russia mean a return to one-man leadership in the person of Khrushchev or the strengthening of collective leadership now represented by Khrushchev, Bulganin, Molotov, Marshal Voroshilov (an old friend of Stalin's) and Marshal Zhukov, the new Minister of Defense. The latter is far more likely. Molotov, who retains his foreign ministry, is aided by men who feel that there are limitations to the policy of coexistence and that German rearmament and Western support of Chiang Kai-shek represent threats which cannot be met by a world-peace campaign.

Months ago, when Malenkov's position still appeared firm, many European experts on Russian affairs warned in so many words that his days were numbered if the West did nothing to make his "conciliatory" policy a success. It has now been revealed that German and Japanese rearmament, as well as the Formosa crisis, have been subjects of constant discussion among Soviet leaders. Men like Khrushchev, Bulganin, and Molotov consistently tended to discount President Eisenhower's repeated references in his press conferences to coexistence and peace. The Molotov speech before the Soviet parliament—a speech which should be read carefully—reveals clearly the mistrust with which the Soviet Union has been viewing the West's official pacifism. The attacks by several speakers on Vice-President Nixon, Admiral Radford, and other Americans whom the Russians class as "warmongers" confirm the reports by Western diplomats from Moscow that the Russian leaders are not willing to depend upon the peaceful intentions of President Eisenhower, even when they concede that these intentions are sincere. They fear the power of his Congressional opponents.

Premier Bulganin

It must be emphasized that from all appearances Malenkov has been displaced but not purged. Even before the announcement of his new jobs of Deputy Premier and Minister of Power, he appeared both in the Soviet parliament and in public together with Khrushchev, and pains were taken to show that the relationship between the two men were still cordial.

WHAT has happened in the Kremlin must not be construed as a slamming of the door on any opportunity for arriving at an East-West *modus vivendi*. In an interview granted on the eve of the dramatic changes, Molotov told William Randolph Hearst, Jr., that "the Soviet Union is interested in reducing tensions everywhere" while Khrushchev told the American journalist that the Soviet leadership wanted to see the struggle between capitalism and communism kept on the level of "competitive coexistence." "If we can coexist around this table," he said, coming down to brass tacks, "I should think we could coexist around the globe." Several speakers before the Soviet parliament, notably Molotov and Marshal Konev, coupled their boasts of Soviet strength with declarations of peaceful intent. Nevertheless the events in Moscow last week serve to warn the West that if it is interested in arriving at an agreement with the Russians it must use more diplomatic instruments than those represented by twelve German divisions and the Seventh Fleet.

The Western strategy of strength helped in Paris no more than it helped in Moscow. The ultimate cause of Mendes-France's downfall was his advocacy of German rearmament. A man of extraordinary talents, he nevertheless failed to perceive that only by assuming the leadership of the opposition to German rearmament could he create the kind of popular support he needed to keep in office. Having failed on the main issue, he moves out of the French government leaving behind a hose of other issues unresolved. His successor will have no easy time trying to contain the Vietminh or the powerful nationalist drive in Tunisia. We shall see in the near future how the Moscow developments will affect the French attitude toward the German rearmament problem. In Paris as everywhere else events turn around Germany as the fateful hub of world affairs.

PERIL FROM A-DUST

A Threat to Mankind . . *by C. H. Waddington*

Edinburgh, Scotland

IF ATOMIC bombs are ever used against centers of population, the immediate results will be so stupendous and mind-chilling that there is a temptation to pay little attention to their less dramatic long-term effects. Everyone knows by now that besides the blast, the heat, and so on of the actual explosion the bombs produce a great quantity of radioactive material. Within a range of a hundred miles or so of the explosion this radioactive material comes to earth in quantities sufficient to produce sickness or possibly death in all living creatures exposed to it. Smaller quantities of radioactive substances may be carried long distances in the upper atmosphere and come down again in far distant places, but not in high enough concentration to cause any immediately obvious signs of ill health. Can they therefore be disregarded? I think all biologists who have looked into the matter agree that the answer is definitely no. Admittedly, with our present state of knowledge it is difficult to state exactly what such small quantities of radioactive material might be expected to do to human beings, but there is only an exceedingly slim chance that their effects would not be, in the long term, extremely harmful. Until a great deal more research has been carried out with the specific object of discovering what the effects actually are, it would be criminally foolhardy not to take them into most careful consideration when planning experimental atomic explosions.

Radioactive material produces its long-term biological effects by influencing the genes, the essential hereditary factors which an individual receives from his parents. In the normal way genes are fairly stable, although as they are passed on from generation to generation any given gene may occasionally change into another form, an occurrence known as mutation. The rate at which a gene mutates is so low that it is very difficult to estimate it, particularly for animals like man which cannot be experimented with on a large scale. But this low rate is in a way compensated for by the fact that both the egg and the sperm, which unite to form a new individual, contain a large number of different genes. The current estimate is that in man each gene under normal circumstances mutates once in some tens of thousands of lifetimes, and again that each individual contains a few tens of thousands of genes.

It is probable, then, that on the average a considerable fraction of all human individuals contain one newly mutated gene. Now all our animal experimentation suggests that the vast majority of these newly arisen forms of genes are less valuable than the original and common form. It is fairly obvious that this must be so. If a particular gene can exist in a number of forms, the individuals which contain the most valuable type will be the ones which will survive and reproduce more rapidly. Over the ages the best form of the gene will become the commonest—which is one way of stating Darwin's principle of natural selection.

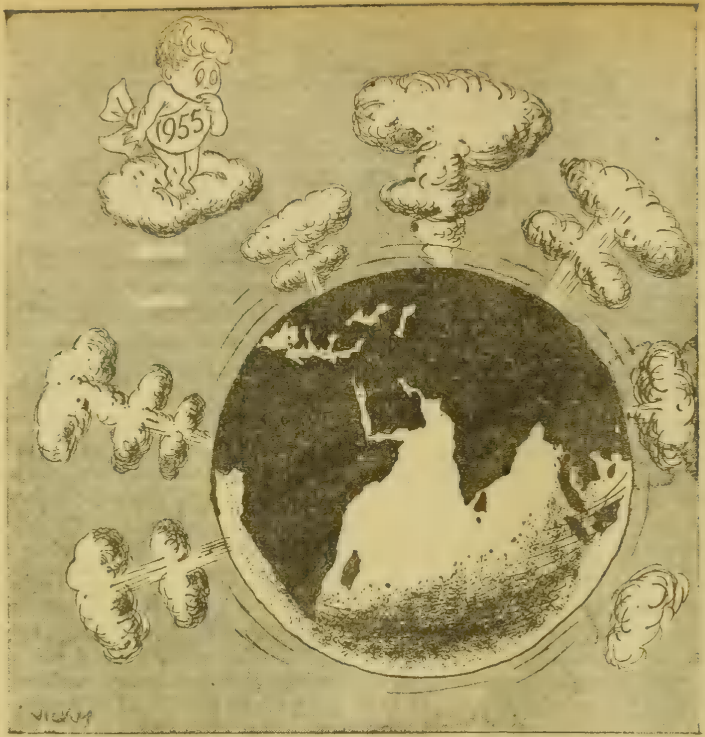
The less valuable forms of genes, are gradually eliminated by natural selection—that is, through competition with the original better forms. One can in a rough and ready fashion classify these mutated genes into two types according to the effect they produce in the animals that contain them. Every animal has a certain factor of safety in that it contains two of each type of gene, one derived from its mother and one from its father. If only one of these two is a mutated gene, the animal sometimes shows no ill effects from it. The mutated gene in this case is said to be recessive. It gives no sign of its presence until an individual arises in which both representatives of the gene are of the mutated type; then the individual is likely to be rather highly abnormal—for example, an albino, a diabetic, or with some other well-marked deficiency in functioning. With the other class of genes, known as dominants, some effect, perhaps of a relatively slight kind, is produced even in individuals which contain one normal and one mutated gene. In either case, the individuals which show the effects of the mutated genes are likely to be less healthy and effective than the norm. The difference is that the dominant genes begin to make their presence felt immediately, while newly mutated recessive genes may persist in a population for many generations before at last an individual appears containing two of them, when he will exhibit the full intensity of their effect.

NOW to get back to the atom bomb. Radioactivity causes an increase in the mutation rate in all animals or plants on which it has been tested. It seems most probable, indeed, that the natural mutations which are occurring all the time in all organisms are partly if not wholly brought about by the basic radioactivity which is an inescapable feature of the earth's surface. Any increase in this radioactivity, caused for instance by the explosion of atomic bombs, would be expected to be followed by some increase in mutation. And the vast majority of the excess mutated genes would be harmful ones. That is the basic picture to which modern biology leads.

One can, however, if one is very optimistic and ingenious, think of ways in which this unpleasant conclusion might conceivably be escaped. It is not that we know some positive facts which suggest ways of escape but rather that the whole of this field is so difficult to investigate

---

C. H. WADDINGTON is professor of animal genetics at the University of Edinburgh and author of "Introduction to Modern Genetics," "The Scientific Attitude," and other scientific volumes.



"Don't be frightened. They say it's quite safe."

that there are still large areas of ignorance in which the optimist can take refuge. For instance, he might ask: is it really true that any increase in radioactivity, however small, will cause an increase in the mutation rate, or is there some threshold of radioactivity which must be exceeded before the effect is produced? Most experiments to discover the influence of radioactivity on mutation have used rather heavy doses of irradiation, so as to produce large and easily appreciated effects. Only when the biological part of the experiment has been very quick and cheap have we been able to accumulate much information about low irradiation doses. We are fairly certain that there is no radiation threshold in such organisms as bacteria, molds, or even flies, and that any dose, however low, will produce some increase in mutation. But it is just possible that the situation is different in more highly evolved animals. It is, of course, impossible to make a direct test on man, but we ought certainly to find out what the situation is in some animal reasonably similar to him, such as the mouse or the guinea pig.

So far as I know, the only experiment going on anywhere in the world on the effects of low doses of irradiation on the mutation rate of an animal reasonably similar to man is one that has been carried on in my laboratory in Edinburgh for the last seven years by a group under Dr. T. C. Carter. This group has been using the mouse as the experimental animal. The effects they are looking for are of course very small—a mere slight increase, possibly a doubling, of the natural mutation rate. The number of animals involved in such an experiment is pretty astronomical. So far some 25,000 mice have been bred and inspected, and still no very definite answer can be announced. There is as yet no evidence suggesting the existence of a threshold. In point of fact, we are not really expecting to find one. We are more concerned to discover whether low doses of irradiation increase the mutation rate in exactly the proportion as do high doses, or whether the low doses are proportionately more, or less, effective than might be expected. I am glad to say that interest in this subject is increasing, and the group is now moving into premises of its own, from which it may hope to produce some really useful information in five or six years.

Even with this expansion, the amount of scientific-research effort being put into such questions is trifling in comparison with their importance for the human race as a whole. Dr. Carter's group have got the resources to tackle only the technically easiest aspect of the matter—namely, mutations which produce very striking and easily recognizable effects. It is likely that there are vastly more mutations producing much slighter harmful effects, but we have no real knowledge of this, and so far as I know no one is studying the matter.

ANOTHER argument for what one can call the optimistic view might be the suggestion that the mutation-producing effect of an exposure to irradiation only lasts for a certain length of time, and that children conceived later would not carry more than their normal share of mutated genes. Now there may be something in this argument. We know that in flies the future germ cells are particularly sensitive to irradiation at certain stages of their development. If a fly is irradiated, there will be a particularly heavy crop of new mutations in individuals conceived from the germ cells which were at their most sensitive stage at the time when the irradiation took place. We still have no knowledge whether such a situation holds in mammals at all, let alone when exactly the sensitive periods occur. Again, an experiment on the subject is being made in my laboratory, but on a pathetically small scale. One cannot argue that there might be "safe periods" with respect to irradiation unless one knows when they are.

Still another line of argument would proceed as follows: It would say that the whole of evolution so far has depended on the fact that the natural process of mutation produces not only a large number of genes which are worse than the normal but also a small number which are better. We might hope, therefore, that increasing the mutation rate would speed up the appearance of useful new mutations; so that the population could improve faster under the brutal but beneficent influence of natural selection. As regards human affairs it is of course a very open question whether the appearance of new favorable gene mutations is at all important for our future evolution. Man has developed an alternative method of passing on new things to his descendants. To endow future generations with the capacity to fly he does not have to wait for gene mutations which convert his arms into wings; he invents the airplane and teaches future generations to make it.

But even if, laying these considerations on one side, we suppose that the occurrence of gene mutations would allow human evolution to go on appreciably faster, is it a fact that irradiation would speed up the process? To answer this we need to know what actually happens to the new genes when one irradiates, not experimental animals whose breeding is carefully controlled, but all members of a population, who are free to mate with one another as they please. Experiments along these lines have used only the cheaper and simpler animals. Buzatti - Traverso and Scossirolli in Italy have claimed that when they subjected a population of flies to a high dose of irradiation they found it easier to improve a certain character by selection. However, Robertson and Clayton in my laboratory did not obtain the same result, though plenty of harmful mutations occurred; and Bruce Wallace of Cold Spring Harbor, New York, who has studied the general fitness of individuals in an irradiated population, has shown that the situation is a highly complex one which we certainly do not fully understand, even for relatively simple animals like flies. So far I do not know of any such experiment having been made with animals more closely comparable to man. Again, the expense and the time involved are beyond the capacity of the ordinary biological laboratory, but in my view are part of the collective social responsibility toward future generations of any society which is using atomic energy and contemplating the release of radioactive substances into the air.

That last sentence is, I think, the key to the whole situation. The major physical contribution of our generation to the human story is the release of atomic energy. We are all very conscious of the dangers which it carries to ourselves, but if the threat were confined to our own generation, or to any one generation in the future, it would take a relatively minor place in the long-term future of the human race. All the available evidence, however, makes it seem overwhelmingly probable that any atomic explosion which produces an increase in radioactivity, however small, in regions inhabited by man will add something to humanity's store of newly mutated and mostly harmful genes.

Since this is the picture which the available data suggest, we should obviously weigh most carefully the value of the knowledge to be acquired by experimental atomic explosions against the cost in human suffering if radioactive substances are allowed to get into inhabited areas. It is surely a moral responsibility of our time to recognize how incomplete our present knowledge of the situation is and to take steps to add to it as fast as possible. It may be that in the course of such investigations we shall discover that the danger is not so great as we now think; or some means may be found for circumventing it. In this article I have put forward all the arguments I can think of which tend to minimize the danger, but none of them seems to hold out much hope. Even if we cannot discover a cure for the ills that we may be inflicting on future generations, we ought at least to take trouble to find out what they are, so that we can decide how far we shall go in running up biological debts which our descendants will have to pay.

LADEJINSKY'S REAL ROLE

Footnote to an Incident . . *by Helen Mears*

THE Ladejinsky affair calls attention to certain dubious elements in our Asian economic programs. During recent months the newspapers have reported statements by our most influential spokesmen to the effect that the government intends to "save" Indo-China and the rest of "free Asia" for the "free world." Only two ways of doing this have been mentioned, one being to gain the allegiance of the Asian government and peoples by helping them raise their standard of living, and the other to use military force to prevent the triumph of communism. Which method do we prefer? Apparently the second, since in planning our economic programs for Asia we seem intent on advancing our own assumed economic, strategic, and military interests rather than on helping to correct the region's basic economic problems.

When Wolf Ladejinsky was dismissed from his job as agricultural attache in Tokyo, his defenders argued that he was our major expert on Asian "land reform," that his policy of "breaking up the big Japanese landed estates" had saved Japan from communism, and that his dismissal would convince the Asian peoples that the United States government was no longer concerned about Asian agricultural problems. The insistent expression of these opinions by some highly respectable Republicans brought about the appointment of Mr. Ladejinsky, this time by the Foreign Operations Administration, to the post of land-reform expert in Vietnam, apparently on the assumption that having saved Japan from communism he could repeat that miracle

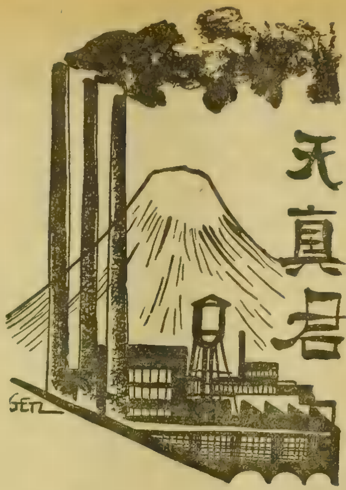
---

HELEN MEARS is the author of "Mirror for Americans—Japan" and of many magazine articles on the Far East.

in Indo-China. Since Mr. Ladejinsky presumably knows what our land reforms in Japan actually accomplished, he must view this new assignment with some trepidation.

I must point out here that one can hardly say Mr. Ladejinsky helped to break up the big Japanese landed estates, since there were no such estates to break up. The United States directive applied to all farms of *more than two and a half acres*—except in the northern island, where larger holdings were allowed. Japan's agricultural problem did not lie in the size of the estates but in the scarcity of arable land. In 1946, when the American land-reform program became law in occupied Japan, a population of around 78,000,000 had only some 16,000,000 acres of farmland on which to grow food. Today the population is more than 88,000,000, and it still has only 16,000,000 acres of farmland.

The expressed purpose of the American reforms was to make it possible for tenant farmers to buy land, to restrict ownership of farmland largely to working farmers, and to protect tenants by a variety of devices, including the requirement that rents must be paid in money and not in rice. This was sensible enough in theory, but given the actual situation in Japan, the reforms were more disruptive than helpful. By 1951 the Japanese government had acquired almost five million acres for resale at fixed prices to former tenants, which meant that a lot of land changed ownership. The net result, however, was to increase the fragmentation of land holdings and thus the number of farm families who could not support themselves on their farms. In 1954, according to a report by the Japanese Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, 1,976 farm households farmed from one and a quarter to two and a half acres, and only 95 households farmed more than twelve acres. The farm population today is kept going by government price supports and by make-work projects, such as road construction, which provide supplementary employment.



JAPAN'S agricultural problem is one of foreign exchange. Before the war the Japanese imported around 20 per cent of their food. They could buy a good share of it, however, from the yen-bloc countries—Manchuria and Korea and of course Formosa, which was considered an integral part of Japan. Allied wartime decisions took away all Japan's overseas territories and destroyed the yen bloc. In consequence the Japanese must today import a much larger amount of food and pay for all of it in foreign exchange. To get foreign exchange they must make and sell goods, but they must also import most of the raw materials for these goods. This puts a great burden on their export industries, which must earn enough to pay both for raw materials and for essential food. The size of the problem is suggested by the fact that in 1953 rice and wheat made up 54 per cent of Japan's total imports.

Since the end of the war Japan has imported a very large part of its food from the United States. During the occupation some food was given to the Japanese people, but most of Japan's imports of food from us have been paid for by the government and the people. There is a popular notion that we have generously given from our surpluses to the needy Japanese. The fact appears to be that American taxpayers have been very generous to American farmers. Our deals with Japan have been largely on a commercial basis.

Mr. Ladejinsky was engaged in furthering these transactions. Defending his qualifications for the job of agricultural attache, he is reported to have said that since 1953 he had helped sell to Japan more than $480,000,000 worth of wheat, cotton, soy beans, rice, tobacco, and other commodities; in fact, he had "initiated the surplus deals." He added that for this reason his record until recently was evaluated as "excellent" and "outstanding" and was held up as a model to other agricultural attaches. In short, the ideal American agricultural attache is a glorified salesman for our surplus agricultural products. That is a useful job of course, but to sell surplus commodities at world prices is profitable business, not "economic aid." And such a program in no way solves Japan's basic economic problems.

MOREOVER, our most recent "economic aid" program for Japan encourages the charge that we are using it as a device to build up Japan's armed forces. This interpretation is supported by a dispatch in the New York *Times* of January 12 headlined: "U. S. Wheat Helps Arming of Japan. Proceeds of Sale of Surplus Grain Returned to Tokyo to Aid Defense Plants."

This program was initiated as part of the mutual-security pact signed in March, 1954, but the details have only recently been accepted by the Japanese Cabinet. Japan has agreed to buy up to $50,000,000 worth of wheat and barley at world prices and to pay for it by depositing 18,250,000,000 yen to the account of the United States in the Bank of Japan. The Japanese government will sell this grain to the people at fixed prices, and the yen received will be applied to the sum paid to the United States.

On a quick glance the plan seems to have merit, since it bypasses the foreign-exchange problem. Examined more attentively, however, it reveals a number of dubious features. It gives the United States government control of a large amount of Japanese currency, which means giving the United States considerable control over the development of the Japanese economy. The United States is using this control to step up Japanese military production. As announced on January 12, the agreement provides that the United States will "funnel directly into strategic plants" the equivalent of $10,000,000 in yen to finance the manufacture of ammunition, fuses, and electronic devices. The United States will use the equivalent of

$40,000,000 in yen to buy Japanese goods for its "allies." Although no official breakdown has been made public, a New York *Times* correspondent in Japan reported that these goods would be mostly "military hardware."

There is another difficulty. Although by accepting payment for the grain in yen the United States relieves Japan's dollar shortage, its action will in the long run aggravate Japan's over-all foreign-exchange problem. The United States will use these yen to buy military hardware to export to our allies. And in order to manufacture these military supplies the Japanese must import most of the basic raw materials for them and must pay in foreign exchange. This means that although they do not pay us foreign exchange directly, they pay it indirectly. In effect the United States is using wheat and barley as currency with which to buy manufactures made from imported raw materials.

This particular deal is not an isolated error. It was used as a model for the aid agreement drawn up during former Premier Yoshida's recent visit, under which Japan will buy $85,000,000 worth of agricultural supplies at world prices and pay in yen, and the United States will provide another $15,000,000 worth of "surplus and F. O. A. help in launching a productivity program." This agreement will give the United States an additional balance in Japan of around 30,500,000,000 yen. How the United States will use these vast sums was suggested by Clarence E. Meyer, who headed an F. O. A. mission to Japan last December. A little more than half, he said, would be used for loans to promote "economic development" in Japan; the equivalent of $5,500,000 would finance procurement of commodities for shipment to our allies; and the equivalent of $20,000,000 would pay for United States expenses in Japan, including construction of housing for the military, exchange of students under the Fulbright program, and some expenses of the Information Agency.

Japan's economic problems are complex and serious. For almost a decade the United States has been grappling with them. It is reasonable to suppose that Asian leaders will consider our aid programs for Japan a measure of our grasp of Asian problems and a sample of the methods we mean to employ to solve them. The record suggests that our basic "reforms" are not practical, that our "aid" is designed to solve our own economic problems rather than Japan's, and that it will be used increasingly to expand Japan's military production and build up its armed forces and those of our Pacific allies. In brief, our economic-aid programs seem to be put forward not as an alternative to war but as a preparation for war. Communist propaganda of course charges us with just that.

MONOPOLY IN TV

Stifling the UHF Bands . . *by Hazel Cooley*

WHETHER television in this country is to be limited to twelve channels in the very high frequencies (VHF) or will be permitted to serve its audience with eighty-two channels through use of the ultra high frequencies (UHF) will depend on what action is taken by the Senate subcommittee on communications and the Federal Communications Commission. If viewers are to be deprived of the great diversity of programming that eighty-two channels could bring them, they should know why.

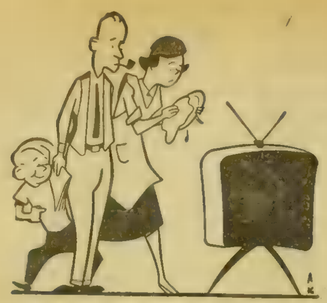
One reason apparently is legislative indifference to the unequal treatment of UHF and VHF broadcasters, and to the fact that more than $500,000,000 invested by the people in UHF channels may be lost. Another is public apathy; most viewers seem completely unaware of the situation. At least, they have not protested against the second-class status of 85 per cent of the country's potential television channels. As a result there is the imminent possibility that television will henceforth be controlled by the two major networks; in which case programming suited to a particular community and also educational television will be relegated to the might-have-beens.

In May and June of 1954 the subcommittee on communications of the Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee held public hearings at the Capitol on the status and development of ultra-high-frequency television channels. Station owners broadcasting in the ultra-high-frequency band testified as to handicaps under which they suffered. Remedial measures seemed imperative. So far, however, no relief has been forthcoming from the F. C. C. or the subcommittee, though Commissioner Frieda B. Hennock of the F. C. C. bluntly stated: "What is happening to UHF is the most serious blow to the public interest which I have witnessed in over six years of commission membership." The argument is not that VHF broadcasters are more successful. It is rather that as F. C. C. rules are at present interpreted and enforced, UHF broadcasters don't have a chance to survive.

The original channels set aside for television, numbered 2 through 13, were in the very high frequency band, or VHF. To provide space for more channels a new band was opened, known as ultra high frequency, or UHF. This comprised channels 14 through 83. The Communications Act of 1934 gave to the F. C. C. the full responsibility of making available to the people of

---

HAZEL COOLEY is the author of "Vision in Television." She is engaged in community educational activities.



the United States a nation-wide efficient radio and television service. The sixth report and order of the commission, in 1952, stated:

> The commission has always recognized that even with an extensive scattering of VHF assignments, the twelve channels available are not sufficient to meet the objective of providing TV service to all of the people. With the additional UHF channels, however, the commission . . . has gone far in fulfilling the needs of individual communities. . . . And it has attempted where possible to provide each community with at least two assignments.

Implicit in the foregoing is the admission that the existing VHF channels are inadequate to serve properly the entire country. Implicit, too, throughout the sixth report and its allocation plan was acceptance of UHF as a vital new force. Pioneers going into UHF did so on the strength of these implicit conclusions. They felt they had a fighting chance of success. Experience has now proved that UHF station owners cannot compete with VHF owners. Without legislation to equalize their positions, UHF is doomed, and the entire industry will be controlled by a few privileged owners.

The first time national legislation was required by the broadcasting industry was in the early 1920's, with the advent of radio. Everyone wanted a receiving set; many wanted to broadcast. The air was full of squeals and squeaks; one broadcaster jammed the signal of another. The Radio Act of 1927 established order in the air waves. It gave to every broadcaster an air lane on which it alone had the right to send its programs. This was done by having each station operate on a different frequency.

The Second World War retarded the development of both radio and television; war-time restrictions on materials and lack of man-power made operation difficult. After the war there was a rush to license new stations. Before the war-time experimentation the air space through which radio frequencies travel in the order of their wave length, called the spectrum, was felt to be useful from the 10 kilocycle band up to 300 megacycles. Advances made during the war permitted use of the higher reaches of the spectrum.

In 1945 there were nine television stations; in 1946 there were more than fifty. Then suddenly, owing to high construction costs and disputes in the industry, the rush to file for TV licenses slackened. Some companies wanted television introduced immediately in the lower frequencies; others urged waiting for the ultra high frequencies that would be possible when the secret war-time developments could be utilized. A short wait, they argued, would see color television ready for broadcast on the ultra high frequencies. Then manufacturers could market a set that would receive either black-and-white or color television.

By September, 1948, when the F. C. C. issued its "freeze" order on the licensing of new stations, there were 108 TV stations in operation. The commission felt it essential to study the whole picture of allocations, rules, regulations, and so on before making further commitments. It wanted to provide for a nation-wide competitive service which would make operating assignments available in every community in sufficient number to offer a choice to both the listener and those interested in broadcasting service.

This period of no-licensing continued until April, 1952. Then the F. C. C. issued its sixth report and order, with an allocations plan showing assignments in both the VHF and UHF bands. Color television was declared insufficiently tested at that time to give a satisfactory service.

THIS was when the UHF troubles began. In April, 1952, there were approximately eighteen million TV sets in use, all designed to receive VHF channels only, for up to then only the one system existed. This meant that before a single UHF station was on the air, the VHF stations were ahead eighteen million viewers, multiplied by the average number of people who generally watch one set. In May, 1954, two years later, there were 31,379,000 receivers in the hands of the public, of which only 3,000,000 could receive UHF channels. Yet UHF channels represent 85 per cent of all television allocations.

With more than thirty-one million sets able to pick up VHF broadcasts and only three million attuned to UHF channels, it is understandable why the networks are not interested in UHF. Networks hook up one station with another, clear across the country. They carry national programs for national advertisers, and these are the sustenance of commercial broadcasting stations. Stations live or die depending on their ability to sell their time to the networks. National advertisers are interested in the largest possible audience.

Experience has shown that even if a UHF station has network connections, the network switches when a new VHF station comes into the area. "Discrimination" against the U's has carried over into local advertising. For instance, a UHF station may have been catering to a local food broker. The broker recommends the station to the manufacturer of a food product in the East. Knowing nothing about the service of the local station, the manufacturer says, "We don't use UHF stations"; he would not share the cost of the advertising unless it was over a VHF station.

UHF is more costly than VHF—transmitting equipment, receiving sets, and conversion devices. There is also the complication of another antenna and lead-in, with specific adjustments.

Faulty equipment, delivery delays, lack of familiarity with UHF sets on the part of servicing mechanics have added to the woes of the UHF pioneers. In one city the UHF station could not reach into a neighboring area because its signal was too weak. Before it could get delivery of a higher-powered transmitter, a VHF station came into the area and people bought VHF-only sets. When the UHF station is eventually able to extend its signal, there will be only VHF receivers, and the conversion process will begin over again.

Set manufacturers have not begun to produce enough all-channel receivers. The expectations of the F. C. C. when it formulated its 1952 report have not been fulfilled. The report said: "It is reasonable to assume that . . . television receivers will be built to receive VHF and UHF signals." It also said: "It will be possible to operate stations in the UHF band with 400 kilowatts radiated power by the time authorizations are issued for such stations. Further, there is no reason to believe American science will not produce the equipment necessary for the fullest development of UHF." Yet it was testified at the Senate subcommittee hearings in 1954 that "in the opinion of the experts, no sincere effort has been made by leading manufacturers to produce UHF receiver tubes and circuitry capable of adequate performance."

THE difference in coverage, or power, is a considerable part of the inequality between the two systems. The coverage of VHF stations in many cases is three to four times as large as that of UHF stations. This applies to both the distance from the transmitter and the solidity of the coverage, which derives from the superior power and antenna heights allowed VHF stations. A low-band VHF signal can reach a greater area regardless of topography and easily blanket the UHF signals. Most UHF stations are within the service areas of large VHF stations, and with this overlap the UHF does not have a chance. For example, the comparative value of a signal at 60 megacycles as against one at 600 megacycles is readily seen. The difference may not be precisely ten to one, but there is surely a vast inequality in signal strength even a short distance from the originating point. While the F. C. C. allowed for this by permitting greater power to UHF stations, equipment has not yet been produced to radiate this permissible power.

This original inequality has been increased by the new policy of the F. C. C., adopted August 4, 1954, which gives all stations the right to extend their service through satellite stations. If the privilege had been confined to UHF stations, it might have been a means of equalizing the opportunities of the two systems.

Many other complaints of the UHF broadcasters were aired at the hearings. One concerned the "drop-in" device—a procedural short-cut in filing for license whereby an established station gets another station "dropped into" the same broadcasting band to reinforce its position. This certainly is not in the public interest.

The experience of the UHF stations practically duplicates that of FM radio, which was left in the position of an auxiliary service to AM (regular) broadcasting. It is true that many AM station owners became FM license owners too, but this could have been a form of insurance, since at the beginning no one knew how far FM might go. FM radio, with its higher fidelity, cheaper operation, and space in the spectrum to accommodate four to five thousand stations, never realized its potentials. Now that they have the advantage of hindsight, why are the policy makers in Washington so slow to take steps to keep the television industry from becoming a monopoly and to save the UHF system from becoming another auxiliary, like FM radio.

Various emergency measures have been proposed: require that all new television sets be equipped to pick up all channels and color; confine color broadcasting to UHF channels; authorize satellites and boosters for UHF stations only; freeze new VHF construction permits until competitive opportunities between VHF and UHF stations are equalized; or, in lieu of a freeze, stop drop - outs, drop - ins, and "quickie" grants for VHF; reduce VHF transmitter power to prevent "blanketing" of UHF signals; locate transmitters as near as possible to the center of the city to which the channel is assigned to prevent "straddling" two or more cities and conform with the allocation plan; transfer all television broadcasting to the UHF band.

THE problem is complicated but not insoluble. And the time to act is now, for another phase of television must be considered. If UHF goes down the drain, so will our chance to benefit from a nation-wide system of educational television.

In the F. C. C.'s sixth report and order, 251 assignments, or about 12 per cent of the total were reserved for education, 83 of these in the VHF and 168 in the UHF bands. Thus about two-thirds of all the educational assignments are in the ultra high frequencies. The need for education today is as great as it was to the people of the nation 130 years ago when the struggle for the free public-school system began. It extends from illiterates who must start from scratch to our busiest industrial and government executives. The demands on people's time makes it impossible for them to keep informed on subjects vital to their interests through reading. Bringing such knowledge into the home or office by television could be a tremendous service. It would be possible through the use of educational channels.

If the government would allocate funds for the development of a national educational television system, the UHF would undergo a life-giving transfusion. Its educational outlets, offering a non-commercial, non-competitive service to all the people, would create a new audience almost immediately. This audience would tune in for the specific purpose of learning. The impetus thus given to the growth of UHF channels would cause many of the difficulties that the pioneering UHF broadcasters have known to disappear. The basic premise that the air waves should be used for the public interest would then become a reality.

An Old Complaint

Complaints are everywhere heard from our most considerate and virtuous citizens, equally the friends of public and private faith and of public and personal liberty . . . that the public good is disregarded in the conflicts of rival parties; and that measures are too often decided, not according to the rules of justice and the rights of the minor party, but by the superior force of an interested and overbearing majority. However anxiously we may wish that these complaints had no foundation, the evidence of known facts will not permit us to deny that they are in some degree true . . . In the extent and proper structure of the Union, therefore, we behold a . . . remedy for the diseases most incident to . . . government.—Publius; the FEDERALIST, No. 10, by James Madison.

BOOKS

The Case of Malcolm Cowley

THE LITERARY SITUATION. By Malcolm Cowley. The Viking Press. $3.75.

By John W. Aldridge

THE historical method in criticism, which over the past several years Malcolm Cowley, among others in this country, has vigorously simplified into popularity, is not one we take much serious stock in, although its lineage is long and for the most part distinguished, and its influence in shaping mass standards of literary opinion has always been very great. Its primary appeal for the public mind undoubtedly stems from the fact that throughout its course it has interested itself steadily in something other than literature — in society rather than in art, in the psychology of the producer rather than in the work produced—with the result that it has come to represent a kind of epicurean Y. M. C. A. for those who have aspired and failed to win membership in the international fraternity of taste.

Since the twenties and thirties the historical method has declined seriously in authority and influence, becoming more and more the critical palliative of the mass reading public and the grubstake of those literary backwoodsmen who spend their time between trips across the wide Missouri haranguing novelists for failing to present a "true" picture of American life and the American business man, and who persist in trying to hold the cracked mirror of naturalism up to a world which has ceased long ago to exist in its terms. Of the best older historical critics only a very few have managed to escape this kind of debasement and to continue working productively in a tradition which, in a sense, they have already outlived. Edmund Wilson is one of these, and Malcolm Cowley is another. Wilson, however, was from the beginning something of a special case, for while he remained essentially faithful to the principle of the historical method, his wide range of intellectual interests carried him well beyond its programmatic confines. Malcolm Cowley, while he has been enriched by the aesthetic tradition of Coleridge, Baudelaire, and Eliot, has remained intellectually and temperamentally the more resolute historian. In his two book-length works of prose, "Exile's Return" and the present "The Literary Situation," it is possible to see that his weaknesses are in very large part those of the historical method itself, and that his strengths are those which he has brought to his prose out of the resources of his poetic imagination.

"Exile's Return," first published in 1934 and reissued in revised and expanded form in 1951, was an autobiographical narrative of development cast in the framework of a historical account of the literary twenties and thirties. But it was first and foremost a work of personal history conceived poetically, with all the vividness of a deeply felt emotional experience. Although it had to do with fashions of thought and conduct, with the moment and milieu of a literary movement, it was dramatized both by the vigor and complexity of the subject itself and by the intensity of Cowley's own participation in it. The fashions were treated as if they were characters in a first-rate fiction—as, for that matter, were the real-life literary figures whose activities afforded the book its wealth of anecdotal material. And since Cowley's concern was not with ideas as such or with the artistic properties of individual literary works, nothing in his subject defied his poet's talent for reducing experience to the simple, the pictorial, and the concrete. No intellectual abstraction, no call upon his powers of precise critical judgment, forced him to expose the weakness which on the occasion of his first book of poems, "Blue Juniata," published a few years earlier, Allen Tate had found evident in him. "No American at present," said Tate in a *New Republic* review, "writes a more lucid prose than Cowley, and yet it is now clear that prose, certainly critical prose, is not his true medium. His mind is basically concrete and unspeculative; he brings to facts and observations an even emotional tone that is the mark of a genuine style; but in criticism Cowley's instinct for exact definition is not strong; and the necessity for a certain amount of abstraction only violates the even tone of his style." It was the poet in Cowley who was responsible for the lucid prose of which Tate speaks, and it was because Cowley was able through that prose to personalize and lyricize his historical subject in "Exile's Return" that the book remained free of the defects inherent in his essentially historical method.

BUT Cowley's handling of a similarly historical subject in "The Literary Situation" gives rise to questions which cannot be so easily or so pleasantly resolved. His subject is the condition of literature and of the creative spirit in this country at the present time, and as his thesis demonstrates, that condition is largely one of stasis and retrenchment and is thus not in itself very stimulating. Cowley, furthermore, obviously does not have a sense of being personally caught up in it. His experience of active emotional participation in the literary life apparently came to an end with the period which he documented in "Exile's Return," and of late years he has retreated more and more into seclusion; his point of view has grown increasingly elder statesmanish; and his tone has undergone a gradual change from the lyric to the avuncular. What happens now in literature clearly seems to him to be happening to other people and no longer to himself or his friends.

His dilemma in this new book, therefore, is that he cannot, on the one hand, count on his subject to dramatize itself through its own dramatic properties, and, because he feels no personal or imaginative connection with it, cannot, on the

---

JOHN W. ALDRIDGE is the author of "After the Last Generation" and the editor of "Critiques and Essays on Modern Fiction." He is a member of the Department of English at the University of Vermont.

other hand, count on his poetic gifts to dramatize it for him. He is also up against the difficulty that as his sense of involvement has faded, these gifts seem themselves to have faded, leaving him out in the cold with nothing but a style. It it still the lucid style which Allen Tate admired, but it is no longer lucid in the same way. Where in the past it had the lucidity which the poet achieves in forcing his strong and complex feelings under tension into form, it now appears to have the lucidity of a simple and rather tired view of experience, of complexities shunned and tensions abdicated. In the face of this, Cowley has had to fall back for support upon the only method of prose narration he knows, and that is the horizontal and classificatory method. Throughout the book he has substituted tabulation for analysis, an enumeration of trends for a definition of causes, categorical labels for critical insights, lists of book titles, statistics on the paper-backed publishing industry, a "natural history" of the personal habits of writers, for a comprehensive synthesis of the facts behind the literary situation today.

PERHAPS more completely than any other journalistic critic of his generation, Cowley had in his grasp the materials out of which such a synthesis could have been made, for he has at least read the literature of our time and has been required professionally to hold informed opinions on it. Instead, what we get from him is a kind of plodding, rural stubbornness in the face of abstract ideas, a penchant for dropping into his private memory hole whatever he cannot assimilate to his method or fully understand, a compulsion to reduce everything to the hard over-simplicity of bedrock—a compulsion which blinds him to the possibility that bedrock is at best merely a foundation and at worst merely an affectation. His mask is that of the kindly old share-cropper of letters who happens to write when the weather is too inclement for plowing or duck hunting—clearly a disguise to cover a certain queasiness before the moral combat of cognition.

At intervals throughout his book Cowley makes use of another kind of mask which affords us our angle of vision into much of his material and illustrates far more tellingly than his rusticity of tone the evasive attitude he takes toward his responsibilities as critic. This is the mask of the uninitiated foreign observer—Cowley's choice is a "cultivated Hindu sociologist"—who is stationed at the edge of the current literary arena and through whose innocent eyes Cowley invites us to view the spectacle unfolding in its center. This mask provides Cowley with an excuse for shirking the job of careful and thorough discussion which, if he were dcing the seeing through his own eyes, he would be expected to perform. Faced with the problem of exploring in detail the works and trends fundamental to the literary situation, of really taking up the burden of criticism, he is able through his Hindu proxy to escape into the more relaxed role of historian and statistician of the obvious. His typical method is to draw up lists of novels and then to create an illusion of definition by stating that twenty-eight of them have to do with war in the Pacific, nineteen with homosexuality, and seventy-two with life in the urban slums. "I counted," he informs [illegible] at one point, "the romantic or tragic love stories in ten of these earlier books [war novels]. Of the affairs that go beyond the category of

GROVE PRESS announces an important new series of paperbound editions

Evergreen Books

Printed directly from the plates of the expensive hardbound editions

$1 and up

Here are the first 10 titles:

EARTH. The great, suppressed novel by EMILE ZOLA. "His greatest novel, the culmination of his genius."—from the Preface by *Angus Wilson*. (Hardbound, $3.75) *Evergreen Edition, $1.75*

IMMORTALITY. By ASHLEY MONTAGU. A distinguished anthropologist examines one of mankind's oldest, most persistent beliefs. (Hardbound, $2.50) *Evergreen Edition, $1*

JAPANESE LITERATURE: An Introduction for Western Readers. By DONALD KEENE. The only definitive modern study. (Hardbound, $2.50) *Evergreen Edition, $1.00*

FLAUBERT. A biography by PHILIP SPENCER. "By far the best work in English on Flaubert's life." — *N. Y. Times*. (Hardbound, $3.75) *Evergreen Edition, $1.25*

THE CONFIDENCE-MAN. A novel by HERMAN MELVILLE. "It is a pleasure to have this remarkable book back in print in an American edition."—*Lionel Trilling*. (Hardbound, $2.25) *Evergreen Edition, $1.25*

THE MARQUIS DE SADE. By SIMONE [illegible] BEAUVOIR, author of *The Second Sex*. With selections from his writings. (Hardbound, $2.75) *Evergreen Edition, $1.45*

THE SACRED FOUNT. The novel by HENRY JAMES that Edmund Wilson calls "mystifying, even maddening." With an Introduction by *Leon Edel*. (Hardbound, $2.75) *Evergreen Edition, $1.45*

COUNT D'ORGEL. A novel by RAYMOND RADIGUET, author of *Devil in the Flesh*. "This is Radiguet's masterpiece."—*Time*. (Hardbound, $2) *Evergreen Edition, $1.25*

SELECTED WRITINGS OF THE INGENIOUS MRS. APHRA BEHN. Bawdy, clever short novels by the famed Restoration author. (Hardbound, $3.00) *Evergreen Edition, $1.50*

THE VERSE IN ENGLISH OF RICHARD CRASHAW. 17th-century poems expressing a profound religious faith. (Hardbound, $2.75) *Evergreen Edition, $1.25*

At all bookstores, EVERGREEN BOOKS
A division of GROVE PRESS, 795 Broadway, New York [illegible]

merely Having Sex, there are four with Italians, two with Germans . . . two with Frenchwomen (of whom one is half Javanese), one with a Tonkinese, one with a New Zealander, and one with a Japanese."

It would be different if this kind of thing were supplementary to an examination of the real meaning and worth of these novels, but when it constitutes very nearly the whole of what Cowley has to say about them, I believe one has a right to complain. This same approach, or variations of it, vitiates almost to the point of absurdity all those sections of the book having to do with the literary situation as such. It is only in the chapters setting forth the Natural History of the American Writer, where Cowley is not required to go beyond simple statistics and categories—so many writers live in Connecticut; some writers drink six pints of gin a day, but only when they are engaged on very long work; most of the writers who are not teachers are employed at other jobs; a number of writers are homosexual; at least one is a sadist; a lot are normal—it is only in these chapters that he is as informative and entertaining as one would expect him to be throughout.

After thinking back over Cowley's critical career and setting aside those fine and definitive essays on writers like Hemingway and Faulkner which he has occasionally been able to do, one is forced to conclude that he has suffered increasingly from the effect of trying to simplify his ideas for the benefit of what he obviously considers a simple-minded reading public. It is now clear that after more than twenty years of unremitting industry he has at last attained his objective. But we should also remember that Cowley really belongs to a literary period different from and older than ours, the period he described so well in "Exile's Return," when, as Lionel Trilling once remarked, "criticism existed in heroic practical simplicity." Cowley should be reminded now, at this crucial stage in his career, that criticism is no longer simple, and that its heroism today consists in facing squarely and intelligently the full complexities of the literary situation in which we live.

Devil, Prophet, Artist

THE INTELLIGENT HEART. The Story of D. H. Lawrence, By Harry T. Moore. Farrar, Straus and Young. $6.50.

By Maxwell Geismar

I NOTE that some reviewers have dismissed this new biography of D. H. Lawrence with faint praise. It is, particularly in the early sections, a pedestrian job of writing, crammed with facts, solemn in tone. Yet Lawrence was a great figure, and his brief life had enough in it to fill up a dozen ordinary biographies. (This is Mr. Moore's second attempt, and he may still try again.) Lawrence appears to be, more and more clearly, the last major English writer of our day; and he almost brought the whole structure of English letters toppling down on him.

He went out of his way to influence people and make enemies. At one time he told Katherine Mansfield, who really appreciated his writing, that her illness repelled him and she should stop wallowing in her consumption. He believed in bringing hostility to the surface; he preferred a healthy hatred to a false love. Norman Douglas, who had called him "an inspired provincial with marked puritanical leanings," he could not bear. The Cambridge-Bloomsbury group he had despised from the beginning. Bertrand Russell was the epitome of the immaculate mind. If the official English persecution of Lawrence during the First World War was a tragedy, the episode of Mabel Dodge Luhan "willing" Lawrence to come to Taos, and rushing off to her analyst when he didn't, is high comedy.

There was also Lady Brett and her earphone, whom Lawrence at least tolerated. Nor did Frieda Lawrence, guarding her genius when she was not breaking plates over his head, help matters much; but this usually amused the prophet of the dark cult of the blood, who would then put all these experiences—and his friends—into fiction, sometimes etched in pure malice. Mr. Moore makes a point of denying most of the charges brought against Lawrence in the long list of books written by his former disciples, or open enemies, after a lifetime of outrageous behavior in person and in print. Lawrence was not, he says, an Oedipal child, although there is no doubt his mother destroyed the first love affair that gave birth to "Sons and Lovers." Lawrence did not have homosexual tendencies, though he advocated physical masculine relationships in the mode of Walt Whitman. "If I love you, and you know I love you, isn't that enough?" asked John Middleton Murry. "I hate your love, I *hate* it," said Lawrence. "You're an obscene bug, sucking my life away."

Similarly, declares Mr. Moore, Lawrence was not a proto-fascist, though he had nothing but contempt for democracy and advocated the philosophy of the strong man, and the leader. It would be simpler, I think, to state flatly that to some degree Lawrence *was* all these things, and that he made the categories meaningless by riding through them and transforming them for his own creative purposes. His central vision was based on the sexual impulses of life: the "phallic reality" as against mere cerebral consciousness, or what Lawrence believed to be mechanized human relationships, and the social institutions which had formed them. From this sprang his mystique of the death and resurrection which had to be suffered by the solitary individual who was opposed to the standardization and degradation of true human feelings.

He thus stood outside such issues as labor and capital, both corrupted by the same murderous impulses of modern civilization; just as today we are coming to realize that the similarities between Russia and the United States may in the end be more frightening than the differences. And to Lawrence a machine society could lead only to universal destruction. England was a "dreary-gray coffin sinking in the sea" to the hero of "Kangaroo," who had loved it so bitterly. "I won't have another war," Lawrence said, while he carried on his battle against "these foul machines and contri-

---

MAXWELL GEISMAR, a contributing editor of The Nation, *is the author of "Rebels and Ancestors" and other books of literary criticism.*

vances that men have conjured up," and that men still had one last chance to conjure down again. "I am not one man," he cried, "I am many, I am most."

The epoch of the atom bomb is simply the final stage of the social processes which Lawrence protested and felt so personally. And maybe the English suppression of "The Rainbow," of "Lady Chatterley's Lover," of the poems called "Pansies," of Lawrence's paintings, was based on the wrong reason. They were not dangerous sexually — they were healthy if sometimes infantile — but they were socially more revolutionary than the Fabian tracts. By the early 1930's, indeed, Lawrence was so far outside his society that some of his revelations were terrifying. If his own, his native land now left him just "flabbergasted," there was the same dreadful discontent with all the other countries, modern or primitive, which he had visited. No more Indians, he said after his Mexican novel, "The Plumed Serpent," a publisher's title that he despised. "I feel so weary of *people*," he wrote to a friend. He believed that his tuberculosis had come from chagrin—"chagrin that goes deep in and comes out afterward in hemorrhage or what not."

There was another brilliant insight about himself. "What ails me is the absolute frustration of my primeval societal instinct," he told an American psychologist—an instinct and a repression he considered even deeper than sex. But in stressing the cerebral activity of this phallic worshiper, I don't mean to suggest that he was primarily a philosopher. Of the three Lawrences that Mr. Moore presents—the black devil, the prophet, and the artist—it is the artist who continually enlightens and entertains us in the solid pages of this biography. It is the texture of Lawrence's daily response to life that matters, as well as his final judgments. And we are grateful to Mr. Moore for presenting so many facets of Lawrence's career; there can never be too much of it.

Films

Robert Hatch

WHEN John J. MacReedy, middle-aged, a little seedy, carrying a small suitcase in his right hand and with the hand of his paralyzed left arm stuffed in his coat pocket, steps off the coast-bound streamliner at a desert crossroads named Black Rock, his objective is the peaceful fulfilment of a private obligation. But the scant dozen inhabitants of this dust-bitten cinder-block and clapboard community face him with a mixture of terror and hatred that first confuses, then angers him. Mr. MacReedy, it appears, is a rare bird these days — he is a strong believer in due process with both the leisure and the courage to defend his principles.

This is "Bad Day at Black Rock," produced by Dory Schary and directed by John Sturges for M-G-M. Spencer Tracy plays Mr. MacReedy and Robert Ryan, as always narrow-eyed and smiling, is a rancher who gives the orders in Black Rock. They are sturdily supported by a cast that includes Dean Jagger, Walter Brennan, John Ericson, and Lee Marvin. It is a tight, economical work, directed and acted with conviction, and it enlarges the stature of everyone connected with it.

The obvious picture of comparison is "High Noon." Both are suspense thrillers with an evident moral; both center upon the behavior of a man isolated by mortal danger; both work toward a blazing climax through an atmosphere of hair-trigger calm. The new picture is the better by a variety of measurements. Spencer Tracy offers a more complex, contradictory, witty, and therefore more interesting impersonation than did Gary Cooper. The conflict in "Bad Day at Black Rock" is less explicit, and the weight and determination of the opposing forces are less arbitrarily stated than the rather pat duel of "High Noon." The suspense is therefore much tighter; it increases with the shifting and hardening resolution of the performers and is not a mechanical excitement keyed to the ticking of a clock.

The Political Ideas of Harold J. Laski

By Herbert A. Deane. Presenting the development of Laski's ideas in chronological order, the author makes an incisive survey of modern political thought. $5.75

Labor Productivity in Soviet and American Industry

By Walter Galenson. An analysis of how the efficiency of the Soviet worker measures up to that of his American counterpart. $5.50

Without the Chrysanthemum and the Sword

By Jean Stoetzel. A study of the attitudes of youth in postwar Japan. A UNESCO publication. $4.00

A Half Century of International Problems

By Frederic R. Coudert. Astute papers on international law and America's responsibilities on the international scene. Edited by Allen Nevins, with an Introduction by Philip Jessup. $4.00

At your bookstore, or from
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS
2960 Broadway, New York 27, N.Y.

EUROPE OR USA?

Wherever you go you'll be a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] traveler if you carry

"THE THRIFTY TRAVELER"

By Robert Christopher, travel authority and author of "AROUND the WORLD ON $80."

HOW TO get the full value of your travel dollar without pinching pennies. HOW TO get to Europe the cheapest way by [illegible] [illegible] air HOW TO get detailed, free information on all the 48 states, Alaska, Canada, Mexico and all of Europe. HOW TO barter, tip, pack, rent or buy a car abroad. Foreign money, passport & customs. Continental weights, measures, clothing sizes. HOW TO go adventuring on a shoestring. Even HOW TO hitchhike! In your car, your pocket or your home. It [illegible] you [illegible] (160 pages.)

SPECIAL SECTION FOR STUDENTS & TEACHERS. A minute NOW will [illegible] you hours later. WORTH ITS WEIGHT IN GOLD OR YOUR MONEY BACK! Just $1.00 (postpaid) to:
PEN & PENCIL PRESS, Box 16, N.Y. 23, N.Y.

BOOK MANUSCRIPTS INVITED

If you are looking for a publisher, send for our free, illustrated booklet titled To the Author in Search of a Publisher. It tells how we can publish, promote and distribute your book, as we have done for hundreds of other writers. All subjects considered. New authors welcomed. Write today for Booklet 103. It's free.
VANTAGE PRESS, 120 West 31 St., New York 1
In Calif.: 6253 Hollywood Blvd., Hollywood [illegible]

Buy Your Books through THE *Nation*

Please address your orders to
Miss O. LePach
THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
333 Sixth Ave. New York 14, N. Y.

"Bad Day at Black Rock," finally, affirms democracy, and I prefer that conclusion to the rather petulant rejection of it that was at the core of "High Noon."

Not that too much should be made of the moral of "Black Rock." It is primarily a melodramatic entertainment, and its situations are not entirely plausible or its events always unmanipulated. Mr. MacReedy is a much more dangerous opponent than the bullies of Black Rock—or the audience—have any reason to suspect: meek little men with only one good arm do not usually turn out to be efficient killers and more than a match for a gang of heavyweight hoodlums. And MacReedy enjoys the further advantages that his enemies are stupid and that amiable cowards become intrepid allies when fortified by his stern glance. Even so, the fable may not be too far-fetched. We have seen again recently that there is more brass than brains in demagogy, and the inoffensive good citizen may underestimate his retaliatory fire power.

"HOLIDAY FOR HENRIETTA" is a lark by one of the surest picture smiths in France. Its machinery has been used by countless hard-pressed schoolboys—an essay entitled "On the Difficulty of Writing an Essay" —and in other hands the picture might have collapsed of coy senility. But Julien Duvivier boils his pot with style and wit.

Two script writers, learning that the censor has rejected their current text as impossibly "blue" in substance and detail, must concoct and execute a complete new story over a week-end. One of the collaborators, models himself at some distance on Hollywood. He favors screen drama based on insanity, narcotics, untidy passion, wild chase, and a generous distribution of corpses. His companion, by comparison—but really only by comparison—a sophisticate, adheres to the Continental style that fabricates theater out of small happenstances actually observed. A boy and a girl trying to be sure of each other's love in Paris on the Fourteenth of July will do very nicely.

As the co-authors write, dictating at the top of their lungs and talents, their two versions—one paranoid, the other wistful—are acted out in

CAN THE CHURCH LIVE ON HALF THE GOSPEL?

Social justice and individual righteousness are both emphasized in the gospel of the Bible. But for some mysterious reason, the social-justice phase was abandoned when the doctrine of One God began to spread beyond the frontiers of Palestine. In other words, the God of Social Justice was put out of the church picture by the God of Righteousness, who employed all the apparatus of dogmatic theology in pursuit of the individual sinner.

The war between social justice and personal righteousness is exemplified in the ancient church by two ecclesiastical figures, both of them Bishops. The first was the Bishop of Constantinople. He was a disciple of Jesus and the Hebrew prophets. This Bishop vigorously denounced the political and economic conditions in Constantinople. He refused to make full use of the episcopal palace, and occupied only a small corner of it. The result was that his clergy drove him out of Constantinople into the country, where he died a martyr. This man is known in Church History as ST. CHRYSOSTOM. His real character has been thrust into the background; and he has been played up simply as a writer of hymns.

The other figure was the Bishop of Hippo, who knew all about Righteousness, but nothing about Social Justice. This man reduced theology to written form, and is known to Church History as ST. AUGUSTINE. His theology is at the basis of church doctrine, Protestant and Catholic. He helped to banish the God of Social Justice; and he promoted the enthronement of the stern, aristocratic God of Righteousness, who became normal in ecclesiastical tradition, and who is perfectly "safe" in the realm of Things As They Are.

Righteousness long ago succeeded in putting Social Justice into the category of "worldly matters." But today there is revolt against this impious tendency. The Papal Chair, in particular, has been re-defining Doctrine so as to emphasize Social Justice while rghtly excludng socialism and communism. The laity — Protestant and Catholic — can be counted upon to support sane reform which avoids atheism and Marxism. "Restoration of Social Justice to Belief in God" is the title of a new circular which will be sent to you free upon receipt of a three cent stamp to cover mailing cost. Your name and address should be clearly written, or better printed. There has been some difficulty about this; and some circulars have gone astray. Always put your return home, or office, address on the outside of envelope. Most persons requesting the circular are careful to send the stamp. When no stamp is sent, no circular is forwarded. — L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, New York.

(ADVERTISEMENT)

alternate episodes. The narrative that finally prevails has a thin but pretty life of its own; the participants—Dany Robin, Hildegarde Neff, Michel Auclair, and Michel Roux—are amused and amusing performers. At the same time, the picture mocks gently, not only at hollywood, but at the manners and preoccupations of a handful of the leading Continental directors. Clair De Sica, Cocteau, and Duviver himself are certainly being spoofed and there are probably others. "Holiday for Henrietta" is talented tomfoolery.

GRETA GARBO'S "Camille" is being revived in New York and, I understand, in other cities. This is no doubt a result of the "Garbo story" published by *Life,* and the public owes thanks to the magazine.

"Camille" is not a very good picture. It is a slow and rather lifeless retelling of the Dumas romance. Some of the roles are well acted, but Robert Taylor's Armand Duval has no more passion that a carp. None of this is of any importance; Garbo is the picture and she is a beautiful woman and a great actress. She was such a generous actress! She gave herself completely to the part and the audience, and she had so much to offer—love and pain and irony and tenderness—that she exposes the gifts of the easier screen nymphs for the lollipops they are.

In recent years Garbo has become a sad and enigmatic myth. People are forever sniffing at her career, trying to uncover the clues to its strangeness, complaining because she has shut herself away. It is certainly tragic, and the tragedy must have come in part from within Garbo herself. But it also came because neither the studios nor the public were prepared for this level of talent. Trained performers dispensing labeled goods were easily accepted and quickly understood. Garbo was accepted, too; she was deified—but on terribly debased terms. She was the Scandinavian siren, the only public figure who could say less than Calvin Coolidge. This laconic sex-boat is no kin to the great and demanding woman who appears on the screen. Perhaps Garbo was at fault to leave us, but she had provocation. "Camille" should be seen—not to solve the riddle but to marvel at the genius.

Music

B. H. Haggin

AT its second concert in Carnegie Hall the Symphony of the Air (formerly the NBC Symphony) was conducted by Leonard Bernstein; and if one of the pleasures of the occasion was hearing again the refined beauty of sonority, the precision and finish, and with these the sensitiveness and flexibility of this great orchestra, another pleasure was to observe the improved operation of Bernstein as a conductor that had something to do with the orchestra's playing as it did. Even the sumptuous-toned Philadelphia Orchestra sounded dry when it played under him a few years ago; and the warm, lustrous sound this time seemed to me to be connected with the relaxed spaciousness that one heard in the performances, and that contributed to the tremendous power Bernstein achieved in the performance of Prokofiev's Symphony No. 5. The other works were Copland's engaging "Appalachian Spring" and Hindesmith's Clarinet Concerto—as arid and empty and unattractive a piece of note-spinning as Hindemith has ever turned out—with Benny Goodman, for whom it was written, as soloist. Possibly there would have been a few less empty seats if Goodman had played the Mozart Clarinet Concerto instead.

My comments on "House of Flowers" are concerned only with the music and dancing, I didn't hear "Indoor Girl," with which I was told Pearl Bailey was stopping the show; but the combinations of Howard Arlen melody and Arlen-Capote lyric that I did hear I found delightful. What I thought I recognized as the remains of Balanchine's work—the dance for "Two Ladies in

LIFT AWAY!

BROTHERHOOD
RACIAL AND RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE

BROTHERHOOD WEEK
February 20-27
Sponsored by The National Conference of Christians and Jews

SPACE CONTRIBUTED BY JAMES N. ROSENBERG

LECTURES

ECONOMICS FOR THE WORKING MAN

A series of 13 lectures presenting a systematic analysis of our economy by

PROFESSOR OTTO NATHAN
for many years teacher and lecturer at colleges and in workers' education.
Tuesday, 8:15 P.M.—Single Lecture 50c, Series $5.
LABOR TEMPLE, 242 E. 14 St., N.Y.C.

CAMERAS ETC.

GERMAN CAMERAS & BINOCULARS. Import your own. Savings up to 35% on new Zeiss, Rolleiflex, Exakta, and all other makes. Experienced, intelligent, (and objective) advisory service for the technician or hobbyist. Please specify interests and requirements. Immediate airmail reply. Worldpost. Tangier International Zone, Morocco.

BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES

CHINCHILLAS—You Raise Them. We buy Them. Small capital can show terrific profits at home in your spare time. Free booklet explains our new lease plan. Box 97, Little Neck, New York.

PERSONALS

WELL-EDUCATED WOMAN of progressive mind and cultural tastes, would welcome exchange of views with others, on topics of word interest. Write to: D. Lippmann, P. O. Box 443, Philadelphia 5, Pa.

ON YOUR next trip east or west on U.S. Highway 80 stop at Guilbert's Pharmacy, Gila Bend, Arizona. An oasis in the desert.

IMPORTED STAINLESS STEEL FLATWARE—Good Design Award. 5 piece place setting—Regularly $5.60—SPECIAL $3.89. Standard Brand Dist., 143 Fourth Avenue (13th & 14th Sts.), N.Y. GR 3-7819. 1 hour free parking or 2 tokens.

PUBLICATIONS

SOCIALIST BOOKS. Catalog, literature, Free. New York Labor News Company, Dept. M, 61 Cliff Street, New York 38, New York.

de Shade of de Banana Tree," the processions in front of the curtain and around the stage for the cock fight and Mardi Gras, and the Octopus, Shark, and Turtle summoned by the Duchess of the Sea in the voodoo scene—I liked; Geoffrey Holder's Banda dance was remarkable in its special way; the big dance numbers created by Herbert Ross for the Mardi Gras and "Slide, Boy, Slide" I did not like.

When the Toscanini recording of Verdi's "Otello" was issued I said it wasn't likely that the orchestral part had ever been played with such precision and refinement of execution, such beauty and refinement of tone, as it was by the NBC Symphony under his direction. Nor was it likely that, except in other Toscanini performances, the vocal parts had been sung with such accuracy and such refinement of style—these in addition to the remarkable beauty and expressive inflection and coloring of Valdengo's singing as Iago, the purity and loveliness of Nelli's singing as Desdemona, the fine singing of Vinay as Otello at the times—notably in the third act—when he achieved delicacy without disturbing effort, and ringing sonority without a disturbing quaver. Nor, finally, was it likely that, except in other Toscanini performances, the vocal and orchestral parts had been integrated so precisely in a progression so completely achieved and finished, so unfailingly continuous in impetus, tension, and shape, so hair-raising in intensity and power.

I might have added that it wasn't likely that we would get these things from future performances; and I must now report that we don't get most of them from the performance on London LLA-24. The Santa Cecilia Orchestra is not of the caliber of the NBC Symphony, and under Erede's direction it doesn't achieve playing of the orchestral part like the NBC Symphony's under Toscanini. Nor does Erede produce a progression of singing and playing with the integration, the continuity of shape and tension, the intensity and power of Toscanini's. Erede conducts a singers' performance; but del Monaco, the Otello, when he sings softly—as in *Dio! mi potevi scagliar* — produces unpleasantly rough and rasping sounds that make one prefer his hard-voiced yelling; Protti, the Iago, exhibits nothing like the beauty or the expressive coloring of Valdengo's singing; and only from Tebaldi, the Desdemona, do we get the lovely singing that is the one thing this performance offers.

De Sabata's performance of Verdi's Requiem on Angel 3520-B disappoints my expectations based on his great Cetra performance of Mozart's Requiem. The Dies irae, the Sanctus, and the concluding fugue of the Libera me (after a slow beginning) are the only parts that move in correct and effective tempo. Everything else—in disregard of the metronome markings with which Verdi tries to enforce directions like Andante and Allegro—is stretched and dragged out ponderously and lugubriously by excessively slow tempos. In addition de Sabata does a lot of fussing—e.g. in the trumpet passage at the beginning of the Tuba mirum; and under these circumstances it isn't surprising that Schwarzkopf does a little of *her* fussing — even, so help me, her pouting, and, in her final *Libera me, Domine de morta aeterna, in die illa tremenda,* her whispering and gasping—or that di Stefano sobs in the Ingemisco. The other soloists are Siepi and a mezzo-soprano, Oralia Dominguez, whose voice lacks warmth but is steady.

What They Say About

The AMERICAN SOCIALIST

A Radical Monthly with a New Approach

■ In considering recently what American publications I would want to receive if for some strange reason I were removed from these shores, I thought of about half a dozen of which the AMERICAN SOCIALIST would be one. I think of it as a magazine which consistently stimulates me whether or not I agree with it; one whose clear, simple style betokens the kind of editorial blood, sweat and tears which I especially admire; written by people whose brains are active and who think before they push the keys.
CEDRIC BELFRAGE
Editor, National Guardian

● As a subscriber to the AMERICAN SOCIALIST for the past few months, it is a privilege to be able to recommend it. In my opinion there has never been a time in the history of this land when it was so necessary for a fearless voice to be raised that unqualifiedly endorses socialism.
REV. WILLIAM F. BAIRD, Chicago

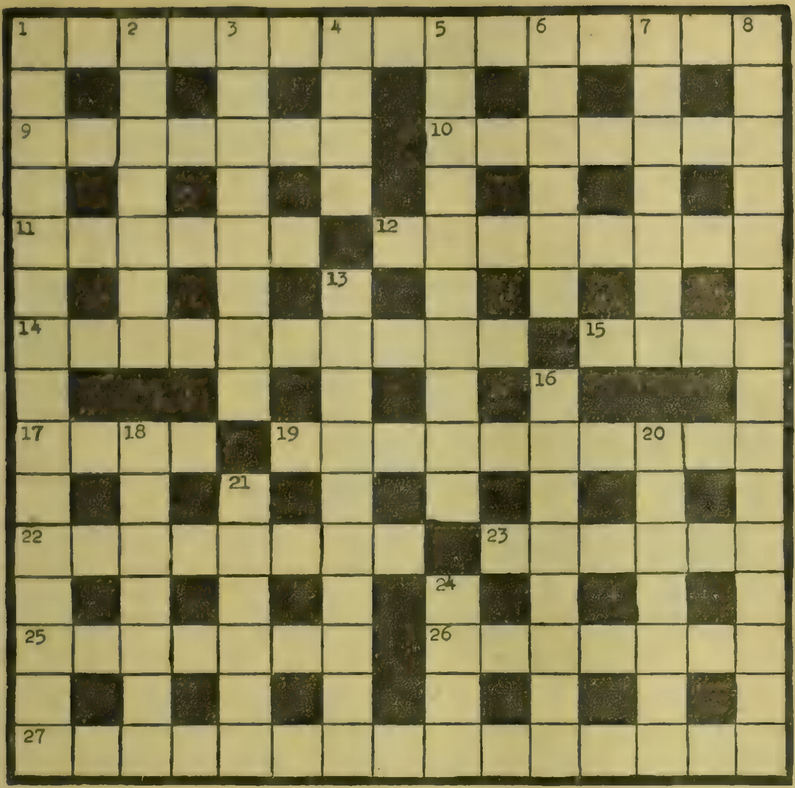
■ If only there were some way to vastly increase the circulation of publications such as the AMERICAN SOCIALIST so as to provide the public with facts and not propaganda; with courage and good will and light, rather than hatred, dissension and blind reaction.
CHARLES C. LOCKWOOD, Detroit
Attorney in the Radulovich Case

■ The AMERICAN SOCIALIST has been remarkably free of doctrinaire pronouncements and opportunist tactics. Your attention to trade union problems and to a realistic approach to independent political action should help greatly. . . . I hope that this magazine will appeal to a consistently widening circle of readers.
CLIFFORD T. McAVOY, New York
Vice-Chairman, American Labor Party

SPECIAL INTRODUCTORY OFFER
Six-month Subscription for $1
863 BROADWAY DEPT. 1 NEW YORK CITY 3

Crossword Puzzle No. 607

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Such things in Washington Merry-Go-Round might be creditable! (7, 8)
9 and 24 down The full course? (5, 2, 4)
10 Like one with a shake? (7)
11 Put to death by the Huns at Cologne. (6)
12 One is had by stick-to-it-iveness. (8)
14 A tear to bring to bear about, ostensibly. (10)
15 Not the hero of "Wild Rice." (4)
17 If this has nothing to eat, in a way, it's just begun. (4)
19 Take a wrong heading, get a book instead. (3, 3, 3, 1)
22 Long beer in France. (8)
23 Put on. (6)
25 A Russian plane in unusually rare surroundings for the squire. (7)
26 Ran it wrong in a railroad gauge, somewhat provincially. (7)
27 Direct a patient headed right this way? (15)

DOWN

1 Evidently the sports enthusiasts are milling about. (11, 4)
2 Acts like the boy at the dike. (5, 2)
3 They come after crawlers. (8)
4 and 13 Implying a rolling port? (4, 2, 3, 5)
5 It has light branches. (10)
6 Drupes, active in the bone. (6)
7 Dig that more crazy row of fruit! (7)
8 A period with time for its synonym. (6, 9)
13 See 4 down.
16 Silver? You'll find it a mount thereafter. (8)
18 Skimmer? (7)
20 Where Lagos is capital. (7)
21 He had something in common with Remus. (6)
24 See 9 across.

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 606

ACROSS: 1 FACED; 4 LONG'S PEAK; 9 CONSTRAIN; 10 ORGAN; 11 ANDANTINO; 12 and 21 PLAIN TALES; 14 EGOMANIACS; 17 GOLF COURSE; 22 SHIPSHAPE; 23 TETRA; 24 INKEEPER; 25 DISCERNED; 26 TILED. DOWN: 1 FACIAL; 2 CANADA; 3 DOTING; 4 LEADING QUESTION; 5 NON-COMMISSIONED; 6 SHOPPING; 7 EGG SALAD; [illegible] KINDNESS; 14 AGITATED; 15 ULULATES; 16 ICE SKATE; 18 ASPECT; 19 CARPAL; 20 GEARED.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York.

RESORTS

AN IDEAL PLACE FOR RELAXATION
THE BRENTWOOD
715 Princeton Avenue, Lakewood, N.J.
Warm, sunny rooms; Continental Cuisine; special diets catered to. Television, ping pong, games, records. Reasonable rates.
RESERVE NOW FOR WASHINGTON'S BIRTHDAY
New York: SPring 7-5168 LAkewood 6-0690

LAKE LOUANNE, ideal spot for rest and relaxation. 200 acres woodland, rustic trails, private lake skating. Charming home with fireplace. Large rooms with private baths. Delicious home cooking. Small group, informal and cultured atmosphere, friendly service. Louis Cudroff, Old Clinton Road, Westbrook, Conn. Phone: CLinton 6-2465.

FOR WASHINGTON'S BIRTHDAY
CARAN LODGE
Sylvan Lake ■ Hopewell Junction ● New York
60 miles from New York on Taconic Parkway
4 cozy fireplaces, Folk Dancing and Singing, Skating, Tobogganing and All Winter Sports. Children's Counselors. Food . . . Superb and Abundant.
Reservations:
New York HI 6-7506 Hopewell Junction 6-2632

50 Miles to FOREST HOUSE
Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes. All sports.
FOREST HOUSE
Lake Mahopac, N. Y. ● Tel. Mahopac 8-3449

THE PINES. Modern year-round retreat for adults in the Blue Mountains of Pennsylvania Dutch Country. Continental cuisine. Intimate group of congenial people. 95 miles from N. Y. C., 60 miles from Philadelphia. Write: Mrs. Ann Wunthal, Danielsville, R. D. 1. Tel.: Bath Te 7-6501.

RESTAURANT

BALALAIKA
157 West 56 Street
New York City
Gypsy Orchestra
Dining — Dancing
Two Shows Nightly
Banquet Department
For reservations call PLaza 7-2334

AUDIO

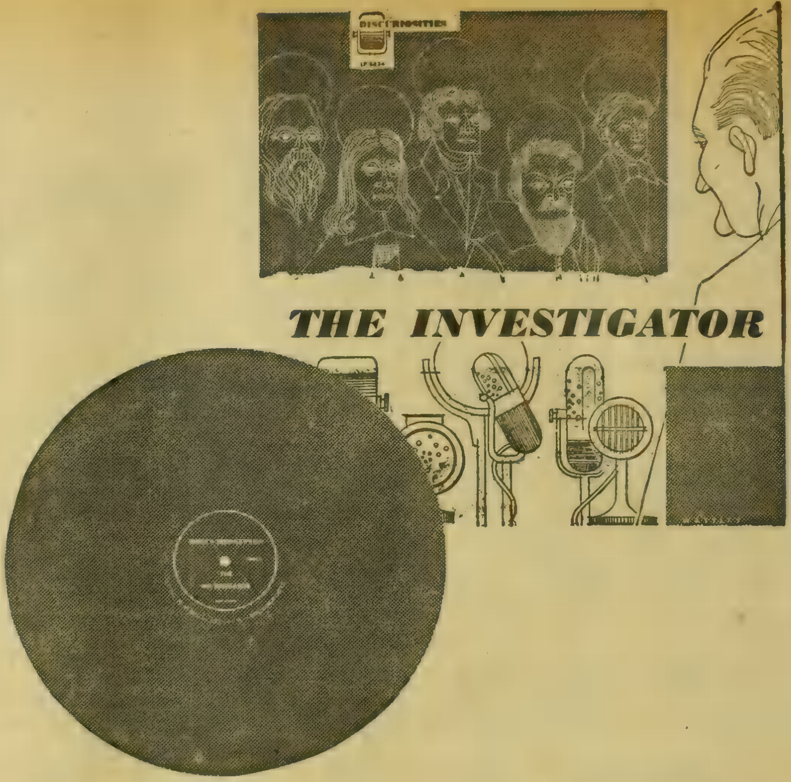
HI FIDELITY
RADIO-PHONOGRAPH
sales, installation and service
VECTOR LABS
217 3rd Ave. ● N. Y. C. 3 ● GR 3-7686

Advertising Rates

CLASSIFIED
74c a line (6 words)
Three-line minimum
●
CLASSIFIED DISPLAY
$7.42 per Inch (minimum)
Remittance must accompany all orders
●
The NATION
333 SIXTH AVENUE
New York 14, N. Y.
CHelsea 2-8400

Printed in the U. S. A. by Southern Farmer, Inc., P. O. Box 509, Montgomery, Ala.

THE RECORD McCARTHY NEVER MADE



Here is the sensational burlesque of Senator McCarthy presented by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation — now available to NATION readers at a new low price. (See below.)

Once you hear it, you'll never forget "The Investigator." Jack Gould, television critic of the New York *Times,* says: "No summary can begin to convey the fabulous detail, the subtlety and the light touches that are part of 'The Investigator.'"

If you don't like McCarthy, says Gould, "it will undoubtedly seem the most hilarious and brilliant satire ever done on the controversial Senator from Wisconsin. . . . In the program . . . the voice of "The Investigator" is so similar to the Senator's that it is hard to believe that it isn't Mr. McCarthy himself."

Here's the story in brief: "The Investigator" is killed in an airplane crash and finds himself "Up There" awaiting passage through the Pearly Gates. But first he must pass the scrutiny of the Head Gatekeeper and the Permanent Investigating Committee on Permanent Entry "Up There." With the collusion of other members of the committee (such worthies as Titus Oates, Torquemada, Cotton Mather and Baron George Jeffreys) "The Investigator" succeeds in deposing the Head Gatekeeper and becomes chairman of the committee.

At once he launches an inquiry and reopens the cases of Socrates, Jefferson, Milton, Voltaire, Shelley, etc. The conclusion is foregone: they are all banished to "Down There." But even the master of "Down There" revolts over the new conditions wrought in his bailiwick by the influx of "subversives" from "Up There." "The Investigator's" undoing comes when he finally tries to subpoena "The Chief."

This is a record you will play over and over; invite your friends in to listen to. You'll find it is one of the most devastating attacks on Senator McCarthy in existence.

THE NATION, 333 Sixth Avenue NYC 14

Send me ..... records of "The Investigator" at special Nation price of $4.85. (Add 40 cents for cost of packing and postage.)

NAME ....

ADDRESS ....

CITY .... Z ..... STATE ....

The regular price of the record is $5.95. *Nation* readers can have it for the special price of $4.85 plus cost of postage and packing. (Note: This is the *authorized* edition of the record—not to be confused with the "bootleg" version.)

HOW TO MAKE A BILLION BY HARVEY O'CONNOR

BURLINGAME
PUBLIC LIBRARY
Burlingame, Calif.

THE Nation

February 26, 1955
20c

The Great Moscow Mystery

by Alexander Werth

EVERY
WEEK
SINCE
1865

Focus on Washington *Max Freedman*

The Score on the Smith Act
A. L. Wirin and Samuel Rosenwein

THE Nation Bulletin Board:

IN VIEW of the current confessions of ex-informer Harvey Matusow, the article by attorneys Wirin and Rosenwein in this issue takes on added significance. In December, 1953, they analyzed for The Nation the result of prosecutions under the Smith Act. Now they bring the picture up to date. Matusow, you will recall, asserts that, coached by Roy Cohn, he cooked up false testimony which was useful in the Smith Act prosecution of thirteen Communist leaders in New York.

The current interest in informers reminds me that The Nation was the first general news magazine to print a full-dress article on that gamey tribe back in the spring of 1954. If you haven't seen Frank Donner's round-up on The Informer, reprints are still available at ten cents a copy.

OUR DRAMA EDITOR, Harold Clurman, is on the move again. At present he's out of town preparing the production of William Inge's new show "Bus Stop" for a scheduled March 2 opening in New York. On March 4 he leaves for England where he will direct "The Trojan War Shall Not Take Place," Michael Redgrave starring. Result is that he will not be able to handle his regular reviewing chore for us. Until he returns in June play reviewing will be left in the able hands of our movie critic, Robert Hatch. First appearance, this week.

ANOTHER EDITOR on tour is Foreign Editor J. Alvarez del Valo, who left for Europe last week for his annual reporting trip. His assignment is a formidable one this year, with the following items on his agenda: the effect of recent events in Russia; the situation in France minus Pierre Mendes-France; significant local elections due in Italy; the final battles over the rearmament of Germany; the East-West trade conference sponsored by the U. N.; the mounting political struggle in England between a Tory government committed to United States foreign policy and a Labor opposition united on a new approach to Asia; the atoms-for-peace conference due in Geneva in August.

So we said goodby to him this time with more than the usual anticipation and interest. You can expect the first of his regular dispatches to start coming with the March 12 issue.

REMARKABLE tributes have been paid to the first of the series, The American Writer by John W. Aldridge which appeared back in October. Van Wyck brooks writes: "Nothing of the sort has impressed me so much in a very long time. I felt [Aldridge] had given a most perceptive analysis of the situation and said very many true and acute things."

The English critic, V. S. Pritchett, observed that the articles "on the American writer are brilliant writing, and say things which . . . I so firmly agree with."

SOME SUBSCRIBERS to The Nation continue to get their copies late. As was pointed out on this page last week, the magazine is now being printed outside New York City, and it was unavoidable that problems both of production and delivery should arise. Some of the production difficulties have already been solved. There will be further improvements, including the occasional use of color on our covers. The extremely important delivery problem—it affects only certain areas—will also be solved in due time. Meanwhile we ask again that you be patient with us and with the United States Post Office.

A FREE COPY of the latest Nation's Choice selection will be awarded for the following contribution to this column.

A dispatch in the New York Herald-Tribune of February 2 headed "Matusow's Lies Held Not Vital" ran in part: "A highly placed source, who asked not to be identified, said 99 per cent of Matusow's testimony merely backed up statements made by other witnesses."

Max Fleisher of New York sent in the item.

MARTIN SOLOW

Letters

More About Louisville

Dear Sirs: Jennings Perry's report on the Braden case in the issue of January 15 bothers me almost as much as the Braden case itself, because it fails to get the basic issues out where they can be dealt with. It seems to me that Perry's conclusion that Braden's communism was "unproved" and that his only crime was his helping a Negro to buy a house in a white neighborhood is an evasion of the issue almost as reprehensible as those of which the prosecution may have been guilty.

The case was long and complicated and raised many legal and constitutional points. But I think that to most lay minds it presents only two rather simple issues. The first is: Did he buy the house simply "to oblige a friend" or as a part of a Communist-inspired conspiracy, or publicity stunt, intended to raise a racial issue in Kentucky? As I understand it, this is the crux of the whole case, and comment which, like Mr. Perry's, does not clearly recognize the point is not too helpful.

Legalism aside, the state, in effect, sought to prove that the affair of the house was a Communist conspiracy by demonstrating that Braden was a Communist. This Braden denied under oath. The denial was upset by the "rebuttal" testimony of Ahearn, an F. B. I. plant, that she had recruited him into the Communist Party and that he was a member of a Communist cell. Assuming that Ahearn was truthful and that Braden lied as to his Communist affiliation, this would still be no proof that the affair of the house was a Communist exploit in "seditious" propaganda. To point out that Braden was essentially convicted of a crime not clearly stated in the indictment, on testimony which was not properly assessed and which, even if true, would not have proved the real charge against him is surely legitimate. But to pretend that this charge was not made, or was not important, as Perry seems to do, is not legitimate.

The second issue is even simpler: Assuming that Braden was conniving at a piece of Communist agitation, is there ny conceivable reason for sentencing him to fifteen years of prison in expiation? The crime, if it was a crime, was little more than the sort of disturbance of the peace for which people used to get, at most, a month in the county jail. Braden was not really or fairly tried on the actual charge brought against him, and his punishment is out of all proportion to anything he may actually have done. These are the two great violations of civil liberty implied in the Braden case. To me they are both shocking. But I don't think that Mr. Perry's piece, which really skips over the actual gravamen of the charge against Braden, will be of much help either to Mr. Braden or to civil liberty.

New York WALTER MILLIS

Mr. Perry's Reply

Dear Sirs: I agree completely with Millis that Braden was not "really or fairly tried on the actual charge brought against him" (sedition) and that his punishment is "out of all proportion to anything he may actually

(Continued on page 188)

Volume 180, Number 9
New York, Saturday, February 26, 1955

THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

Dangerous Vagueness

Secretary Dulles went before the Foreign Policy Association and a national TV audience last week presumably to clarify recent American actions and the intentions behind them. What emerged was more double-talk. Reiterating the Administration's well-known commitment to the defense of Formosa and the Pescadores, he fumbled the issue of Quemoy and Matsu, repeating the President's promise to "take into account" other "closely related localities" and adding that the United States does not propose "to defend these islands as such." Which leaves things exactly where they were before Mr. Dulles rose to speak.

The trouble seems to be that the Administration has tangled itself up in its inner conflicts and contradictions. Mr. Eisenhower has, we believe, consistently hoped and tried to avoid warlike clashes in the Formosa Strait or off the China coast. From the time of the Chinese Communist attack on a British airliner last July, when he refused to make a major issue of the shooting down of two American navy planes near the Hainan airfield and ordered American carriers to pull out of the area, to the day in September when he decided, against the urging of three of the four Joint Chiefs of Staff, not to intervene in defense of Quemoy, his position was firmly held. What weakened it at the beginning of this year was apparently the growing belief that Peking seriously intended an early attack on Formosa with the offshore islands as a starting point. Out of this came the President's statement to Congress and the Formosa resolution that followed, embodying on the one hand our abandonment of the liberation policy—Chiang Kai-shek's dream of an American-sponsored return to the mainland—and at least a partial retreat from the offshore islands, while on the other hand reinforcing our intention to hold Formosa. According to Joseph Alsop, however, the defense of Quemoy and Matsu was implicit in the President's proposal, was personally promised to Foreign Minister Yeh by Secretary Dulles, and was the basis of Chiang's agreement to evacuate the Tachens. Alsop further charges that the President "hedged" in order to "undercut the Senate opposition to the Formosa resolution."

Whether this is the correct version or not, the continuing ambiguity in American policy apparently resulted from an attempt to bridge the gap between Mr. Eisenhower's desires and Mr. Dulles's promises. It is a most perilous ambiguity and should be cleared up at once. As the London *Times* remarked, it is hard to read any practical meaning into Mr. Dulles's qualification regarding the islands. "As such or not as such, the islands remain islands, the guns remain guns, and the dangers remain dangers." There is some satisfaction in the knowledge that the President wants peace; but events of recent days suggest that a sane solution of the Asian crisis is more likely to come about through the quiet efforts of Britain and India in Moscow and Peking than through Mr. Dulles's pronouncements or his operations in Washington and Bangkok.

Mr. Dulles Theorizes

Mr. Dulles's niggardliness with facts in dealing with Asia was balanced by an over-abundance of theory when he spoke of Russia. Drawing an ideological line between Soviet officials who put "national security" first and those who put the party ahead of country, the Secretary of State dreamed up a future in which negotiated settlements might be achieved and the historic friendship between America and the "new" Russia be reactivated. This fascinating prospect would depend upon a reversal of recent events, with Malenkov the moderate restored to primacy and Khrushchev the party boss diminished, even if its premise should be correct. But the premise itself is surely as hazardous as most of the other guesses going around. For no internal Soviet upsets have yet revealed any faction or leader who would assert that what was good for the party—in world terms—was bad for the nation, or vice versa. In fact, until Mr. Dulles spoke, we believed it to be Washington's view as well that the drive to extend communism throughout the world was a weapon of Russian national interest rather than an obstacle to it. If this is so we may have to wait quite a while for those "Russians of stature" to emerge who will brush communism aside and make friends with their opposite numbers in Washington.

Minks and Machine-Guns

Implicit in Floyd Barger's account in the New York *Daily News* of Vice-President Richard Nixon's visit to Guatemala is an incisive comment on American policy in relation to that unhappy land. According to Mr. Barger, President Carlos Castillo Armas stayed away from the great ball given in honor of the Vice-President because his machine-gun-carrying guards would have

In This Issue

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 169

ARTICLES

Washington in Focus
by Max Freedman 171

The Eastern Front:
Some Military Appraisals
by J. Alvarez del Vayo 172

Great Moscow Mystery:
Policies and Premiers
by Alexander Werth 173

How to Make a Billion:
Fables of Texas Oil
by Harvey O'Connor 175

The Smith Act Score
by A. L. Wirin and
Samuel Rosenwein 177

BOOKS

Puerto Rican Myths
by John V. Murra 181

Guatemala Fable
by Bernard Rosen 182

Argentine Facts
by Carleton Beals 184

THEATER and FILMS
by Robert Hatch 186

MUSIC by B. H. Haggin 186

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 608
by Frank W. Lewis opposite 188

BULLETIN BOARD
by Martin Solow opposite 168

LETTERS opposite 168

Editorial Board

Freda Kirchwey — Editor and Publisher
Carey McWilliams — Editorial Director
Lillie Shultz — Director, Nation Associates
Victor H. Bernstein — Managing Editor
J. Alvarez del Vayo — Foreign Editor

Martin Solow — Assistant to the Publisher

Harold Clurman — Theater
B. H. Haggin — Music
Robert Hatch — Films
Gladys Whiteside — Copy Editor
Caroline Whiting — Assistant Literary Editor
Alfred Maund — Editorial Assistant
Mary Simon — Advertising Manager

Contributing Editors: Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus, Keith Hutchison, H. H. Wilson, W. Macmahon Ball, Maxwell Geismar, Bruce Catton

The Nation, February 26, 1955, Volume 180, No. [illegible]

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1955, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879 at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Reentered as second class matter at the Post Office Montgomery, Alabama. Printing Office 1603 Reuben Street.

Subscription Prices. Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: **The Nation** is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

seemed out of place. Said a source close to the President: "Where would we have parked Castillo's machine-guns, on the table or under the table"? The ball brought out "a glittering display of wealth. Fifteen hundred plantation owners and their mink and ermine-clad wives, plus the diplomatic corps, danced to two bands and drank toasts until early morning. Outside, barefoot urchins and poverty-stricken people gawked at the ostentatious show of wealth." It is this moneyed class—the comment is Mr Barger's, not ours—that "has been withholding financial support from Castillo, despite the fact that it was the first to cry out against the Communist-tinged regime of Jacobo Arbenz Guzman." From Guatemala, the Vice-President winged his way to San Salvador where, of course, he was wined and dined by representatives of the same wealthy class of whom the new York *Times'* correspondent reported (November 13, 1954) that they regularly put $12,000,000 to $15,000,000 a year from coffee profits in New York or Swiss banks.

Is the President a New Dealer?

One of the strangest myths of 1955 echoed noisily at the Lincoln Day meeting of Middle Western right-wing Republicans in Chicago—the myth that President Eisenhower is some kind of disguised New Dealer. Last week we pointed to the empty rhetoric of his message on public health. Still emptier of content was his message on education, which merited even the cruder Democratic gibes: aiming "a squirt gun to extinguish a conflagration" (Senator Neely); "a gimmick" (Senator Neuberger); "window dressing" (Senator Morse); "not half a loaf but not even 5 per cent of a loaf" (Senator Kerr). The President would provide only about $65,000,000 annually in direct aid to education over a three-year period; conservative estimates place the need at $500,000,000 annually. Tucked away in his budget message, moreover, was a $50,000,000 cut in educational expenditures which even his critics forgot to mention. Forgotten, too, was the fact that the W. P. A. spent $20,000,000 in direct aid to education and an additional $200,000,000 for school construction; $200,000,000 then was the equivalent of about $600,000,000 today in view of increased costs. Not only would such low-income states as Mississippi and South Dakota be compelled to bear practically the entire burden of financing their schools under the President's program, but local taxpayers in these states would be saddled with the interest obligation on bonds held by Eastern financial interests, which would have been relieved of their fair share of school costs by unloading the obligation on the states and local communities. In attempting to palm off their impoverished and inadequate program as "positive, affirmative action" directed to overcoming an "unprecedented classroom shortage" the President has once again been betrayed by the hucksters who, it would appear, not only prepare his messages but put together his programs.

Washington in Focus

by Max Freedman

Washington

DIPLOMATS in Washington are repeating a phrase which Sir Winston Churchill used at the recent Commonwealth conference in London to emphasize the atomic dangers facing mankind. We have now reached a point in time, the British leader said, in which safety has become the twin brother of annihilation. The report by the Atomic Energy Commission on atomic fall-out gives somber urgency to that warning. Yet Admiral Strauss seems intent primarily upon stirring up interest in civil defense. Thus far the response to a bold suggestion from the Washington *Post* has been disappointing. Its call for a moratorium on further tests of atomic and hydrogen bombs has met with no encouragement from policy-makers. They are afraid to make overtures to Russia lest a gesture of co-operation be degraded into a symbol of weakness.

Meanwhile the tangle grows more complicated and more ominous. The State Department, before venturing on a new offer, is waiting for some dominant figure to emerge in Moscow. Russia's leaders, on the contrary, have prepared an ugly anthology of official statements by Americans to show that reliance on atomic power has become the primary instrument of American policy. This distorted image of the United States as a nation hunting an excuse to drop the atomic bomb may be no more misleading than the State Department's conjecture that the Kremlin is being shaken by a struggle for power that makes impossible any negotiations at this time on an issue so vital as atomic policy. How do we know? What have we done to find out if a constructive proposal would be heeded in Moscow?

Diplomacy has beat out its raucous refrain on the themes of suspicion and indignation. There has been almost no attempt, apart from Mr. Dulles's obscure passage in his New York speech, to sound the language of moderation. When Mr. George Kennan tried to persuade Mr. Dulles, after Stalin's death, that a new chapter had opened in Russia justifying a fresh approach to the Kremlin, he was rebuffed. Mr. Dulles still remembers with bruised resentment the skill and logic with which Mr. Kennan shook the theory of "liberation." He is never eager to be tutored by Mr. Kennan's wisdom. Yet the bewildered conjecture which followed Stalin's death was a model of clarity compared with the contradictory estimates now being made here of Russia's next policies. The only difference is that the two giants are carrying bigger bombs all the time and their power to endanger civilization has never been so great.

The Atomic Energy Commission has touched only the fringes of its duty when it reveals the destruction wrought by atomic warfare. It should also be the leading agent in rousing President Eisenhower to the need of keeping the prospects for an atomic settlement on the agenda of American-Russian relations. Strength justifies itself in creative negotiations; otherwise it can become a burden to ourselves and a provocation to others. But it is so much more comfortable, even amid the accumulated horror of the hydrogen bomb, to take refuge in stale sophistries than to seek out adventurous ideas; and it is this mood of drifting and timidity which now governs the conduct of both parties as they improvise blundering expedients to the challenges of the atomic age.

PRESIDENT Eisenhower emerged from the trade debate in the House of Representatives with a narrow victory that reflected the Administration's timid leadership. Speaker Rayburn kept warning the Republicans of the growing strength of the protectionists. But the White House delayed its challenge to Representative Reed, who has used his power in the Republican party since 1952 to block the President's trade program. When President Eisenhower finally intervened it was almost too late. Even this leaf-thin victory was extorted from the House by the pledge that no American industry will be hurt by reciprocal trade. We believe in competition but on our own terms and according to our own rules.

The Administration has won a reprieve rather than a final triumph. Now the contest will be resumed in the Senate where the rules of debate will allow scope for amendments. The central figure will be Senator Millikin whose opposition to the Randall report was as courteous as it was inflexible. Over this city there once again hovers the agitated suspicion that the President will shrink from leadership, even though his faith in freer trade is beyond reproach.

LIKE an east wind of anxiety, the news of the House debate chilled Washington, for it seemed for a time as if word would go to the world that Congress had abandoned the principles which have guided American trade policy since 1934. Approval of the present program will quicken and enlarge the currents of trade only slightly. But its defeat or mutilation would have bred immediate ill-will. Reliance on trade agreements would become a rope of sand. Many industries would try to escape from concessions already woven into treaties. The White House, except on the plea of national security, would be forced to follow the Tariff Commission. Soon a competition in reprisals would have deranged the sensitive pattern of world trade. Few Congressmen cared about these issues. For them the debate was mainly a scuffle over local interests. That is why Mr. Rayburn and Mr. Martin were so imperious in their reminder of the sanctions behind loyalty. They had to be firm because the President's advisers were so weak.

In the Senate the Democrats will be more united, the debate will be more enlightened, and the fear of Japanese competition less compulsive. Through all the changes and chances of the House debate there gloomed the shadow of the Japanese trade treaty. Only at scattered intervals did the House forget its local anxieties. The administration will be inviting disaster if it relies on the unassisted wisdom of the Senate. The events of the last week have made it evident that a major battle must be fought before the Senate will approve the Geneva trade system. What happened in the House should warn the President that he must do something more with the Senate than make last-minute appeals to save his program.

THE EASTERN FRONT

Some Military Appraisals . . *by J. A. del Vayo*

United Nations

THE Security Council met briefly on the Formosa problem last week and did the best thing it could do under the circumstances—which was nothing. After an exchange of oratory the delegates adjourned in hopes that diplomacy could achieve what the U. N. obviously could not.

Meantime certain United Nations members are casting a measuring eye on the strength of the military forces confronting each other in the area of conflict. No one expected an immediate assault on either Formosa or the offshore islands; reports reaching here indicate no appreciable build-up of Chinese arms or men for an invasion of Quemoy. Contrary to earlier stories, the airfields of Fukien province on the mainland opposite Formosa are devoid of combat planes, and Nationalist aircraft fly over the area almost daily without meeting opposition. Despite this, most delegations share the opinion of the London *Times* that the "world undoubtedly faces a highly explosive situation." And with the Korean experience in mind, most delegates are demanding a cold appraisal of the military picture before they will permit the U. N. to embark on a second and even more perilous adventure.

Experts agree that aviation strength would prove to be the most important factor in a war over Formosa. Michael Gordon, Tokyo correspondent of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch,* cabled his newspaper on January 27 that "the combined air strength of the Soviet Union and Communist China in the Far East today is estimated to be at least three times that of the United States and the Nationalist Chinese." American air-force intelligence in Tokyo, according to other reports, estimates that China and Russia have 8,500 planes concentrated in Northeast Asia. These estimates jibe closely with air-force intelligence in Formosa, which puts the combined strength at 8,000 planes.

In contrast Gordon puts the strength of the United States Far Eastern air force at about 2,500 planes. He adds that theoretically this force is "augmented by local air forces in southeastern Formosa, the Philippines, and Thailand, but these are still weak and possibly ineffective." Some American commentators pin their hopes on a build-up of the Japanese air force to effective operational level. But the day for this is still far away and has been brought no nearer by Tokyo's recent gestures toward Russia and China.

On the eve of the Tachen Islands evacuation the commander of the United States Far Eastern Air Force put the combined Communist air strength at "four to five times our own." Joseph Alsop, reporting about the same time from Formosa, said that "American experts here give the Communists the capability of attacking either Quemoy or the Matsus or both at any time."

If the figures for Communist air strength are even approximately correct, they indicate, according to military experts, that the Soviet Union has committed nearly one-third of its entire combat aviation to the Far East. This would seem to dispose of the theory, held in some quarters, that the Soviet Union is not really interested in helping China to recover Formosa. There is another point to be considered. The Soviet Far East air forces are based largely in northern Manchuria, particularly in the Vladivostok area. Any attempt by American planes to chase their Russian opponents back to their place of origin, whether in "hot" pursuit or cold, will inevitably mean direct involvement of American aviation with Russian.

Politically there was abundant evidence last week that Moscow, though apparently seeking some way of reducing the gravity of the Formosa situation, was more firmly resolved than ever to give Communist China all the aid called for by the mutual-defense pact between the two countries. The anniversary of the pact offered a new occasion for both sides to emphasize the solidity of their alliance.

As to Communist China's army, experts already refer to it as the "second largest in the world." In the January issue of *International Affairs,* published in London by the Royal Institute, Lord Birdwood estimates its strength at 2,250,000, with an additional 700,000 "public security" troops in reserve. "It must be frankly admitted," the author concludes, "that Chinese armies stocked up with Soviet equipment and supplies could at this moment overrun Southeast Asia without effective opposition." United Press and Associated Press dispatches of February 4 from the Far East estimated that Communist China's ground forces total 3,500,000, including a million "security troops." Alsop wrote of "huge forces . . . now almost as well equipped as the infantry of the Soviet Union." He added: "In short, what the Communists can do if they choose to risk the consequences is only too grimly clear."

China's resources in man-power must not be forgotten. In a recent letter to the New York *Times,* Frederick Osborn, who served as deputy to the United States representative on the U. N. Atomic Energy Commission, remarked: "Would a mainland invasion exhaust China? She has over 25,000,000 births a year, so her man-power losses would be no disadvantage." Presumably Mr. Osborn is talking of a conventional war and not of an H-bomb war, which would be catastrophic to both sides.

It has been argued that the Chinese Communist leaders are so keen to get ahead with their first five-year plan that they will avoid war at any cost. But as the London *Economist* observed recently, "there is no reason why industrialization and an assault on a localized objective like Quemoy would be incompatible." Today the emphasis in China, as in the Soviet Union, is on heavy industry. "Modern armed forces cannot be built without heavy industry," the *People's Daily*, the central organ of the Chinese Communist Party, has remarked pointedly. It should not be overlooked that Russian leaders have said publicly that the answer to the rearmament of Germany and to "United States aggressive preparations in Asia" lies in the acceleration of industrial output, particularly heavy industry.

Pierre Gascar, distinguished French critic and novelist, recently visited China and has written a series of remarkable articles in *Le Monde*. He describes the fight of the Chinese against their recurrently flooding rivers as "one of the major aspects of the New China . . . abounding in heroic acts" and implies that they will fight for Formosa in the same spirit:

> If one admits that the Western imperialist position on the continent of Asia represents a form of oppression but also a form of aggression, then one can see how China believes that it is fighting for peace when it seeks to liberate itself and all Asia at the same time. Peace therefore takes on the character of an epic. On the wall of the central station in Peking a huge inscription proclaims: "We must liberate Taiwan!" Fifty yards away a vast painting of Picasso's dove carries the legend: "Long live peace among the peoples."

This is the kind of China that the West will be facing across the Formosa Strait.

GREAT MOSCOW MYSTERY

Policies and Premiers . . *by Alexander Werth*

Paris

WHAT a field day it has been for the "Russian experts"! The "Bonapartist" bee in Isaac Deutscher's bonnet has been buzzing louder than ever; Crankshaw's melodrama, with the avenging ghost of Zhdanov appearing in the fifth act, thrilled the readers of the London *Observer*. The only two things that really mattered were slurred over, for our experts are never "deceived" by anything that is actually published by the Russians. Yet it was precisely what was published that, without explaining in so many words what had happened, gave the key to the great "Moscow mystery."

One thing is certain: Malenkov's strangely worded letter of resignation was clearly intended to produce a double psychological shock. Ex-Ambassador Sir David Kelly was undoubtedly right when he said in the London *Sunday Times* that the time had come when it was necessary to sacrifice a V. I. P., but he gave only one of the two reasons why it was necessary: he said Russian agriculture was in such a mess that it was important to impress upon the Soviet peasantry that something new was now going to be done. In good Foreign Office style Sir David flatly denied that there was anything at all in the theory that the increase in international tension and the totally negative attitude of the Western powers toward Malenkov's conciliatory foreign policy was behind the shake-up. In fact, he denied that Malenkov's foreign policy *was* conciliatory, implicitly denying at the same time that the Western powers were in any way responsible for Malenkov's downfall.

There is not the slightest doubt, however, that the international tension had a tremendous lot to do with it. The more-consumer-goods policy and the greater-liberalism policy associated with Malenkov's name were possible only on one condition: that the danger of war receded, that long-term coexistence between the two worlds be rendered possible by the more forthcoming attitude of the Western powers. Instead, provocation followed on provocation—first, the rearmament of Western Germany, despite endless appeals and warnings from Russia ("it only shows that the Russians are weak and scared"), and second, the "aggression" against China at Formosa and in the Formosa Strait. It was important to show the outside world that something in the Soviet Union had changed, and that the "weak" and "timid" Malenkov had been replaced. The defense budget was increased. Molotov, amid long and frantic cheering, said that the Soviet Union was far ahead of America in the production of the H-bomb. Bulganin in his first speech as Prime Minister declared: "We've got to call to order the lunatics waving their atom bombs at us."

In conclusion, Bulganin reiterated that "to preserve in the future our superiority over the armed strength of the capitalist armies, the Central Committee of the party and the government have carried out the tremendous task of supplying our armed forces with completely modern weapons and equipment. Our forces are capable today of fulfilling any task for the security of our country for which they may be called upon by the Central Committee and the government."

The experts do not seem to have taken the slightest notice of either the Bulganin or the Molotov speech.

Yet the very tone of these speeches is different from anything heard in the Malenkov days. What they say is that if the United States wishes to talk to Russia from "positions of strength," Russia can start talking from its own "positions of strength." Molotov warned implicitly that the Soviet Union would not stand by passively while Western Germany was rearmed, any more than it would allow China to be attacked. One of the main purposes of the Malenkov resignation was to draw attention to this.

The other main purpose was to produce a psychological shock in domestic affairs. That Malenkov should have given his "lack of experience" in agricultural matters as his reason for resigning is extremely significant. How much "personal rivalries" between the "Kremlin cliques" had to do with it and whether Malenkov will one of these days be accused of having "murdered Zhdanov" we are in no better position to know than are those who assert, without the slightest evidence, that that is the "real explanation."

Actually there is no need to think up such hair-raising thrillers, for a quite simple explanation is at hand. Under Malenkov the Western powers thought they could treat Russia as weak and passive; and under Malenkov, too, the general public in Russia tended to take the line that life was easier and no very special effort was called for. This attitude was particularly common among the peasants, who have always been inclined to "take things easy" on the least excuse. Such a relatively easygoing "way of life"—of which the increase in drunkenness has been a striking example in the last few years—just did not fit the international situation; and while both Khrushchev and Bulganin promised increasing prosperity, it will clearly no longer receive the chief emphasis. It is noteworthy that the enormously increased consumption of food in the cities was at least partly blamed for the present difficulties, and Khrushchev made no secret of the fact that consumption was rising more rapidly than production. In normal times this could perhaps be tolerated for a period, but in view of the international situation it was necessary, as Khrushchev pointed out, for the government to accumulate large food reserves, and "something had gone wrong"; there was a growing discrepancy between food production and food requirements. Malenkov as Prime Minister was obliged, symbolically as it were, to take the responsibility.

London

British politicians who blindly follow the Foreign Office were infuriated by Aneurin Bevan's charge, on the morrow of the Kremlin changes, that "the West must take its share of responsibility for Malenkov's fall." The left-wing Labor leader declared: "Malenkov was associated with, even if he was not the actual author of, the more liberal tendencies in Russia that have made themselves manifest since the death of Stalin. These took the form of loosening the grip of Russia on its satellites, a promise of a better life for the Russian people, and a readier disposition to come to terms with other countries. . . . It looks as though those Soviet leaders who were doubtful even if they were not actually opposed to this line have now concluded that Malenkov has failed. We left him with no cards to play. And so they have thrust him out of the game."

ANDREW ROTH.

Whether Khrushchev was deliberately attacking Malenkov—and Mikoyan—when he referred to the "consumerists," whom he compared, a little ominously, to Rykov and Bukharin, is hard to say. Undoubtedly a large number of Soviet officials were "consumerists," as was the general public, not unnaturally, and all these people would look to Malenkov and Mikoyan as "their" men. There is no evidence, however, that Malenkov was in favor of developing light industry to the detriment of heavy industry, even though the progress of the former was evidently going to be speeded up, and imports of meat and other foods were to be increased pending a great rise in Soviet agricultural output. As it turned out, the increase in agricultural output was disappointing.

As early as September, 1953, the Khrushchev report made some very severe comments on the state of agriculture and, above all, on the state of stock-breeding. Plans were drawn up for enormously increasing the number of milch cows in the next two years, but the result has clearly not come up to expectations. The statistical report on economic progress during 1954, published on January 21 last, merely said, without comment, that between October 1, 1953, and October 1, 1954, horned cattle had increased from 63,000,000 to 64,900,000—cows from 26,000,000 to 27,500,000, pigs had increased from 47,000,000 to 51,000,000, and sheep from 114,900,000 to 117,500,000. These figures were nowhere near the targets set in the 1953 Khrushchev report.

It is not too late to look closely at the Khrushchev report of February 2—a document which has not received nearly so much attention in the Western press as it should have. After a sharp attack on the "so-called theorists" who imagined that at some stage of socialism heavy industry was no longer the main thing, Khrushchev got down to his main argument. Although technically Soviet agriculture was now very well equipped, it had one weakness: no sound foundation had been laid for a vast increase in stock-breeding, despite the immensely increased requirements. These increased requirements were due (1) to the rise in the standard of living—the sale of meat to the public had nearly trebled since 1940; (2) to the annual increase of 3,000,000 in the population—a figure quoted for the first time in the Soviet Union, and one with tremendous demographic implications; (3) to the migration in the last five years of 17,000,000 persons from country to town; (4) to the state's growing needs for immense grain reserves—obviously an allusion to the international situation; (5) to the need for a large grain fund for foreign trade. The total inadequacy of the fodder available was of course the basic cause for the lag.

There followed a long dissertation on the need for growing maize; it was planned to increase the area under maize in the next few years from 3,500,000 to 28,000,000 hectares. Maize, Khrushchev said, explained the great success of American stock-breeding. Now only grown in the south, maize should be grown even in areas where it did not fully ripen, because the leaves and stalks made valuable fodder. Altogether, the plans for increasing grain production between now and 1960 are on a grandiose scale. The opening up of the abandoned and virgin lands of Central Asia, Khrushchev said, had already added two or three million tons, a figure which would be doubled next year. The general grain target for 1960 was at least sixty million tons more than present output.

The biggest internal problem in Russia now is whether the great technical, human, and propaganda resources mobilized for this all-important economic purpose will produce results and, if not, whether the cities will have to return to austerity and rationing.

HOW TO MAKE A BILLION

Fables of Texas Oil . . *by Harvey O'Connor*

ON the theory that the more you take out of an oil well the less you have left, an ingenious tax theory has been evolved to assure the production of the biggest and most blatant crop of millionaires that the nation has seen since the "robber barons" flourished in the late nineteenth century.

The gimmick is "depletion allowance." The Treasury Department says it is the biggest of all loopholes in the tax laws, accounting for a loss of revenue of more than $500,000,000 a year on oil alone. The tall fortunes of the Texas tycoons—some estimated up to half-billion—garnered in the past twenty-five years come out of the deep holes of depletion allowance. In some cases Uncle Sam finds himself unable to pry a penny from the income of these nouveaux riches. If a well is a "dry hole," that is a deductible loss; if it produces, then 27½ per cent can be deducted on *gross* income. When the accountants get through with the books, there is often little left for the Bureau of Internal Revenue to figure on.

So it is that Hugh Roy Cullen, Haroldson Lafayette Hunt, Clint Murchison, and Sid Richardson have been able to accumulate in a brief span of years what it took John D. Rockefeller half a lifetime of patient planning to pocket. Rockefeller was obliged to organize an oil empire the hard way; if the present-day Croesuses have enough holes drilled into Mother Earth, a rigged tax structure assures them opulence. If Lady Luck smiles, they come within an ace of being able to buy up the entire United States. The country's only safety from such fate is that nothing pays off like an oil well; Eastern railroads, international airlines, Babylonian hotels—these are desired more as a pride of pomp and power than a source of income.

The "Four Hundred" of Houston, and the flanking millionaires of Dallas, Fort Worth, Tulsa, and other Southwestern towns, are personal testimonials to the efficacy of depletion allowance. But the major oil companies—Esso's Humble, Socony's Magnolia, Gulf, Texaco—and a score of minor companies specializing in exploration and drilling owe their amazing profits to tax-deductible holes in the ground, sources of wealth whether they run rich with crude oil or "dry" with salt water. The smaller companies, unencumbered by the losses sustained by the majors in marketing, reveal the true delights of tax favoritism; Argo, Honolulu, Louisiana Land and Exploration, Midwest, Pacific Western, Texas Gulf Producing, Texas Pacific Coal and Oil regularly report net income ranging from 30 to 80 per cent of gross income. Add to these the unreported incomes of a hundred family or personal corporations, such as the Cullens' Quintana and the Murchisons' Delhi, and it is easy to see why the Texas crowd of "filthy rich" —so well celebrated in Edna Ferber's "Giant"—are elbowing polished Easterners out of Wall Street.

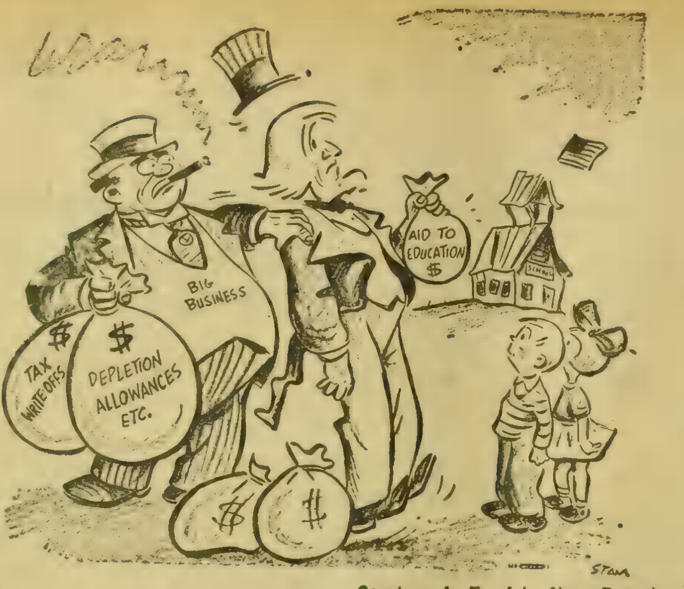
HARVEY O'CONNOR is the author of "Mellon's Millions," "The Guggenheims," "The Astors," "History of the Oil Workers International Union," and "The Empire of Oil," to be published next fall.

These men operate in a jungle of "wildcats." A wildcat is a well drilled in territory where oil has not been discovered. On the average, says the American Petroleum Institute, eight out of nine wildcats are "dusters"—dry holes. It sounds like an unpromising way to earn money.

Here is where the tax laws come in. If the man behind the wildcat is in the bracket where 90 per cent of his income would go into the federal treasury, then wildcatting is Open Sesame! He can hardly lose so long as he keeps on drilling. The money he spends drilling eight "dusters" is deductible from his gross income. The income from his ninth well, a producer, is pretty much velvet, for all the "intangible" expenses, such as the preliminary geological work, and all the labor, equipment, and fuel costs of drilling are deductible. On top of that he can deduct 27½ per cent of his gross income on the well.

To illustrate: if the oil man is in the 90 per cent tax bracket and wells cost $100,000 apiece to drill, he will spend $900,000 on nine wells. The eight dry holes, however, will actually cost him only $10,000 apiece, Uncle Sam assuming the rest of the risk. The ninth well, the producer, may be a mint, opening up a new field where a hundred good wells can be drilled.

THE theory of depletion allowance as applied to oil and some other minerals is quite unlike the depreciation allowed manufacturers. If a million-dollar plant has an expected life of twenty years, the owner may deduct $50,000 a year for depreciation. But depreciation is not calculated that way on an oil well. If a



Courtesy A. F. of L. News-Reporter

"Stop! That's socialism"

well in which $100,000 was invested produces $500,000 a year for ten years and then is exhausted, ordinary depreciation allowance would be $10,000 a year. But when it comes to oil, the tax laws do not base depreciation on the investment; instead, "depletion" is the key word, and the investor is allowed to deduct 27½ per cent of his gross income each year. In ten years the owner could deduct $1,375,000 from his income tax on an investment of $100,000. That the deduction is allowed him on a natural resource he never created highlights this as the most extravagant of all gifts from the public purse to private operators.

"I know of no loophole in the laws so inequitable as the excessive depletion exemptions now enjoyed by oil and mining interests," said former President Truman. Senator Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota estimated that if depletion allowance had been dropped for ordinary depreciation, the entire tax increase on those earning less than $4,000 a year could have been avoided in the 1951 tax bill. In 1947 oil companies were able to deduct thirteen times more through depletion than they would have been allowed through the depreciation claimed by other industries. While most big industries are paying taxes at close to 70 per cent of their operating income, the oil industry is being tapped for about 25 per cent. The National Oil Marketers Association, feuding with the crude producers in 1953, estimated that the government could get a billion more in revenue by allowing "true" depletion instead of the flat figure of 27½ per cent.

For the oil magnates depletion allowance is the gateway to their private paradise, the touchstone of their national policy now that they have got the "tidelands." Before the portals stand guard the Texas Congressmen and their Southwestern confederates. When Robert Doughton, the conservative North Carolina Democrat, as chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee wanted to slice depletion allowance from 27½ per cent to 15 per cent, Speaker Sam Rayburn, a Texan, leaped into the breach. "The Speaker," said Doughton, "was terribly against any change in the oil-depletion-allowance provision. I know he made that plain to other members of the committee. Personally, I thought that loophole ought to be closed, that it was wrong, but the others were so much for keeping it that nothing could be done."

As a result, the stocks of companies specializing in crude-oil production are the darlings of Wall Street. Financial consultants refer to oil stocks as "tax-sheltered investments," an observation that recently led the treasurer of Humble Oil and Refining, the biggest Texas producer, to complain that the stock tipsters were doing a "disservice" to the industry.

SOME Wall Street firms operate various games based on depletion allowance. In one such the minimum ante is $50,000. If the wealthy gambler loses, he is out 10 cents on the dollar; if he wins, he can keep 27½ cents for every dollar of gross oil income and also keep 10 per cent of the remainder, to give him 35 cents retained on his high-tax dollar instead of the dime he would have kept without benefit of oil's special indulgence. For the big oil companies there is little risk of losing the dime that the individual speculator might hazard. Armed with the best geophysical information and hundreds of millions of dollars for exploration, they make the greater part of their profits exactly on this kind of operation. Production is their big money-maker, and depletion allowance is the key.

Sensitive to criticism, they contend that these allowances are vital to the expanded oil production needed for national defense. Without them, wildcatting would slow down; there would be little incentive to drill in unexplored fields. The resulting scarcity of crude would drive up the price of gasoline, and the consumer would ultimately suffer. So runs the argument. Actually, however, drilling is being pushed so hard, thanks to depletion allowances, that we now have a "shut-in capacity" of two million barrels a day in excess of what the market can absorb. And the price of gasoline and fuel oil goes up anyway!

Depletion allowance is the deepest taproot of reaction in the United States. The hard-faced political primitives of Houston and Dallas, fortified by these easy millions, can guarantee that the Democratic Party, if it tries to be progressive, will be ruined. They can damn the middle-of-the-road Stevenson as a "creeping socialist" and split the solid South in two. They can do the same to Eisenhower, and are doing it, and can rejoice when the Republican Party is torn in twain. H. L. Hunt, barely noticing the expenditure, finances Facts Forum, the nation-wide radio and TV enterprise that equates moderation with communism. Roy Cullen can take a flier with the Liberty radio network, where John T. Flynn painted the United Nations as the minion of Moscow. To fantastic hundred-thousand-acre ranches hidden away in western Texas and Mexico by these beneficiaries of depletion allowances come the leaders of native facism in the United States Senate and House, for physical refreshment; in the deep pockets of these crude-oil kings can be found financial refreshment not only for election campaigns but for the bizarre crusades that bedevil American politics.

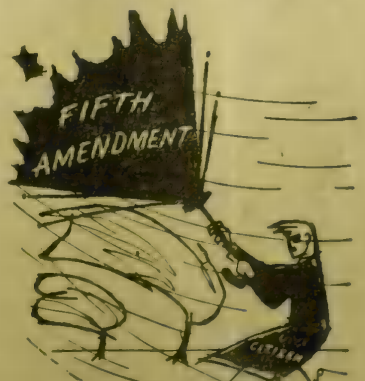
THE SMITH ACT SCORE

by A. L. Wirin and Samuel Rosenwein

IN AN article on Smith Act prosecutions published in *The Nation* of December 12, 1953, we reported on the cases that had been tried up to that time and on those pending. Convictions had been obtained in New York, Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Los Angeles, Seattle, and Hawaii. Trials were going on or were pending in Detroit, St. Louis, Philadelphia, and Cleveland. Some defendants had begun to serve their sentences; others were free on bail during appeal. The score stood somewhat as follows: ninety-two persons had been indicted or were facing prosecution, fifty-three had been convicted, and three had been acquitted.

Developments since then can best be understood if we take another look at the provisions of the Smith Act and the reasons for its enactment. Historically all "speech" statutes display the tendency to unwind like an octopus, reaching out to embrace more and more persons who at first seemed removed from the application of the law. As Professor Zechariah Chafee, Jr., has pointed out, "the precise language of a sedition law is like the inscription on a sword. What matters is the existence of the weapon. Once the sword is placed in the hands of the people in power, then, whatever it says, they will be able to reach and slash at almost any unpopular person who is speaking or writing anything that they consider objectionable criticism of their policies."

The Smith Act was enacted in June, 1940, with the avowed purpose of proscribing one thing—any attempt to overthrow the government of the United States by force and violence. Its provisions were a small section of a very long bill fortuitously entitled the Alien Registration Act of 1940, and citizens generally were not informed that an anti-citizen section was being written into an anti-alien bill. It is considered sound practice by many politicians to initiate repressive measures against some minority group and rely upon the apathy of the majority who are seemingly not affected. Thus the Smith Act was smuggled through Congress with little opposition because it appeared to be directed only against aliens, and aliens had for some time been excluded and deported for "advocating the overthrow of the government of the United States by force and violence."



The tendency of a sedition statute to set more and more repressive measures in motion is exemplified by the events which followed the conviction of the Communist Party leaders in 1949. The ink had hardly grown dry on Judge Hand's affirmance of the conviction in the New York Court of Appeals when Congress enacted the Internal Security Act of 1950. Congress made a finding that the country was infested with "Communist-action" and "Communist-front" organizations, all part of a "world Communist movement" intending to establish a "totalitarian dictatorship" by any available means, "including force if necessary." Such organizations were required to register with the Attorney General, revealing their membership, finances, and so on. A Subversive Activities Control Board was created to determine which organizations in the United States were Communist-action or Communist-front organizations.

To aid the board Congress laid down certain tests, including, for a Communist-action organization, the extent to which its "views and policies" did not "deviate" from those of a foreign government, and, for a Communist-front organization, the extent to which "the positions taken or advanced by it from time to time on matters of policy" do not "deviate" from those of any "Communist-action organization, Communist foreign government, or the world Communist movement." Such organizations were required to stamp their mail: "Disseminated by ———,

A. L. WIRIN is attorney for the Southern California branch of the American Civil Liberties Union. As private counsel he has represented defendants in Smith Act prosecutions in Los Angeles and Hawaii. SAM ROSENWEIN is a member of the New York bar with a special interest in civil-liberties cases.

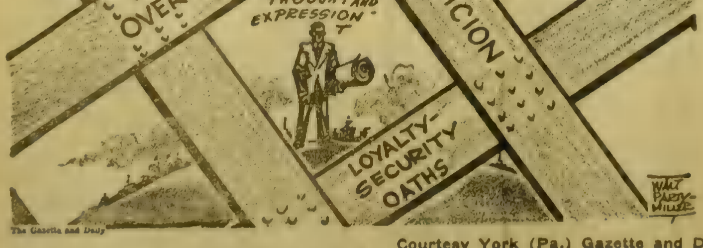
a Communist organization." All radio and television broadcasts were required to carry the statement: "The following program is sponsored by ———, a Communist organization." Such organizations were denied all tax deductions and tax exemptions. Their members were denied governmental employment, employment in any "defense facility," and the right to a passport. The law also made provision for the "detention" of certain classes of persons in the event of an "internal-security emergency."

In vetoing this bill President Truman said: "The basic error of these sections is that they move in the direction of suppressing opinion and belief. This would be a very dangerous course to take, not because we have any sympathy for Communist opinions, but because any governmental stifling of the free expression of opinion is a long step toward totalitarianism."

SINCE the passage of the law the Attorney General has been keeping the Subversive Activities Control Board busy. The mills are constantly grinding and will probably continue to grind now that the Court of Appeals in the District of Columbia, by a two-to-one decision rendered on December 23, 1954, has upheld the validity of the measure. According to the majority opinion, Congress was well within its powers in enacting the law, provisions of neither the First nor the Fifth Amendment are violated, the law does not deprive anyone of his liberty or property without due process, and the statute is not a bill of attainder. "We perceive," said the majority, "no basic reason why [the] government must stand helpless before activities such as these described in this statute." Judge Bazelon, dissenting, pointed out that the registration provisions palpably violated the self-incrimination clause of the Fifth Amendment. The matter will, of course, go to the Supreme Court. If the law is there sustained, the power of government over freedom of assembly and association will be virtually unfettered, the right of officials to declare what is dogma and what is heresy will be legally established, and outlawing and hunting heretics will become a well-regulated sport.

Thus even before the prosecutions had begun in earnest under the Smith Act, Congress had found that the "force and violence" concept was the stock in trade of "Communist organizations" and that such organizations were instrumentalities of a world-wide conspiracy to establish totalitarian dictatorships in every country of the world. These findings did not make the defense of persons indicted under the Smith Act any easier, even though Congress declared in the Internal Security Act of 1950 that "neither the holding of office nor membership in any Communist organization by any person shall constitute per se a violation . . . of any criminal . . . statute."

The findings of the legislature became a potent weapon in the legal arguments of the prosecutors at the trials, while the proviso was largely evaded by giving the act a static interpretation wholly inconsistent with its legislative history and purpose. The jury was usually instructed, in effect, that mere proof of membership or office-holding in the Communist Party was not per se a violation of the Smith Act, but membership or office-holding plus attendance at meetings or at a Marxist school or plus any normal activities in behalf of the party might justify an inference of unlawful knowledge or criminal intent. The plain purpose of the proviso in the registration statute was to insulate all lawful attributes of membership and officeship in a Communist organization from criminal prosecution in order to avoid any claim of possible self-incrimination under the registration law. What Congress grudgingly extended with one hand the courts took away with the other.



Courtesy York (Pa.) Gazette and Daily

Screened Out

During 1953 and part of 1954 the prosecutions continued without much difference in form or content. The courts seemed committed to the view that it was sufficient to read to the jury a mass of excerpts from Marxist-Leninist books from which the "principles of Marxism-Leninism" could be culled; that the opinions and hearsay testimony of informers as to the "nature and character and aims and objectives" of the Communist Party were admissible as evidence; that such evidence, coupled with proof that the defendants were members or officers of the Communist Party, was sufficient to justify inferences by the jury that the defendants knowingly and intentionally joined a conspiracy to advocate and teach the overthrow of the government of the United States by force and violence.

In February, 1954, the six defendants in Detroit were convicted and received sentences of from four to five years' imprisonment and maximum fines of $10,000 each. In May, 1954, in St. Louis, five defendants were convicted, four receiving the maximum sentence of five years, one of three years. In August, 1954, there were nine convictions in Philadelphia. The trial of the ten defendants in Cleveland is expected to begin in the early part of 1955. Indictments against seven persons in Connecticut were returned in June, 1954, and against five in Denver in August, 1954. These were all conspiracy indictments.

The "score" may now be adjusted to read as follows: of 104 persons indicted for conspiracy to violate provisions of the Smith Act since the decision in the Dennis case, 71 have been convicted and 3 acquitted. These figures, and the ascending graph, have been used by the "statesmen" in Washington as an effective answer to the vagaries of Senator McCarthy. They are proof positive, it is said, that the country is "safe."

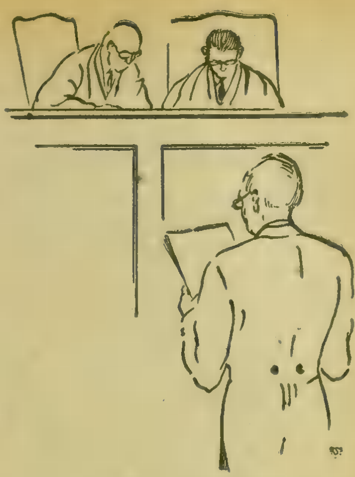
BAIL continues to be a vexing problem in Smith Act cases. Since the Supreme Court's criticism of the high bail fixed in the Los Angeles cases, the practice now appears to be to fix the bail at a point where it will be difficult for the appellate courts to disturb the "discretion" exercised by the lower courts. It must be noted, however, that it is just as difficult for a poor person to raise $15,000, $25,000, or $40,000 as it is to raise $75,000 or $100,000. Some of the Denver defendants, as a result, have been in jail for more than four months, and their trial has not yet begun. It is difficult to prepare a defense under such circumstances, and the value of the presumption of innocence becomes somewhat illusory.

Some of the more prominent informers began to stumble badly last year. The courts permitted them to give free rein to their imaginations, the usual vice of hearsay testimony, and a national scandal appeared in the making. The New York *Times* devoted an editorial on July 8, 1954, to the "cult of the paid informer" and noted that "some informers have been caught in direct contradictions of testimony that smell strongly of perjury."

In January, 1954, the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania reversed the conviction of Steve Nelson under a state sedition statute. Nelson, who was also convicted under a Smith Act indictment in Pittsburgh, had received a sentence of twenty years for his violation of the state law. In reversing the conviction the state court held that the Smith Act supersedes state sedition laws. The Supreme Court of the United States granted certiorari, however, as soon as the court convened in October. How far the federal statute preempts the field must therefore await a final determination by the Supreme Court.

One heartening new experience has been the participation of broader segments of the bar in the defense of persons indicted under the Smith Act. Eminent members of the profession appeared in the Philadelphia trial, and some of the leading lawyers of Denver will take part in the trial slated to begin soon in that city.

In October, 1954, the Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit affirmed the convictions of the thirteen "second string" Communist leaders in New York City. The opinion was written by Judge Harlan, soon to take his seat on the United States Supreme Court. The appeals were taken upon certain specific grounds, all of which were rejected. It was urged that the trial court had erred in instructing the jury that the hearsay declarations of alleged co-conspirators could be considered in determining the specific intent of any particular defendant; that certain inflammatory testimony had been erroneously admitted into evidence; that the trial court's finding of "clear and present danger" was without basis in law or fact; that some of the trial jurors had been guilty of misconduct; that the trial court had erred in denying certain motions for a continuance of the trial and for mistrials; and that the jury array had been unconstitutionally selected. A petition for writ of certiorari to the Supreme Court was denied on January 10, 1955. As the Supreme Court has stated on many occasions, the denial of such a petition does not mean that the court approves of what was done in the lower courts; it simply means that for one reason or another the required number of justices did not deem the case appropriate for review. Nevertheless, it is regrettable that the court did not grant review, for its failure to act may be misconstrued as a "green light."



IT IS high time for the Supreme Court to take another look at the Smith Act and the prosecutions under it. In the Dennis case the court purported to limit its decision to the facts there presented. It indicated that it would review convictions if there were any attempts to expand the scope of the law so as to invade fundamental liberties. The present Chief Justice, Earl Warren, who demonstrated a pronounced aversion to broad loyalty oaths while governor of California and whose liberalism has been shown on the bench and in public addresses, has never had an opportunity to express his views on the Smith Act. The changed composition of the court and the widening scope of prosecutions since the Dennis case justify the present court in reexamining the entire legal situation to determine whether the limits set in the Dennis decision have been exceeded. The court then promised that it would review all Smith Act convictions "with the scrupulous care demanded by our Constitution."

That a cloud "no bigger than your fist" can grow into a seemingly limitless gray sky was made evident when Claude Lightfoot was convicted in January, charged solely with a violation of the "membership" provision of the Smith Act. The conviction indicates that the Department of Justice has found a streamlined formula for "membership" cases which runs somewhat as follows: Little time need be spent henceforth on establishing that "the principles of Marxism-Leninism" are equivalent to the advocacy of the "overthrow and destruction of the government of the United States by force and violence"; the Communist Party advocates the principles of Marxism-Leninism and therefore the overthrow of the government by force and violence; X, identified by a witness as a member of the Communist Party as broadly defined by law, must have known or should have known, unless he was *non compos mentis,* that the party advocates such unlawful doctrines; therefore X, with such knowledge, must have intended to overthrow the government by force and violence. Such a formula, if permitted to stand, could lead to wholesale arrests of dissidents of all kinds.

The appellate courts will now have to face squarely the significance of the immunity provisions of the Internal Security Act of 1950, the relation of the "membership" provision of the Smith Act to the plain language of the First Amendment, the problem of "clear and present danger" devoid of any conspiracy overtones, and the impact of the due-process clause of the Fifth Amendment upon legislation which punishes solely upon proof of membership in an organization without allegation of overt misconduct. More important still is the fact that persons are threatened with imprisonment in the United States, not because they did anything wrong or indeed said anything unlawful, but merely because they associated with other persons who allegedly advocated unlawful ideas. The idea of guilt by association is absolutely abhorrent to every American tradition.

It is also well to remember that the Smith Act is not limited to the Communist Party. Indeed, the first prosecution under the law was of Trotskyites in Minneapolis. Here the connection between the Smith Act and the Internal Security Act of 1950 should again be noted. There is no limit to the number of organizations which may come within the purview of the "force and violence" concept of the Smith Act. The membership clause of the Smith Act, if upheld, may well be used by the powers that be to entrap liberals and conservatives alike.

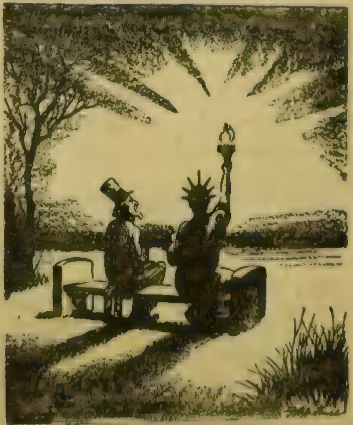
The public press reports that it is the intention of the Department of Justice to proceed under the membership provision of the Smith Act against each of the original defendants in the Dennis case as soon as they are released from jail. It is not too well known that when the Communist leaders were arrested in 1948 they were indicted not only for conspiracy but individually for "membership." The prosecution sought to try all the indictments together but was compelled by the court to make a choice. It decided to go ahead on the conspiracy indictment, and so the membership indictments have simply lain dormant. Obviously, the government will have to explain why subsequent prosecutions do not twice put the Communist leaders in "jeopardy of life or limb" for essentially the same offense. The first defendant to test these questions will probably be Irving Potash, who was "detained" upon finishing his original term of imprisonment and then released on $5,000 bail pending trial under the membership indictment.

THE octopus continued to unfold as the year drew to a close. On September 1, 1954, the President approved the Expatriation Act of 1954, depriving persons convicted of Smith Act violations of their citizenship. Thus the government holds a mortgage on every citizen. Failure to pay allegiance to the policies ordained by officialdom may result in foreclosure.

On August 24, 1954, the Communist Control Act of 1954 was approved. The title of the law is a complete misnomer, as any trade-union member would attest. In addition to "Communist-action" and "Communist-front" organizations, we now have "Communist-infiltrated" organizations, and the Subversive Activities Control Board will soon attain an eminence which the Star Chamber and the Spanish Inquisition could never hope to reach. In declaring that "the Communist Party of the United States, although purportedly a political party, is in fact an instrumentality of a conspiracy to overthrow the government of the United States," the "statesmen" in Washington did more than attaint a particular group of persons in the United States. The overwhelming majority of the people in the country are engulfed. The measure sets forth thirteen specific tests for "determining membership or participation in the Communist Party or any other organization defined in this act." One will serve as an example: ". . . has indicated by word, action, conduct, writing, or in any other way a willingness to carry out in any manner and to any degree the plans, designs, objectives, or purposes of the organization." There does not appear to be any historical parallel to outlawry on such a grand scale.

It is plain that we are losing our liberties legally. If the process continues, it will leave democracy a mere shell. Those who really embrace democracy should begin a return to first principles. Those principles are readily available in the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence. What is needed is a will to preserve our institutions, a realization that the only way to preserve the government of the United States is to make the government subservient to the will of the people as expressed in the fundamental law. One sign of this new insight might be the repeal of the Smith Act, the end of all prosecutions thereunder, and pardon for those already convicted.

Happily for the country, the people do not seem to be waiting upon the politicians to see the light. The year 1954 was characterized by a slackening of the repressive process as a result of the growing protest against the abuse of office by officialdom. The results of the elections were on the whole beneficial for the cause of civil liberties. The observance of procedural safeguards was more strongly emphasized. There remains the need for a clearer recognition of the fact that government has no power to deprive a person of freedom of speech or assembly, even by "due process of law."



Courtesy St. Louis Post-Dispatch

"Everyone is a little subversive but thee and me, and sometimes I think even thee—"

BOOKS

Puerto Rican Myths

TRANSFORMATION: THE STORY OF MODERN PUERTO RICO. By Earl Parker Hanson. Simon and Schuster. $5.

By John V. Murra

A MYTH about Puerto Rico has long had credence here: it is Uncle Sam's tropical poorhouse, the breeder of absent-minded trigger men; like a delinquent cowbird it unloads its children on New York's doorsteps; here they insist on having two last names to confuse teachers and social workers; one cannot tell whether they are colored or white and somehow they do not seem to care; even the language they speak, I have been told in confidence by my grocer, is a mysterious variety different from all other Spanish. When I assured him that it wasn't, he looked surreptitiously at my hair.

And now among the "well-informed" another myth is developing; it can be seen in the full-page advertisements picturing the smokestacks of Mr. Ferre's cement factory and the foaming spillway of the Canoniallas dam, in the statistical tables showing 335 new industrial plants established since 1948 by "Operation Bootstrap." This is the myth that Mr. Hanson helps to document.

"Transformation" gives a graphic and accurate story of Puerto Rico during the depression. In 1940, when Luis Munoz Marin, Mr. Hanson's hero, came to power, a new breath invigorated public life, and real issues came up for discussion. Munoz was the first to apply the dormant land-tenure act, passed in 1910, which limited corporations to 500 acres. Several of the American-owned sugar plantations were bought; the insular government, not foreign corporations, is today the largest single cane-grower in the island. There is now almost complete self-government in local affairs; all legislators, the governor, department heads, and even the federal judge are Puerto Ricans; the only Americans left in policy-making posts are the two Catholic bishops.

Every four years since 1940 Munoz has been reelected with large majorities, and the chances are that the cane workers' vote will reelect him again. Munoz was the first to go into the countryside to talk of land to the cane workers, of rural credit to the mountain coffee farmer, of housing, away from the plantation barracks. In his own field work the reviewer once stayed overnight in the shack of a cane cutter; the hammock he spent the night in was the object of almost reverence—in more heroic days Don Luis had slept there.

Mr. Hanson puts his hope in Munoz's Operation Bootstrap, under which industry has been attracted to the island by remission of taxes, cheap factory buildings, low wages, and access to the greatest consumers' market in the world. The search for new investors is today a major government activity. The new plants can be seen all over the island; the effort has attracted the attention of students from all over the world. With the aid of modern publicity a myth is forming that here is a valuable lesson in industrialization for colonial, underdeveloped countries.

At this point one can no longer share Mr. Hanson's enthusiasm. The new industries do exist, but the 335 plants employ at most 25,000 workers. With few exceptions they are small units engaged in the garment and lingerie trades—fly-by-night enterprises, easy to dismantle, employing women at low wages, and highly sensitive to the slightest breeze of recession in the United States. The measure of the limited effectiveness of Operation Bootstrap is the cold fact that in 1948-54, when these 25,000 new jobs were being created at immense cost to the Puerto Rican taxpayer, 295,866 of the youngest and most vigorous inhabitants left the island, most of them for good. During the war 70,000 Puerto Ricans joined the army, sent allotments home, and acquired G. I. rights. In a depressed economy like Puerto Rico this had a striking effect and was a principal cause of the war-time and post-war prosperity which Puerto Rico, like the United States, has enjoyed.

ACCORDING to the new myth, the economic improvement is matched by a major political innovation. Since 1952 Puerto Rico has been a Free Associated State, enjoying a new "non-colonial" status. Starting from the premise that in the modern world very few countries are really sovereign states, Mr. Hanson finds obsolete the whole discussion of independence for Puerto Rico. He sees its current status as a major accomplishment. In any case independence and the erection of a tariff wall would doom the island economically.

Actually, the new constitution has changed Puerto Rico's status very little. The United States Congress still has veto rights over insular legislation; there is no real representation in Congress for the island's two million people; they have no voice in foreign affairs. Even Munoz's great skill as a negotiator was inadequate to remove a restriction that is irritatingly indicative of colonial status: with sugar its main economic activity Puerto Rico is still not allowed to refine even enough for its own needs; it ships the molasses to the mainland and buys back the refined article. Mr. Hanson quotes an estimate that 8,000 jobs could be created if the sugar grown in the island were locally refined.

Mr. Hanson's assertion that Puerto Rico's status corresponds to that of India or Indonesia is misleading. When the United States informed the U. N. that the territory was no longer a colony, Burma, Mexico, and India disagreed, finding no significant change from previous dependency. Mr. Hanson devotes little space to this debate, which, to the reviewer, provided essential information on both sides of the issue. Nor does he give an accurate account of the current struggle for independence. By concentrating on Albizu Campos and his terrorist tactics he obscures the

---

JOHN V. MURRA taught for several years at the University of Puerto Rico and directed a field study of six communities on the island.

A Man's Best Friend — Sends Him a Free Copy of The Nation

HERE's an easy way to introduce *The Nation*—the magazine you read and respect—to your friends. Simply fill out the coupon below and we will send a sample copy to each one of your friends—with your compliments.

The NATION
333 Sixth Avenue
New York City 14, N. Y.

Please send a free copy of *The Nation* with my compliments to the persons listed below:

To ....
Address ....
City ....Z . State ....

To ....
Address ....
City ....Z . State ....

To ....
Address ....
City ....Z . State ....

To ....
Address ....
City ....Z . State ....

To ....
Address ....
City ....Z . State ....

To ....
Address ....
City ....Z . State ....

To ....
Address ....
City ....Z . State ....

Your Name ....
Address ....
City ....Z . State ....
2-26-55

vitality of the independence ideal throughout the community. The bumbling and certainly non-terrorist Independence Party received 20 per cent of the vote in the last elections. Its admitted ineffectiveness, its lack of economic ideas, and its flirtation with clericalism should not divert us from noting that independence is a potent dream, particularly among those under thirty, the veterans, and the urban population. Within Munoz Marin's own party many would prefer independence if only it were economically feasible.

Puerto Rico today has more literacy, lower infant mortality, higher life expectancy, and more pairs of shoes per pairs of feet than any Latin American country. And yet, as Mr. Hanson points out, "per capita average income is less than half of that of our poorest state, Mississippi; wages are considerably lower than in the United States; there is still, proportionally, more unemployment and more and greater poverty." Despite the effort and ingenuity exerted in the last decade, the greatest gains during the Munoz years "have been psychological. New energies were released for new creative enterprises; the former lethargy gave way to new hope." But the economic problem of a dependent, densely populated Caribbean territory, where the only resource is the people, remains unsolved. Also, the deeper consequences of dependency—the population's crippling ambivalence about the master and itself, of which terrorism is only one example—will continue and even grow, despite the title of "Free Associated State."

Mr. Hanson relates a revealing anecdote. A group of prominent Latin Americans were brought to San Juan in 1952. Munoz Marin, a magnificent speaker, addressed them informally, and Mr. Harson wrote out a summary of his talk which he asked the Governor to check. "I don't talk that way," Munoz replied. "That is a sales talk. You can't sell truth with sales talks. In fact, you don't even 'sell' truth. You live it, express it, lay it out under the sun." Unfortunately, his hero did not convince Mr. Hanson.

Guatemala Fable

RED DESIGN FOR THE AMERICAS: GUATEMALAN PRELUDE. By Daniel James. The John Day Company. $4.50.

By Bernard Rosen

MR. JAMES tries to show us that the Communists, through their infiltration of the nationalist parties and government offices and their control of the labor and peasant movements almost succeeded in taking over Guatemala under Arbenz. Arbenz played their game since he was a "Communist-minded president," a totalitarian who "believed in the class struggle and hence in the literal annihilation of the bourgeois class." But Mr. James fails to make a case for his contention. Apparently he does not understand the dynamics of Latin American politics. Although he constantly refers to nationalism and distinguishes it from communism, he never points out the class roots of nationalism. A similar reticence is the most hypocritical feature of Washington's Guatemalan policy.

Many non-Communist nationalists, by Mr. James's own admission, collaborated with the Communists, including the strategically placed Charnaud Macdonald, Minister of Interior (Mr. James does not mention Fanjul, Arbenz's Minister of Economy.) Arbenz's rule, in fact, rested on a petty-bourgeois-Communist coalition whose program—land reform, anti-imperialism, pro-labor policies, etc.—never transcended bourgeois bounds. If the Arbenz regime was pro-Communist, why was it supported by Peronist Argentina, the Chilean congress, and a large section of Mexican opinion, including former President Cardenas?

Actually it was not the pro-gov-

BERNARD ROSEN taught history and economics at the American School in Guatemala City for several years and in 1952 conducted a State Department seminar for Guatemalan teachers. Now in this country, he is writing a book on the rise of economic imperialism in Guatemala.

Don't miss the second issue of

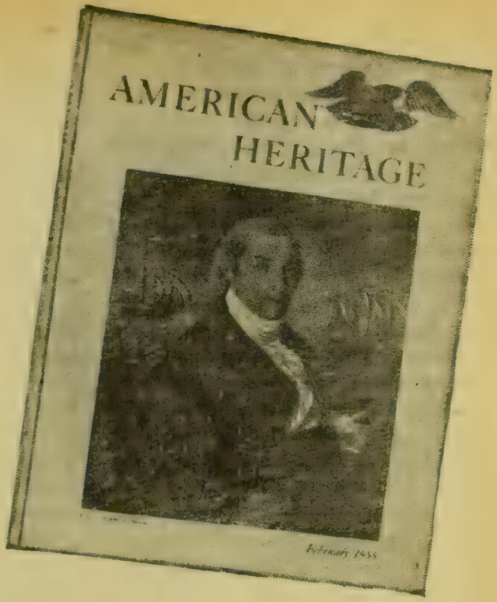
AMERICAN HERITAGE

The magazine of history in book form

6 [illegible] a YEAR. EACH ONE [illegible] 11 INCHES. 120 PAGES. CASE-BOUND.

EDITOR: Bruce Catton, winner of the 1954 Pulitzer Prize for "A Stillness at Appomattox"

SPONSORS: The Society of American Historians and The American Association for State & Local History

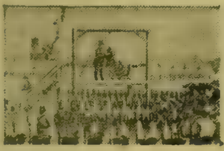


An Intimate View of Four Presidents

BY VICE ADMIRAL WILSON BROWN, USN (RET.). Cal Coolidge got visibly seasick *(left)* but enjoyed his job more than Hoover. With F.D.R. life at the White House, at sea and at conferences like Yalta was a series of adventures. In a 30,000-word condensation of a brilliant, unpublished memoir, Admiral Brown, who was Naval Aide to four presidents – from Coolidge to Truman – throws fresh light on history, on the last days of Roosevelt, and on the private lives of the men he served.

★

Each issue of American Heritage will contain excerpts like this from a new and memorable book of history.

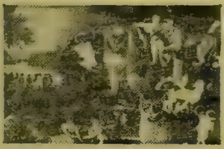


The Hanging of John Brown

AN EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT SUPPRESSED FOR 95 YEARS. "Porte Crayon" Strother stood at the foot of the scaffold when the "awful majesty of the law" was executed on the angry prophet of freedom; he reported the fascinating events of Brown's last hours for *Harper's Weekly*. But the story was suppressed. Here, for its deep historical interest, is a strange "lost" manuscript, with explanatory notes by a Brown expert. Among the illustrations is the sketch *(left)* made by Strother.

★

Each issue of American Heritage seeks out fresh manuscript material of this kind, for its importance and its excitement.

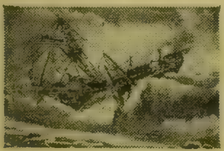


How Good Is Our "Primitive" Folk Art?

A DISSENTING OPINION FROM JAMES THOMAS FLEXNER. Much as many Americans, not excepting leading collectors and museums, cherish the awkward early native art disgorged from old attics and barns – praising it as the real, "honest" art of this country – most of it is nonsense. Or so suggests this leading art historian in a provocative analysis of the "cult of the primitives." Handsomely illustrated in color.

★

Each issue of American Heritage includes a lively, well-documented art feature. (April: The remarkable Peale family.)



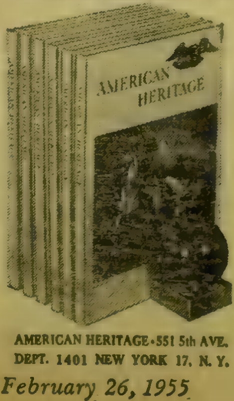
Salem Wins a Fortune in the Far Indies

YANKEE ADVENTURERS IN THE CHINA TRADE. This article, lavishly illustrated in color from the great seafaring art collection of the Peabody Museum, recreates the era of the merchant princes of Old Salem and of adventure along the Pepper Coast and the wharves of Canton. Salem's bold sailors, one of whom appears on the cover *(above)*, plucked the treasure of the Indies and created America's first millionaires. Written by Charles H. P. Copeland of the Peabody Museum.

★

Each issue of American Heritage contains over a dozen valuable articles and departments like those described here.

FIRST ISSUE SOLD OUT: SUBSCRIBE NOW AND SAVE $7.70 FOR THE YEAR!



AMERICAN HERITAGE • 551 5th AVE.
DEPT. 1401 NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Considerably exceeding all estimates, the first number of American Heritage sold out rapidly – aided by an enthusiastic reception from hundreds of critics who hailed the "authoritative, interesting articles spiced by plenty of four-color illustrations in a handsome, hard-cover, adless book of 120 pages." **Newsweek**

"The most ambitious attempt yet made to merge readability with historical scholarship." **ORVILLE PRESCOTT, N. Y. *Times***

"An extraordinary performance" **JOSEPH HENRY JACKSON, *San Francisco Chronicle***

"One of the most important, truth-telling, morale-building publishing projects in many years." **STERLING NORTH, *Scripps-Howard Newspapers***

"Lively . . . colorful . . . dramatic and often tragic, but not without its gusty humors and entertaining absurdities . . . Never overdoes the thing by sacrificing accuracy to achieve an effect . . . Its information is as authentic as its entertainment." **GERALD W. JOHNSON, N. Y. *Post***

"If you can't buy, beg or borrow American Heritage, then steal a copy . . . but not mine!" **CARL VICTOR LITTLE, *Houston Press***

Rather than take Mr. Little's suggestion too literally and steal your copies, why not make sure you miss no further issues by subscribing now – *and at a special introductory saving?* Single copies sell in bookstores at $2.95 – while they last – and a year's set of six issues thus comes to $17.70. The introductory coupon at right brings you all six 1955 issues for only $10.00 – saving you $7.70, or nearly one-third the price of Manhattan Island in 1626. Placed now, your subscription will begin with the current issue.

LIMITED PRESS RUN • WE SUGGEST ORDERING NOW

AMERICAN HERITAGE, DEPT. 1401
551 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.

Please start my one-year subscription to American Heritage immediately, commencing with the current issue, at the special introductory price of $10.00 for the first year (six issues).

☐ I enclose check or money order.

☐ Please bill me.

Name______________________________

Address____________________________

City______________Zone_____State________ ernment parties but the non-Communist officer caste that kept Arevalo and Arbenz in power for ten years. The non-Communist army was the decisive element in the pro-Arbenz coalition, and it was only after Armas launched his counter-revolution and tremendous pressures were exerted by the United States that the officer caste decided to abandon Arbenz.

Though he has a good word for such small democratic groups in Guatemala as the National Union of Free Workers, which opposed Communist control of the labor movement, and advocates a "progressive" American policy toward Guatemala, Mr. James is clearly in the camp of Guatemalan reaction. He defends the United Fruit Company, which, he says, "has benefited Guatemala in many ways"; he waxes enthusiastic over the "independent" press under Arbenz and refers approvingly to newspapers which any high-school boy in Guatemala knows are scurrilous, fascist-like sheets; he indorses the activities of troglodyte groups whose anti-communism is a smoke screen behind which they launch their attacks against the moderate reforms brought in by the 1944 revolution; he rejoices over the 1954 Easter pastoral letter against communism issued by Archbishop Rossell y Arellano of the Guatemalan Catholic church, which has consistently opposed reform.

There are times when it appears that Mr. James's anti-communism badly distorts his political vision. His admiring description of the "anti-Communist" market women of Guatemala as fighters for freedom is a travesty of reality. Illiterate, ignorant, and superstitious, those women were aroused against the Arbenz government by a whispering campaign of the church hierarchy to the effect that the government was against God and family.

Mr. James's book is a mediocre, cold-war product. The reader who seeks to understand the Guatemalan situation can learn little from it.

Argentine Facts

THE UNITED STATES AND ARGENTINA. By Arthur P. Whitaker. Harvard University Press. $4.75.

BROWN GOLD. THE AMAZING STORY OF COFFEE. By Andres Uribe. G. Random House. $5.

By Carleton Beals

MR. WHITAKER'S excellent book on Argentina avoids the Calvinistic emotionalism and the chauvinism which taint contemporary United States reporting on foreign countries. He looks at Argentina from the viewpoint of Argentine traditions and social forces and puts it in proper focus with Latin American culture.

Whatever shortcomings the small book may have are due not to lack of scholarship or any misrepresentation but to space limitations, which have required over-simplification and too limited treatment of a number of crucial matters, particularly the church, oil, and the land. No mention is made of the *Ley de Peon,* which revolutionized rural labor standards and permitted rural workers and peasants for the first time in Argentine history to organize and vote, however hollow that privilege may seem. The percentage increase of leaders from the interior in the Peron bureaucracy is also indicative of the decline of the influence of the foreign-corporation lawyers who so long dominated wide spheres of Argentine politics.

As Mr. Whitaker points out, the mainstays of Peron's regime are the army and labor, but this does not provide the clue to the real trend of events, for his government is neither militaristic nor a labor government. His long conflict with the wheat and meat barons—this was the chief reason *La Prensa* was turned over to the workers—needs to be emphasized for it resulted in the draining off of profits to promote native industry and a strong mixed economy. The temporary alliance of labor, army, and native capital is more or less similar to the direction the Mexican revolution took. A large share of the middle class also supports Peron.

Whitaker's illuminating statistics make it clear that Argentina today is an industrialized nation, that only 20 per cent of its population is directly engaged in farming and livestock, that in spite of the billion-plus dollars poured into Brazil by the United States, Argentina, percentage-wise, has successfully maintained its lead over the rest of South America in agriculture, industrial production, trade, and education.

MR. URIBE'S "Brown Gold" is an extraordinarily fine book, with color plates and format matching its contents. Here is the whole story of coffee, from the wild bush-trees of Abyssinia and Kenya down to the steaming cup on the American breakfast table; included are exciting new recipes.

Here is an industry, supplying the largest single item in the United States imports, ranging from primitive ill-paid production at the source up to the highest modern techniques on the processing and consumer levels. Prior to the Arbenz regime, Guatemalan coffee-pickers earned 15 cents a day. Recently weighers and samplers in the United States went on strike for more than $20 a day. These discrepancies are catching up with the American coffee companies.

If devil-drumming Congressmen and the members of the Federal Trade Commission had read Mr. Uribe's book, they would not have made such public fools of themselves over the coffee question. "Brown Gold" is jolly reading, though the author manages to tuck in a devastating account of economic relations between Latin America and the United States. His suggestions are sensible and constructive. Wherever there are "man, water, and fire," there will be coffee, and Mr. Uribe's book is likely to have a long life as the outstanding book on the subject.

American Hero Worship

THE SELF-MADE MAN IN AMERICA. By Irving G. Wyllie. Rutgers. $4.

Though it is subtitled "The Myth of Rags to Riches," Professor Wyllie's book has a more serious intention than to debunk our traditional worship of the almighty dollar and our deifying of the self-made captain of industry. With scholarly detachment, clarity, and taste it pre-

---

CARLETON BEALS, author and lecturer, spent many years in Latin America. His latest book is "Our Yankee Heritage."

sents a history and analysis of American ideals of success.

As the Industrial Revolution developed in the early nineteenth century the wealthy business man became the national hero. This was inevitable in a democratic, classless society dedicated to the principle that all men were born equal. Only one American boy could become President every four or eight years, but there were unlimited places at the top in business and industry which any boy could reach by hard work and the practice of a few elementary virtues like honesty, sobriety, and obedience—to his employer. This doctrine was proclaimed in the churches by most of the leading ministers of the day. Success books became the best-sellers of the time; Emerson's essays extolled the virtue of self-reliance and the power for good in great wealth. What little dissent there was came from scattered negligible voices—a few aristocrats who clung to the cult of good family and a college education, a small minority of political rebels, and shiftless loafers like Thoreau.

With the rise of the impersonal corporation Americans began to realize that there was not so much room at the top as they had been led to believe. They came to understand that not only individual effort and the homely virtues but circumstances and the economic setup—to say nothing of franchises, rebates, and other external aids—had created the supposedly self-made captains of industry. It was sometimes difficult to distinguish the financial gods from the "malefactors of great wealth." But in spite of increasing disillusionment and sophistication the doctrine of wealth as the measure of success and of individual effort as the sure means of obtaining it is still dominant in America today.

CORRECTION:

As advertised on the back page of our issue of February 19, purchase may be made through The Nation of the authorized version of "The Investigator," a recording of the Canadian Broadcasting Company's hilarious burlesque of Senator McCarthy. Inadvertently, however, we used with the advertisement a reproduction of the disc and dust cover of an unauthorized recording, which are nearly identical with those of the genuine. We apologize. Nation readers may be assured that, in ordering through this magazine, they will get the authorized recording.—THE EDITORS.

INAUGURATING

The Kelmscott Editions

KELMSCOTT EDITIONS is a unique effort to rescue the illuminating, the challenging and the unusual books from oblivion or neglect.

In the simplest and most uncomplicated way, KELMSCOTT EDITIONS will make 8 such books, many now out of print and inaccessible, available to *subscribers* at *consistently low prices.*

KELMSCOTT EDITIONS is *not* a book club. There is nothing to join. There are no obligations of any kind. You merely let us know that you want to receive — at no cost whatever — the issues of THE KELMSCOTT QUARTERLY which will announce, describe and discuss the forthcoming books. All readers of THE KELMSCOTT QUARTERLY who wish to do so may send their advance orders, with remittances, to secure copies of what must necessarily be a, *more or less*, limited edition. *No books are sent to anyone unless specifically ordered.*

For the complete prospectus and the first issue of THE KELMSCOTT QUARTERLY, and if you wish, a sampler copy of either or both of the first two books at *Subscribers' Prices*, use the form below.

THE KELMSCOTT EDITIONS, 251 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10

☐ You may send me the regular issues of THE KELMSCOTT QUARTERLY *without any charge or obligation of any kind.*

☐ You may send me a copy of each of the selections checked below at the Subscribers' Price, plus 25¢ per copy for postage and handling. (*In New York City please add 6¢ for sales tax*).

☐ *for April:* BUSINESS AS A SYSTEM OF POWER by Robert A. Brady, *Professor of Economics, University of California.* List Price $3.75. Subscribers' Price $2.25 plus 25¢ for postage and handling.

☐ *for June:* BOOKS THAT CHANGED OUR MINDS, *Edited by* Malcolm Cowley & Bernard Smith. This book is nowhere else available. To Subscribers only $2.00 plus 25¢ for postage and handling.

Name (PLEASE PRINT) __________

Address __________

City __________

Zone _____ State __________

I enclose ☐ check ☐ money order

Buy Books Through The Nation

Theater and Films

Robert Hatch

A LITTLE profundity is a dangerous thing. Melodrama is a surface affair, a net of thrills and terrors mechanically spun for momentary amusement; it is a mock battle of life, and since nothing in it is real we can be entertained without being engaged. But it seems now that our melodramatists have lost their innocence and become ashamed of their station in life. Not content to be showmen, they aspire to engage our hearts and minds as well as our nerves. This happens, no doubt, because they feel the real shock and terror of the day; but it often appears that they have nothing to say to the heart and mind, and then their pretensions are exposed.

You see this all the time in the movies and you can see it now in Joseph Hayes's "The Desperate Hours" (Barrymore Theater), which is a novel passing across the stage on its way to Hollywood. The play is a pretty piece of desperation: a trio of escaped convicts has gone to earth in the suburban house of an average family, and the problem is to flush them out of there so they can be captured or killed without serious damage to their unwilling hosts. Since one of the villains is a lunatic and another a mental deficient with a liquor problem, and since the family includes a pretty girl in her late teens and a boy of twelve with delusions of heroism. the level of excitement can be maintained at a very high pitch. But this is amusement only if the author keeps it on the surface, and Hayes is determined to probe. He must search out motives and psyches; stage touching scenes between father and son, husband and wife; beg compassion for his sick and suffering characters. When you respond to this appeal, however, you discover that the purpose of the play is really frivolous. Once you believe in the existence of lunacy and horror and wanton killing, they are no longer fit topics for idle entertainment, but entertainment is all that Hayes has to offer.

Robert Montgomery has staged "The Desperate Hours" as a tight and lucid production in a pleasant, mechanically efficient set by Howard Bay. Karl Malden, as the head of the beleaguered household, drags the play across its gaping embarrassments by the force of personality. Paul Newman, playing the head hoodlum, works earnestly to add a new portrait to the modern gallery of juvenile delinquents, but he never has a chance. The part is really impossible—a little Freud, a little Marlon Brando, a lot of spitting and bad words. It is too revolting for entertainment, too synthetic for serious attention: being the focal character, it thus epitomizes the play.

YOU HAVE to hand it to Louis de Rochemont and the associated proprietors of Cinerama—they are making a fortune out of their awkward brain child. Cinerama does a few things rather well and most things rather badly. It is a dandy device for making the audience think it is sitting in the cockpit of a jet or in the front seat of a bobsled, and the most gratifying screams are forthcoming at such moments. Further than that, its wide angle of vision handles the "wow" type of landscape very capably. But it gets uncomfortably crowded in any set smaller than the nave of Notre Dame, and it can no more tell a dramatic sequence than an elephant can thread a needle.

So the second Cinerama production—called "Cinerama Holiday"—is, like the first, a two-hour demonstration of what the equipment can do. A "story" is provided by taking an American couple to Europe and bringing a Swiss couple to America as guests of the management. The fortunate pairs were selected because, never having been anywhere before and never having tried to act, their reactions would be "sincere." That they are.

The equipment does not seem much changed from the first demonstration. The three sections of film still show sharp divisions on the screen, the sound projection is still much too loud, and the action at far left and right on the screen still goes out of optical control. The travelogue shots contain some good material—skiing at Davos, a New England county fair, a New Orleans jazz band, a jet take-off. Say in all a half-hour of first-rate short subjects. To enjoy the rest you must have an extremely absorbent mind.

[*Mr. Hatch will review both plays and films while Mr. Clurman is in Europe.*]

Music

B. H. Haggin

THE image I had retained of Escudero for twenty years was that of his silhouette, which now again—as it is momentarily fixed in a pose, or as it changes from one pose to the next—has a contained outline, an elegance and distinction that make it very exciting, and the more so for being combined with footwork that is now quietly intricate, now spectacular in its brilliance and force, and with a counterpoint from castanets or fingernails that is now rhythmically subtle and now witty. Age doesn't permit him to do more—to do, for example, what young Jose Barrera does so brilliantly and beautifully in the final "Cuadro Flamenco"; but the art that Escudero does exhibit is rich and satisfying. Among the women too it is Carmita Gracia, his partner for many years, who exhibits in her very first dance, "La Tapada de Vejer," an intricate suppleness of her entire body that is breath-taking, and whose dancing is outstanding throughout the evening. And in addition to the dancing there is remarkable playing of the guitar by Mario Escudero.

Beethoven's earlier and smaller-scale Mass in C Op. 86 is less known to the public than the great Missa Solemnis and than it deserves to be with its occasional startlingly beautiful and expressive passages and powerful dramatic strokes. And so it was a good thing for Margaret

Hillis to perform the work with her New York Concert Choir. This was the first time I had heard the chorus in a hall; and it sang with energy, precision, and good tone—though not with the extraordinary refinement and transparency of choral tone that I recall hearing most recently from William Jonson's Choral Art Society in the performances of Berlioz's "L'Enfance du Christ."

The collective brainstorms of the New York reviewers every now and then are like nothing so much as the sudden commotions in barnyards that flare up and die out for no discoverable reason. There was the one about Maryla Jonas several years ago; and last year there was the one about Backhaus. It was set off by his recital in Carnegie Hall on March 30, 1954, after an absence of twenty-eight years, which elicited from Mr. Downes the opinion that it "must be ranked as one of the greatest evenings of the interpretation of Beethoven's piano music heard here in as long a period," and from one of the others the statement that Backhaus had "played Beethoven as he hasn't been played here in twenty-eight years." I hadn't attended the recital; but I found the statements difficult to believe—not only because of my recollections of performances of Beethoven by Schnabel in those twenty-eight years, but because of what I remembered of Backhaus's playing before 1926 and what I had heard more recently on his records. In the twenties he had been a pianist of prodigious technical powers who had produced the figurations of Chopin's Etudes and the Paganini-Brahms Variations with incandescent ease and grace; but a pianist also of completely phlegmatic temperament whose playing of music of high expressive content was at best dull, and even worse when he tried for expressiveness. And recent records had revealed an inevitable loss of the dazzling speed and smoothness in Chopin's Etudes, with no gain in ability to give expressive effect to a Beethoven sonata.

As it happened the recital was recorded and has now been issued on London LL-110/9; and the performances justify my skepticism. Listening first to Op. 31 No. 2 I was shocked first by the crude accentuation in the opening section of the first movement—crude in its treatment not only of the music but of the instrument—then by the sentimentalizing expansion of tempo in certain melodic phrases. The slow movement and finale were played simply and agreeably to the ear, but the simplicity amounted to ineffectiveness: notes merely succeeded each other, now soft, now loud, but with no cohesive tension from one note to the next, no giving of continuous outline to the phrase, of coherent shape to the movement. This is the ineffective way he plays Op. 81a; and it is the disastrous way he plays Op. 111. It is hard to believe that anyone—and least of all a pianist of Backhaus's age and experience—could play the introduction to the first movement of Op. 111 without awareness of what is happening in it—awareness, for example, of the increasing dramatic suspense in measures 6 to 9 as the increasingly hushed chords of the two hands draw closer together in the middle of the piano, and the dramatic effect produced after this by the left hand's low octave; but Backhaus's perfunctory playing of this passage, and indeed of the entire introduction, is on the record for all time to demonstrate the actuality of the unbelievable. And so with the passage that momentarily interrupts the course of the slow movement—the continuing trills up above creating tension and suspense in which the left hand strikes in powerfully down below: it is hard to believe anyone could play this with the unawareness that Backhaus demonstrates with his perfunctory playing of it.

I should add that comparable insensitiveness was exhibited in Mr. Downes's review of Backhaus's performance of this movement, when he referred to "the often inept and ill-considered spacings of the writing of the deaf master." Mr. Downes appears to have listened to his friend Horowitz instead of listening to Beethoven. It is depressing to think of a pianist with Horowitz's technical competence not having the musical understanding that would enable him to perceive the expressive effect achieved with absolute precision and rightness by those trills continuing up above while the left hand strikes in down below, and not having the humility that would keep him from

Soviet Literature

A Monthly Magazine Of Literature & The Arts

Recent contributors have included

ULANOVA

A dancer's schooling

EHRENBURG

Italian films

OBRAZTSOV

Puppeteers visit London

GORKY

Reminiscences of Chekhov

LEONOV

Extract from his new novel 'Russian Forest'

New writing, poetry, drama, reviews, art and literary criticism, colour plates

PRICE 30c, POST FREE
ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION—$1.80

From all booksellers or

Collet's Bookshops

44/45 Museum Street, Dept. R
LONDON, W.C.1

PUBLICATIONS

JUST RECEIVED FROM THE USSR

VILIS LACIS
THE FISHERMAN'S SON
(In English)

This very interesting novel depicts the courageous lives of the Latvian fisher folk. Describes with deep affection the austere Baltic scenery. Illustrated 580 p.p. $1.50

A. S. PUSHKIN'S
Famous story
THE CAPTAIN'S DAUGHTER
(in English)
Illustrated, well bound 163 pp. 85c

KONDRAVTSEV
Life and work of the great Russian scientist of the 18th century
M. V. LOMONOSOV
price 50c

Again in stock two famous novels:
KONSTANTIN SEDIN'S
EARLY JOYS
659 pp $1.50

NO ORDINARY SUMMER
in 2 vols.—1207 pp. $2.25 for set

WIDE CHOICE OF NEW SOVIET RECORDINGS, REGULAR & LP

Ask for our Free Catalog E-55 & "Periodica"

FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.
55 W. 56 St. N. Y. 19
822 B'way (cor. 12 St.) N. Y. 3
GRamercy 3-2018-19

SOCIALIST BOOKS. Catalog, literature, Free. New York Labor News Company, Dept. M, 61 Cliff Street, New York 38, New York.

FREE catalogs on Social-economics Movements, etc. regularly from: The Hammersmith Bookshop, Beadon Rd., London, W6, England.

5th AMENDMENT TODAY, by Harvard's Dean Griswold. Three brilliant speeches. 82p book. Cloth $2; paper 50c. Wellington's, 346 Concord, Belmont, Mass.

Buy Your Books through THE *Nation*

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular retail price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the retail price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to

Miss O. LePach

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
333 Sixth Ave. New York 14, N. Y.

MEETINGS

FRIDAY, MAR 4—8:30
GERMANY REARMED
—SECURITY OR PERIL?
A Clash of Opinion
SPEAKERS:
HON. CLAUDE G. BOWERS
U. S. Ambassador to Republican Spain
HOWARD WATSON AMBRUSTER
Expert on German Cartels, I. G. Farben
PROF. EMIL J. GUMBEL
Columbia, Berlin U. ('53-54), New School
B. Z. GOLDBERG
Columnist, Ex-Managing Ed., "Jewish Day"
Questions ■ Refreshments
YORKVILLE COMPASS FORUM
Yorkville Temple, 157 E. 86 St., N. Y.
Contrib: 85c

Tuesday MARCH 1 at 8:30 P.M.
HEAR
PETER FREUCHEN
Author, "Vagrant Viking", and Leader Anti-Nazi Underground Movement in Denmark
on
THE REARMAMENT OF GERMANY
Admission Free
At HOTEL WOODSTOCK, 127 W. 43 St.
Auspicies: Americans for Progressive Israel

TESTIMONIAL DINNER
DR. BENZION LIBER
Prof. of Psychiatry at the Polyclinic Medical School —Author and Lecturer
In recognition of his 50 years of public service on the occasion of his 80th birthday.
Sunday, March 13, 7 P.M. at Hotel Empire Crystal Ballroom, 63 Street and Broadway, New York City
DR. LIBER TESTIMONIAL DINNER COMM.
161 W. 56 Sreet, Room 602, N. Y. 19
$5.00 Per Person—Reservations Necessary

LECTURES

ECONOMICS FOR THE WORKING MAN
A series of 13 lectures presenting a systematic analysis of our economy by
PROFESSOR OTTO NATHAN
for many years teacher and lecturer at colleges and in workers' education.
Tuesdays, 8:15 P.M.—Single Lecture 50c, Series $5.
LABOR TEMPLE, 242 E. 14 St., N.Y.C.

PERSONALS

BEAUTIFUL RURAL HOME, Bucks County, Pa., available without rental, to responsible single person, who desires to live in the country year-round; owner home weekends; restful; stimulating locale artist, writer; car necessary. Please write: Box 392, % The Nation.

HI FI PHONO—3 speakers—popular make. Regularly $129.95. SPECIAL AT DEALER'S NET—$84. Standard Brand Dist., 143-4th Avenue (13th & 14th Sts.), N. Y. C. GR 3-7819. 1 hour free parking, or 2 tokens.

BUY
UNITED STATES
SAVINGS BONDS

CONSUMERS' GUIDE TO TROTSKYISM
1955 CONVERTIBLE
THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST: ORGAN OF THE NEW TROTSKYISM
CAN TROTSKYISM BE PRO-SOVIET?!
THE CATCH-ALL OF AMBIGUOUS SOCIALISM
IN FEBRUARY ISSUE OF
TURNING POINT
PUBLISHED BY COMMUNIST LEAGUE
15c From P. O. Box 84, Midtown Sta., New York 18, N.Y. or at Newsstand, S. W. Corner 42nd St. and Sixth Avenue

calling his lack of understanding a miscalculation by Beethoven. But it is appalling to think of a reviewer in Mr. Downes's position and with his influence on the public not having the musical understanding that would enable him to perform his function—which is to rebuke Horowitz's ignorance and arrogance, not to be taken in by them.

Letters

(Continued from inside cover)

have done." (I said all that in so many words in the piece. Braden, Communist Party member or not, has done, in my view, absolutely nothing to be punished for.) As to whether he conspired to bomb for agitation, I quoted the newspapermen who know him best as full of disbelief.

I think Millis is distressed that I did not sound a high note of indignation, but I long ago learned that you cannot always use the top of your voice and have any room left for emphasis. I think my reporting was factual, and that from my report the ire of any man concerned for civil liberties will be stirred—as was Millis's—to some action.

I cannot prove that Braden was or was not a Communist; I cannot prove either that he bought the house simply "for a friend" or that he bought it to "inflame" the inflammable. I named the evidence and pointed out the probabilities and the improbablities. I said the fault here is not Braden's but the law's—the Kentucky Smith Act—and that it is the law which must now be tried.

I may say to close that despite Mr. Millis's low view of the "effect" of my reporting, I hope both Braden and his sinned-against liberties have been in a measure aided.

Key West, Fla. JENNINGS PERRY

"Declaration"

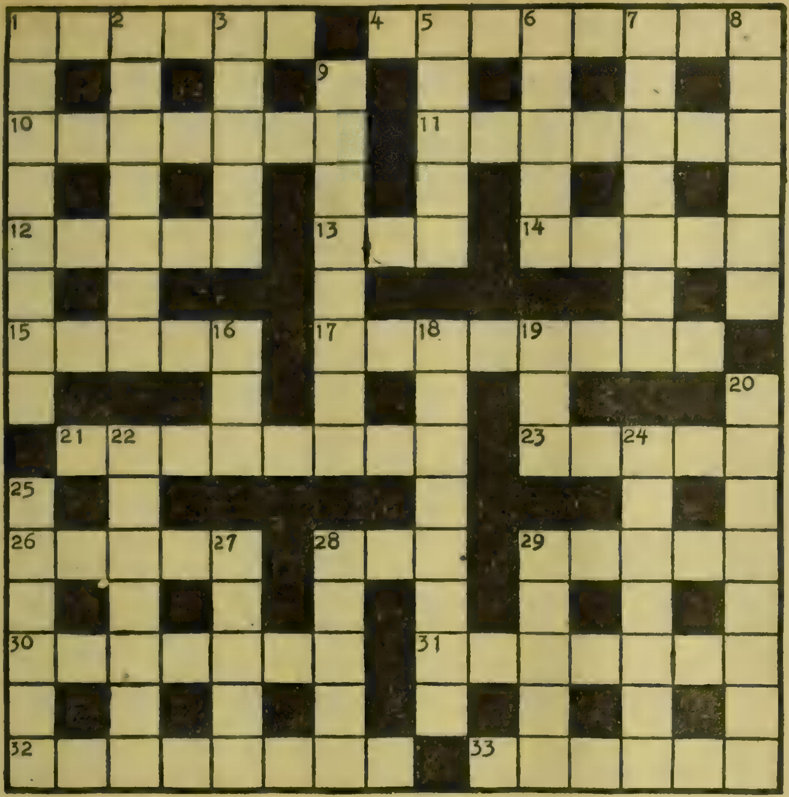
Dear Sir: Kay Boyle's account of Dylan Thomas in her article, A Declaration for 1955, in the January 29 issue recalls to mind the question asked by William Butler Yeats: "How can the arts overcome the slow dying of men's hearts that we call progress of the world and lay their hands humbly on men's heartstrings again without becoming the garment of religion as in the old time?"

I recall, too, the remark of a distinguished scientist, "Science has no heart; science has no soul," which is exemplified so tragically in our world today. And not only in politics, but in the great professions. Today we realize clearly that if science wins there will be no humanity left. Man's problem is to restore art to its place in the world, to make living an art.

MRS. M. F. SEYMOUR
Tallahassee, Fla.

Crossword Puzzle No. 608

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 and 5 down Portes? (6, 5)
4 The sort of demon not found in Canada. (8)
10 A bad poem set to the wrong tune. (7)
11 Just to let us get passages? (7)
12 Flimsy, perhaps, but what comes back always seems to come back! (5)
13 Lettuce in the sea. (3)
14 The swanky type. (5)
15 Whitish green outside or inside. (5)
17 New in New York, like a bad spot in a rotten core. (8)
21 Habituate. (8)
23 See 7 down.
26 The way to entertain as a matinee custom. (5)
28 See 8 down.
29 Cover both sides of the border, perhaps. (5)
30 This sort of cocktail might give one a lift. (7)
31 Is Russia's marked with an asterisk? (7)
32 Air sack used by sailors? (5, 3)
33 Remained appeased. (6)

DOWN

1 A party lets the grease out, perhaps. (4-4)
2 Grass to spare! (7)
3 A full complement of men about ■ poet. (5)
5 See 1 across.
6 See 7 down.
7 6 and 23 across Implying the dentifrice has notches on the edges? (3, 4, 2, 3, 5)
8 and 28 across A shelter in the sun's destroyed. (6, 3)
9 Part of the engine turns over, even if overweight. (8)
16 R and S would join this and 19 for the reader. (3)
18 Comes to a rather unconscious solution. (8)
19 See 16 down. (3)
20 A minister meshed in ■ scene rose to the heights. (8)
22 A stroke allowed a pair with the same number of feet. (7)
24 Careful in the ward! (7)
25 Interfered with, yet well preserved. (6)
27 You don't gain this by using 11, unless you go wrong. (5)
28 and 29 You do for a pump. (4, 1, 5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 607

ACROSS: 1 CAPITAL ACCOUNTS; 9 and 24 down ROUND OF GOLF; 10 ASIATIC; 11. URSULA; 12 ADHESION; 14 APPARENTLY; 15 ERIC; 17 INCH; 19 THE EGG AND I; 22 GRENOBLE; 23 STAGED; 25 ARMIGER; 26 ONTARIO; 27 STRAIGHTFORWARD. DOWN: 1 CIRCULATING FANS; 2 PLUGS UP; 3 TODDLERS; 4 and 13 LEFT IN THE LURCH; 5 CHANDELIER; 6 OLIVES; 7 NUTTIER; 8 SECOND CHILDHOOD; 16 AGITATOR; 18 CREAMER; 20 NIGERIA; 21 MOWGLI

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York.

RESORTS

50 Miles to FOREST HOUSE
Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes. All sports.
FOREST HOUSE
Lake Mahopac, N. Y. ● Tel. Mahopac 8-3449

RESTAURANT

BALALAIKA
157 West 55 Street
New York City
Gypsy Orchestra
Dining — Dancing
Two Shows Nightly
Banquet Department
For reservations call PLaza 7-2334

REAL ESTATE

TAX-EXEMPT INDUSTRIAL SITES
54 Acres — Jersey City
for lease to tenants who may
erect their own tax-exempt
buildings, or we will build
20,000 to One Million square feet
for lease to acceptable tenants.
L. N. ROSENBAUM & SON
565 Fifth Ave., New York 17

CAMERAS ETC.

GERMAN CAMERAS & BINOCULARS. Import your own. Savings up to 35% on new Zeiss, Rolleiflex, Exakta, and all other makes. Experienced, intelligent, (and objective) advisory service for the technician or hobbyist. Please specify interests and requirements. Immediate airmail reply. Worldpost, Tangier International Zone, Morocco.

AUDIO

HI FIDELITY
RADIO-PHONOGRAPH
sales, installation and service
VECTOR LABS
217 3rd Ave. ■ N. Y. C. 3 ■ GR 3-7686

BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES

CHINCHILLAS—You Raise Them. We buy Them. Small capital can show terrific profits at home in your spare time. Free booklet explains our new lease plan. Box 97, Little Neck, New York.

Advertising Rates

CLASSIFIED
74c a line (6 words)
Three-line minimum

●

CLASSIFIED DISPLAY
$7.42 per inch (minimum)
Remittance must accompany all orders

●

The NATION
333 SIXTH AVENUE
New York 14, N. Y.
CHelsea 2-8400

Printed in the U. S. A. by Southern Farmer, Inc., P. O. Box 509, Montgomery, Ala.

The Nation
The Nation
The Nation
The Nation
The Nation
The Nation
The Nation

The Answer to Your Vacation Problem

A SPECIAL TOUR FOR NATION READERS

THIS SUMMER PLAN to visit Western Europe on *The Nation's* special tour. Here is a rare opportunity to speak to Members of Parliament, Deputies and other government leaders; to meet with men who help guide Europe's destiny in these crucial times; to get at first-hand a fuller understanding of what is taking place in Europe today. You will visit England, France, Western Germany, Denmark, Sweden and Switzerland on a tour planned by *The Nation* and the well-known travel agency, World Studytours.

THE NATION, Travel Department, 333 Sixth Avenue, NYC 14. Please send me your brochure on The Nation's European trip and the necessary application forms. (Request for this material does not obligate you in any way.)

NAME..........................

ADDRESS.......................

CITY...........Z......STATE....

2-26-55

THERE WILL also be ample time for sight-seeing and recreation. You will see Stratford-on-Avon, Chester—earliest example of a medieval walled town remaining in England—the many fascinating sights of London; in Germany there will be time to enjoy the view from the "Alter Zoll" high above the Rhine, to visit Beethoven's home, the Munster, the University; in France you will visit the Louvre, the Opera, the Boulevards, the Sorbonne, Notre Dame—and also enjoy a taste of Parisan night life.

THE TOUR will be led by Colston Warne, Professor of Economics at Amherst, and President of the Board of Directors of Consumer's Union.

THE TRIP, by boat, begins June 24; by air, July 1. You will return to the states August 10 (by air) and August 17 by ship. The all-inclusive fee covers all transportation, all hotels, all meals, the full program of sightseeing, visits, interviews, discussions and entertainment; the guidance of Professor Warne and the services of organizers, guides and interpreters in each country. By ship the cost is \$1,320 (tourist class); by air, the cost is \$1,445 (Sabena Tourist Flight.) For further information and applications fill out the coupon on this page.

OPPENHEIMER'S "FOLLY": AN ALSOP FABLE BY WALDO FRANK

Mr 9 '55
BURLINGAME
PUBLIC LIBRARY
Burlingame, Calif.

THE Nation

March 5, 1955
20c

The Abortion Racket

by Edwin M. Schur

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

Where East Met West *Fred Clarke*
How Much For Ivan? *M. V. Condoide*
The Fight Against Rearmament *Editorial*

W
N
S
E
AROUND THE U. S. A.

The Community That Saved Itself

Chicago

A UNIQUE experiment in stopping a slum before it gets started has been inaugurated by the residents of the Hyde Park-Kenwood area in Chicago. With government help, made possible by the urban-renewal provisions of the 1954 federal Housing Act, this middle-aged community is determined to save itself from an old age of blight and deterioration.

The first step was taken five years ago when at the instigation of the Social Order Committee of the Fifty-seventh Street Society of Friends forty members of the community met in the parlors of the First Unitarian Church to discuss the changing character of their neighborhoods. These people refused to accept the inevitability of decay in a community that was basically a good place in which to live, work, and raise a family.

Among them were religious leaders, business and professional men and women, and representatives of the Negroes and Nisei who had been moving into the area in recent years. All engaged in a frank and full discussion of the problems of overcrowding, interracial living, flight to the suburbs, inadequate schools, and the increasing incidence of crime. Since it was agreed that the most urgent need was to rouse people from their hopelessness and apathy, the best way to start seemed to be to form an organization of citizens willing to tackle the job in their own hearts, their own backyards, and their own blocks. Everybody's involvement was the goal. The organization born that night was the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference.

A month later the group, enlarged to 150, met again and adopted a statement of purpose of which this is the first paragraph:

> We stand for basic human rights, taught by our religious faiths, by ethics, and by the Constitution of the United States, among them the rights of all persons, irrespective of race, creed, color, or national origin, peacefully and lawfully to bargain for, rent, buy, and occupy living space, to entertain guests in their homes, and to travel in our community, unmolested.

Later paragraphs reaffirmed the conviction that "overcrowding, not Negro occupancy, is responsible for urban decay" and outlined a program for maintaining community standards, providing recreation for young people, furthering community integration, and making long-range plans for the community's future.

THE first year of the conference's existence saw heroic efforts by volunteer workers to man the fort. Block groups were formed to tackle immediate problems; officers of the conference went from one organizing meeting to another, mustering increasing community support. By the end of the first year the conference could afford a small office and the services of an executive director.

The conference celebrated its fifth birthday on December 1 last at a community rally. It took stock of its accomplishments and charted the complex challenge of the future. It now has some two thousand members, a budget which allows for a staff of eight, and a board of thirty-six directors which coordinates the activities of the various working committees. More than two hundred block strips have been organized. Members have set up standards for block maintenance and improvement, turned vacant lots into playgrounds, painted and landscaped property, campaigned for better lighting, undertaken sidewalk repairs and rat extermination, and seen to the removal of abandoned cars. Countless illegal conversions have been prevented, and hundreds of building and zoning violations corrected. The schools committee has cooperated with other agencies to obtain appropriations for five school additions. Lawyers in the membership have helped draft amendments for revision of the municipal code and proposed needed legislation. City planners have given their services in community-appraisal studies.

At the heart of the conference is the block organization—an approach which distinguishes it from other groups in the community. But the conference does not organize blocks from outside. The initiative must come from the residents. If they recognize they have a problem and need help, they can go to the conference office for guidance and with its aid establish liaison with the proper municipal authorities and other block groups. One of the conference leaders expressed the deeper meaning of block organization when he said, "It is only through working together that people acquire meaning for one another, and the meaning people have for one another makes the neighborhood their home."

In the spring of 1952 the conference was joined in its fight against deterioration by the Southeast Chicago Commission, which has marshaled the resources of the University of Chicago and of the business community behind urban rehabilitation. Next the Chicago Land Clearance Commission was induced to extend its activities into the area. The first Urban Renewal Plan in the country under the new federal housing act is the product of the combined efforts of these volunteer citizens' groups working in cooperation with government agencies.

AUDREY PROBST

AUDREY PROBST is managing editor of the University of Chicago Magazine.

COMING NEXT WEEK

"The Riddle of David Lawrence"
By Edgar Kemler

A study of one of journalism's most provocative and baffling personalities.

ALSO COMING SOON

A first-hand report on the progress of India's five-year plan by T. Balogh, noted British economist.

VOLUME 180, NUMBER 10
NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MARCH 5, 1955

THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

The Shape of Things

Resistance in Depth

Though expected, Chancellor Adenauer's victory in the Bundestag was so decisive that one might reasonably anticipate a prompt collapse of the opposition. The best observers on the spot, however, do not take this view. The resistance to the treaties was more than a noisy, tumultuous campaign. It was a resistance in depth, as our report from Geneva on page 191 clearly demonstrates. It embraced not merely the organized Social Democrats and the labor forces but many groups that have no other political ties with the left. And so, while the Bundestag action is a blow to those who regard German rearmament as a threat in itself and an instigation of war, opposition will not end.

According to M. S. Handler in the New York *Times* the Socialists feel that they have won a "tremendous propaganda victory," undermining the authority of the Bonn government. He reported their effective use of radio and television in the Bundestag proceedings to spread throughout the country their contention that the agreements would "reduce [the German people] to colonial status in relation to the NATO powers and would result in the permanent partition of Germany." This argument was luridly high-lighted by the government itself. Dr. Erhard, Minister of Economics, warned the deputies that if the agreements were not ratified the West would "abandon" the Federal Republic. He claimed that rearmament would cost Germany only nine billion marks annually. When a Socialist called out, "What will you do if it costs more?" Erhard shouted back, "Then let the Americans pay." A more flagrant admission that the agreements are primarily instruments of Washington foreign policy could hardly be imagined. Such abasement can do the Adenauer government little good in the country even if it wins a round in the Bundestag.

Faure's Key Role

What the German opponents of rearmament now intend to do is to contest each further step necessary to implement the decision reached Sunday. Above all they plan to use the interval of time between ratification and the creation of the first German divisions to insist upon negotiations with the Russians. Much depends on the French. One can assume that the new French Premier, Edgar Faure, who took office on a pledge of prompt ratification, will push the treaties through the Council of the Republic, though his task has been made more difficult by the fact that the Bundestag chose to tack on to its ratification of the Paris agreements a resolution reaffirming German claims to the Saar. But if ratification is coupled with an urgent demand for talks with Moscow before any Germans are given arms, the case may not be lost. For Russia's own behavior will doubtless be influenced by its estimate of the strength of the resistance to rearmament, both in Germany and France.

Those Who Get Tapped

A bit of information which came to light in the course of the investigation of Serge Rubinstein's murder in New York may block further consideration at this session of Congress of Attorney General Brownell's renewed request for legislation authorizing wiretapping. Raiding an apartment in the swank East Fifties police discovered an elaborate wiretapping set-up. Conversations could be picked up on any line leading into the six large telephone exchanges which cover the area between Thirty-seventh and Ninety-second Street, from Fifth Avenue to the East River. Modern electronic equipment found in the apartment was capable of picking up vibrations from planted microphones, without the use of wires, at distances of more than three hundred yards. Among the telephones tapped, in addition to those of the inevitable burlesque dancer and model, were those of executives of E. R. Squibb and Sons, and of the St. Joseph Lead Company, the largest lead-mining company in this country. One victim, a manufacturer's representative, commented: "I have read about wiretapping, but I never thought of it affecting me at all." The news that East Side numbers were being tapped with such ease and in such volume produced a storm of protest. Senator Irving M. Ives promptly joined with other prominent citizens in demanding an investigation; the Senator's apartment in the John Murray House lies within the belt covered by the recent taps. A New York State legislative investigation is now in the making, and United States Senator McClellan may order the staff of the Senate investigations subcommittee to check up on the extent of government wiretapping in Washington. Nothing quite like this spasm of protest was registered last spring when Mr. Brownell was trying to steam-roller his wiretapping proposal through Congress. But then, of course, there was no evidence that such exchanges as Templeton 8, Plaza 1, 3, and 5, and Eldorado 5 were being tapped. As always, much depends on whose ox is being gored.

In This Issue

EDITORIALS
The Shape of Things 189
The Fight Against Rearmament 191
ARTICLES
Washington in Focus by Max Freedman 192
Oppenheimer's "Folly": An Alsop Fable by Waldo Frank 193
Where East Met West: Unity Among Workers by Fred Clarke 195
How Much for Ivan? An Old Kremlin Problem by M. V. Condoide 197
The Abortion Racket: Product of Laggard Law by Edwin M. Schur 199
BOOKS
Lippmann on Democracy by Max Freedman 202
"Romantic" Image of the Self by Perry Miller 203
Satire Through Mimicry by Stanley Cooperman 204
Books in Brief 205
FILMS by Robert Hatch 206
RECORDS by B. H. Haggin 207
CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 609 by Frank W. Lewis opposite 208
AROUND THE U. S. A.
The Community That Saved Itself by Audrey Probst opposite 189

Editorial Board

Freda Kirchwey	Editor and Publisher
Carey McWilliams	Editorial Director
Lillie Shultz	Director, Nation Associates
Victor H. Bernstein	Managing Editor
J. Alvarez del Vayo	Foreign Editor
Martin Solow	Assistant to the Publisher
Harold Clurman	Theater
B. H. Haggin	Music
Robert Hatch	Films
Gladys Whiteside	Copy Editor
Caroline Whiting	Assistant Literary Editor
Alfred Maund	Editorial Assistant
Mary Simon	Advertising Manager

Contributing Editors: Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K Smith, Carolus, Keith Hutchison, H H Wilson, W Macmahon Ball, Maxwell Geismar, Bruce Catton

The Nation, March 5, 1955, Volume 180, No. 10

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1955, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879 at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Reentered as second class matter at the Post Office Montgomery, Alabama. Printing Office 1603 Reuben Street.

Subscription Prices Domestic—One year $7. Two years $12, Three years $17 Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1 **Change of Address:** Three weeks' notice is required for change of address which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

"Constant, Consistent Coaching"

The collapse of the government's case against Edward Lamb (see articles in *The Nation*, June 12, 1954, and February 5, 1955) once again emphasizes the risks and responsibilities that any government agency takes in sponsoring the testimony of political informers. Mrs. Marie Natvig, recalled by Mr. Lamb's counsel, has gaily confessed that her testimony was "concocted" and even admits that she has difficulty in distinguishing fact from fiction. Another witness, who has been serving as a "consultant on communism" for the Department of Justice for nearly two years, has also confessed that testimony he gave against Mr. Lamb was wholly false.

In the case of these witnesses, as in the case of Harvey Matusow, a major point is being obscured by the reiterated query: "How can we tell when the witness lied?" This is always an interesting question, and in a perjury prosecution it would be a relevant one as well. But no amount of speculation about when a witness who admits having lied is to be believed should be permitted to divert attention from the fact that recanted testimony is unreliable. In the case of Mrs. Natvig the examiner did the only thing he could do under the circumstances: he rejected her testimony as "completely incredible." But there is another point at issue in these cases. The recanting witnesses in the Lamb case swear that they were "coached" by government counsel and complain of "coercion." That the credibility of neither witness is impressive will hardly excuse the Federal Communications Commission from the unpleasant duty of investigating their charges. It is shocking enough that government counsel should call such unsavory witnesses without careful investigation of their credibility; it is unthinkable that a charge, made under oath, of "constant, consistent coaching" by government counsel should be ignored.

Instruments of National Policy

Speaking at the University of Michigan's School of Journalism recently Mark Ethridge, publisher of the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, charged the American press with responsibility for the fact that Formosa remains the "most underexplained story of 1955." Nine-tenths of the people, in his view, "don't know what it's all about."

Two days later, in an apologetic attempt to explain why readers of the New York *Times* had to be kept more or less in the dark about Washington's intentions in relation to Quemoy and Matsu, James Reston put his finger on the source of the trouble. Nowadays policy is largely formed in secret sessions, and then, when the public becomes restive and demands an explanation, unnamed officials use the "background press conference" to brief the press, and through the press the people, on policies which have been "adopted" in secrecy and never debated. For example, all the recent testimony on Formosa, with the exception of Mr. Dulles's formal statement, remains undisclosed. In such an atmosphere and setting Washington officials use the press as "an instrument of the government's diplomacy or propaganda in the cold war."

The phrase "instrument of national policy" first appeared in the headlines in 1949 when it was used by the Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association to characterize the relation of the schools to the government in a time of cold war. More recently it has been suggested that other basic institutions of a democratic society, such as trade unions and churches, should also be regarded as instruments of national policy. Now the press seems to be thought of in the same sense. A press that feeds its readers off-the-record "briefings" in lieu of the straight news which it lacks the wit, courage, and energy to seek out and report may be free, but it is shirking its basic responsibility.

The Fight Against Rearmament

[The following dispatch from The Nation's *Geneva correspondent, received before the week-end vote approving the Paris treaties was recorded in Bonn, tells of the widespread nature of the resistance to German rearmament among the people of West Germany.]*

OUR Geneva correspondent writes: The *Journal de Geneve*, founded in 1826, is the newspaper par excellence of the Swiss bourgeois. Moderate in tone, seldom losing its temper, always seeking the golden mean, its policy is guided by traditional Swiss neutralism seasoned with an anti-Communist bias and a pro-Western orientation.

In recent weeks, however, its calm has been upset by a series of raucous, splenetic dispatches from its Bonn correspondent. George Blum has been literally beside himself with rage at the popular movement in Western Germany against rearmament and for reunification. Although led by the Social Democratic Party, the trade unions, and the Evangelical churches, the movement to him is little better than a Communist plot, the extensive campaign of meetings and petitioning in west German cities a revival of Nazi methods.

In a recent front-page editorial headed The Opposition to German Rearmament the *Journal de Geneve* righted the balance. The views of the writer, Jacques Courvoisier, deserve to be heard far beyond the borders of Switzerland.

The readers of the paper, he insists, have the right to objective news coverage, which he then assembles from many reports originating in Germany and from information provided by Pastor Niemoeller on his recent visit to Geneva. "A constantly growing section of West German opinion," says Courvoisier, "is taking a stand against rearmament of the country and has launched a determined struggle against the Paris agreements."

Last November 3, two hundred Rhineland pastors issued a manifesto declaring that reasons of conscience forbade them to abide by a new recruiting law and warning the government that enlistment of minors contravened Article 6 of the constitution, guaranteeing parental authority.

On December 8 twenty-seven outstanding leaders of the Protestant churches addressed a letter to the Bundestag deputies on the gravity of a decision that in their mind would shake the foundations of German democracy.

> It is the duty of the church to counsel its members on their civic responsibilities in this sphere. How they will acquit themselves in this task on the day that legislative measures fraught with inextricable conflicts are taken cannot be foreseen.

On January 19 an imposing conference was held at historic St. Paul's Church in Frankfort, attended by representatives of Protestant and Catholic denominations, the Socialist Party, leading trade unions, and distinguished professors, and by Dr. Heinemann, a former minister in the Adenauer Cabinet. Sounding the theme of "Save unity, freedom, peace against communism and nationalism," a manifesto with five hundred signatures called for a determined resistance against anything likely to prevent the reunification of Germany, for rejection of the Paris agreements, and for a clear demonstration to the occupying powers of the German people's will to unity.

Among the church dignitaries associated with this movement are Messrs. Dehn, Diem, Gollwitzer, Heinrich Vogel, Iwand, Niesel, Niemoeller, Ernst Wolff, and Sigmund Schultze. Many of them, Courvoisier says, had sufficient faith and courage twenty years ago to resist national socialism, and he adds that this is reason enough to listen to their objections to rearmament.

> For these Germans, and I believe I can say that they belong to the elite of their people, rearmament has come to be a nightmare. This is so because the healthiest elements of the German people, despite everything, learned something from the last war; and if there still remain some for whom the greatness of a people derives from military might, they are no longer as preponderant as they once were. Fifteen years ago the fact that large sections of the population finally understood this would have been hailed as a victory of the spirit. . . . Like a recuperating drug addict, the typical German is horrified at the thought of being forced to resume the hateful habit.

Ratification of the Paris agreements before all possibility of negotiations are exhausted, most Germans believe, not only threatens to perpetuate a division of the country, but is venturing on a dangerous path. "We say no to the Paris agreements," says Pastor Ernest Langer, ". . . because the policy of force associated with the rearmament of both parts of Germany is a policy of despair; and despair is not conducive to peace."

While careful to point out that not all the Evangelical churches are publicly opposed to rearmament —the conference of churches in both zones held early this month at Hanover refused to take a position on the Paris agreements—Courvoisier nevertheless affirms that German Protestants, and many Catholics, are unanimous in their desire for peace and unity. "We Swiss," he concludes, "have fought too hard for our unity in the past not to lend an ear to the distress of a people so ardently seeking unity, and this time without any desire to attain it at the expense of others."

Washington in Focus

by Max Freedman

HARVEY Matusow never gives the impression of being tortured by his conscience. He is garrulous rather than penitent. He sat with his hands firmly clasped, rarely fumbled for a note, and betrayed his well-concealed nervousness only by the glasses of water he drank. His answers to the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee were delivered in a resonant voice, sometimes with a note of defiance, never with the muted accents of despair. He seemed to be enjoying his confessional. The committee never really solved the problem of bringing him under its restraint without becoming entangled in his misdeeds. It knew that as he discredited himself he also cast suspicion on the judgment of the committees which had paraded him as an expert on communism. This anxiety formed the real focus of the hearings.

Matusow's trail of lies was not broad enough to hide one perplexing fact. He claimed to have broken with Communism; yet his closest friends and associates were either known Communists or had been accused by him of being Communists. How did Matusow explain this strange behavior? He never really did. There was one unbelievably bizarre episode when he and Senator Jenner tried to decipher the inscrutable purposes of God. Matusow suggested that he was prompted by religious motives in cherishing no enmities against these men. Apart from these freakish parodies of a soul in torment, Matusow blustered and blundered; bluntly denounced himself as a paid assassin of character or blandly admitted that he and the truth had never conducted even the most experimental relationship. But on this central point he remained evasive to the end.

During the second day's questioning of Matusow the committee became interested in charges which he had made about Edward Lamb of Toledo, Ohio, whose case before the Federal Communications Commission has commanded national attention because of the unjust accusations brought against him and later recanted. Matusow testified that he had accused Lamb of "being a Communist-fronter" in a speech before the "Keep America Free Council" at North Canton, Ohio. He didn't believe he had ever charged Lamb with being a Communist, though he added: "I wouldn't put anything past me in that period."

Then Matusow was cross-examined by Mr. Sourwine, committee counsel:

SOURWINE: Have you intended to testify here that you went down to Washington at the request of Mr. Brown, attorney for Mr. Lamb?

MATUSOW: At the request of an intermediary.

SOURWINE: Who was that intermediary?

MATUSOW: Carey McWilliams, the editor of The Nation magazine.

SOURWINE: Did Mr. McWilliams approach you about this matter or did you approach him?

MATUSOW: He approached me.

SOURWINE: What did he tell you?

MATUSOW: He told me that Mr. Brown was the attorney for Mr. Lamb and was interested to find out if I had any information which might be relevant to the case.

SOURWINE: Did he say Mr. Brown had asked him to get in touch with you?

MATUSOW: I believe so.

SOURWINE: Who is Carey McWilliams?

MATUSOW: The editor of The Nation magazine.

SOURWINE: Is he a Communist?

MATUSOW: I don't know him as such.

SOURWINE: The fact that he is editor of The Nation magazine, that is not a Communist connection, is it?

MATUSOW: I don't think it is.

SOURWINE: Have you heard of anything, do you know of anything that was a Communist connection?

MATUSOW: I believe in 1952, in the campaign, at least in one speech, now that I remember it, I got up and said that this fellow Carey McWilliams has forty-six—that is my favorite figure—forty-six Communist organizations to his credit. That was it. He attacked Senator McCarthy. I believe it was in my Wisconsin speech in Madison or Green Bay, I said he had forty-five or forty-six Communist fronts to his credit and therefore must be a Communist. He attacks McCarthy.

SOURWINE: How did Mr. McWilliams get in touch with you about seeing Mr. Brown?

MATUSOW: I got in touch with him first about the book.

SOURWINE: What had you gone to see him about?

MATUSOW: I had read an article in The Nation magazine on informers and I went there. I introduced myself and said, "I think it is a fine article but it doesn't go far enough. Informers, like I have been, are a lot more bastardly than this article has them set out to be." He said, "Well, what are you doing about it?" I said, "I am writing a book." He said, "Well, some day I might be interested in using some of the material if it bears out what you say it is going to be."

SOURWINE: When was this?

MATUSOW: Back in late March, I guess.

SOURWINE: Of what year?

MATUSOW: 1954. . . It might have been April. . . And I told him that I was trying to undo some of the harm I had done in unjustly attacking people or accusing people. I wasn't going to sit as judge and jury on people, whether they are or are not various things politically, because that was their business and was none of mine. The next day or two days later, I called him up again. I told him I would call him back. I wanted to find out if he knew anybody who was interested in my book in the way of a publisher, and he said that his fellow Brown called him and wanted to know if I knew anything about the Lamb case. I said, "Well, I was in Ohio and

I probably could help him. At least I will try to, because that is what I am trying to do to a lot of people. I will help them when I believe they have been hurt unjustly."

SOURWINE: Mr. Matusow, according to Mr. McWilliams then, is it your statement that he heard from Mr. Brown between the time that you visited him first and the time that you called him upon the telephone?

MATUSOW: It might have been another visit to his office. I saw Mr. McWilliams a dozen times during that period in relation to getting somebody to publish the book. He is in the publishing field. I don't recall on what visit this Brown subject came up. It might have been my third or fourth visit.

SOURWINE: You didn't volunteer to come down at your own expense, did you?

MATUSOW: No, I didn't.

SOURWINE: You had other business in Washington at that time, didn't you?

MATUSOW: I don't recall.

SOURWINE: You never did see Mr. Brown alone, did you?

MATUSOW: I don't recall if I—in the hotel lobby it wasn't alone. So I don't believe I did.

SOURWINE: So there would be at least two witnesses to everything that happened between you and Mr. Brown, wouldn't there be?

MATUSOW: Apparently so.

SOURWINE: You saw Mr. McWilliams alone though, didn't you?

MATUSOW: Yes, sir.

No Senator asked any questions.

But the most important sequel was the virtual unanimity of opinion that there is something indefensible about a system which lets a witness like Matusow enjoy the confidence of Congressional committees. This aspect of the case plainly disturbed Senator Eastland as the subcommittee's chairman. Yet he is reluctant to impose new restraints on the use of informers. He regards Matusow as an unfortunate episode rather than as the inevitable penalty exacted by an unjust system. This clamorous exposure of a self-confessed liar will be no more than an experiment in vulgarity unless it teaches Congress and the Department of Justice to treat informers with greater scepticism and caution.

BEHIND Speaker Sam Rayburn's complaint at the lack of notice which he receives about President Eisenhower's legislative program is much more than an irritated sense of outraged dignity. He removed all doubt on that point by his swift repudiation of President Eisenhower's suggestion that everything could be put right by a telephone call to the White House. The Democratic Party intends to be something more than a rescue squad for the President's policies. It also intends to use its power in Congress to write its own program as the essential prelude to the 1956 campaign. The tax reduction is only the first sign of that strategy. That is why the President spoke out so emphatically against the Democrats. Despite that protest the conviction remains overwhelming that the Republicans are angry at the Democrats for having taken the lead in tax reductions. By making this bold stand now Speaker Rayburn has shown the White House that the Democrats have a mind of their own and policies of their own even when they cooperate with President Eisenhower on issues beyond the immediate range of party battle.

OPPENHEIMER'S "FOLLY"

An Alsop Fable . . *by Waldo Frank*

WHEN the Alsops borrowed the famous title of Emile Zola for their recent book, "We Accuse," their wish was to suggest analogies between "the shocking miscarriage of justice" in the Dreyfus and Oppenheimer cases. But what they reveal is deep differences in the states of mind of two countries and two epochs. They wanted to expose our current American process of security from subversion as "an *in*security system, because . . . we have forgotten our American traditions; we have borrowed the methods of the enemy; we have made intelligence and originality dangerous to their possessors; and we have placed the highest premium on insipid cowardice and feeble conformity." But what they bring to light is perilous trends in such loyal and typical thinking as their own. The actors in this play, as in all good drama, stand for more than themselves. Even the Alsops, courageous political journalists who cannot be charged with consciousness of a poetic mission, become a symbol.

For Joseph and Stewart Alsop represent what might be called an aristocracy of American tradition. Schooled at Groton, the American Eton, at Harvard and at Yale; sprung from a family which has produced three Presidents—James Monroe and Theodore and Franklin Roosevelt—they speak up against the smog of hysterical fear, complacence, and backstairs espionage which calls itself "security surveillances" in what rings like the old, clear voice of our country, the voice that swept away the Alien and Sedition Laws and Know-Nothingism. One thinks of Thomas Jefferson, and one takes comfort.

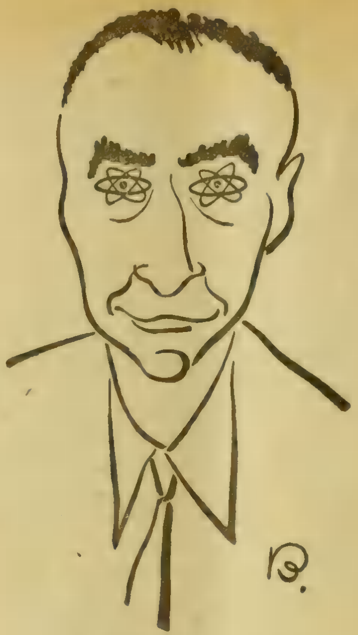
But let us listen with more care. Oppenheimer, when a young man, became a critic of our social system and our culture. Spain, a groping and fumbling democracy, was being murdered, less by fascist assault than by the betrayal of France, Britain, the United States. The Germans, a people of the vanguard of the West, were enthusiastically embracing a maniac who had declared his program for murdering the spirit of man. A cruel depression at home was crushing the dream of our youth while our politicians, in line with those of France and Britain, pre-

---

WALDO FRANK analyzed the transcript of the hearings on Dr. Oppenheimer before the Personnel Security Board of the A. E. C. in The Nation *of September 25, 1954.*

pared the ground for the dream of Hitler. Moved by these perils, the young scientist was sympathetic to the ideals of social revolution. He does not appear to have analyzed the psychological flaws in the philosophy of Marx, although he was not a Communist. He shared, naively, the creative impulse which he indubitably found in the young men and women on the campus at Berkeley. And for this lyrical and generous and fertile emotion, mother of human growth, the Alsops find no word but *folly*. They repeat it, again and again. Folly! As if the creative, erring potency of youth could be brushed off as a children's disease, a kind of measles, from which maturity recovers! Jefferson was the man who declared for the healthfulness of revolution every thirty years. He would have said of the young Oppenheimer: "He is noble in his dissenting, generous in his seeking, free in his adventuring. In his naive faith in a governmental system that would enforce freedom by police methods, he is wrong. But such mistaking is part of the experiment of creation." If the Alsops with their complacent assumption that dissent from the American way of life is folly—nothing but folly—represent the tradition of Jefferson today, we must acknowledge its decay.

THE Alsops' allusion to the Dreyfus case is less reminder than irony. Zola's "J'accuse," which filled an issue of a Parisian daily newspaper, electrified France. The land rose to fight a battle of the spirit. Families and lovers split upon the question. The nation's leading men—artists, scientists, statesmen, scholars—came forward as in war, playing their liberties, their fortunes, their lives. Justice for a single, humble man became the symbol for a revolution. And when the false accusers were broken, in prison, in exile, in suicide, the conspiracy of the reactionary army, allied to the *grandes familles* of France and to the servile hierarchy of a church, had lost its power in France forever—except for the interlude of Hitler. How this contrasts with the muffled confusion of our country! The Alsop book is hardly reviewed by the press, except non-committally as a "news item." True, the scientists have bravely protested. Princeton has been loyal; Columbia has honored itself by giving the assailed man a conspicuous part in its bi-centennial exercises. (The president of the University of Washington barred him as a guest lecturer.) But I have felt no fever pulse in the people or their leaders, seen no mobilized opinion—like that led by Clemenceau, Anatole France, Halevy, Zola—take the streets of Washington and New York.



Robert Oppenheimer

Yet the analogy of Dreyfus, accused of a crime through a forged letter, and Oppenheimer, vaguely impugned as a "security risk," is valid. In the one case anti-Semitism masked an assault on the sovereign freedom of the French people; in the other anti-intellectualism sets up an Inquisition through which human love, whose way is search and intellectual doubt, is humiliated by the concealed dogmas of bureaucrats and their pettifogging counsel—to be expunged from the leadership of our country. The French people saw an issue and decided it. We Americans, not because we love our truth less but because we have been prevented from seeing it and from sensing the threats against it, have decided nothing. And this, in the hour of global decision! America's sensibility and sensitivity today are molded, not by our teachers and artists, not by our legitimate intellectual and spiritual leaders (they exist, and are as dedicated and as able as any in the world), but by soldiers, lawyer-politicians, business magnates with their clowns, apologists, and technological servants. With TV, the radio, the merchandise bazaars that call themselves the magazines and press blaring at them at top voice twenty-four hours a day, the people have little consciousness left with which to solve the lethal problems that confront us. The result is anesthesia and confusion.

IN TRAGEDY the hero becomes the principal victim of his own character. If fate dooms Oedipus, it is his character that has blinded and destroyed him. If Hamlet is overwhelmed, it is because *his* world was too much with him. The ethical issues which our people have failed to seize in the case of Robert Oppenheimer, *he* has failed to articulate clearly in and for himself. This unclarity in him, in an age crying for light, he derives from the world in which he functioned, and it was part of what qualified him to function.

Here was a youth whose conscience and awakening sense of responsibility to his fellow-men involved him obliquely in a world revolution the early stages of which, two decades later, we are still witnessing and living—with almost no public word to identify it for us. He studies Sanskrit, not for "distraction" as the Alsops absurdly claim; he associates with radicals, not because he "had no better standards for practical political judgment than a visiting Martian." (His standards surely were at least as good as those of the "practical men" who plunged us into endemic war.) Oppenheimer reads the "Upanishads" because he already knows that a political movement whose aims imply a mature human world must know mankind at deeper than political levels; because he senses that there are scriptures which cast more penetrant light into social movements than a hundred manuals of economics. He soon learns that the crude communism of Russia fails of this basic premise of comprehension. But if this had meant that his past impulse to help change the world was "folly" and dead, he would have spiritually died—and become thereby acceptable to the Admiral Strausses.

There is no evidence of this. But he remained unclear, and it was this unclarity, matched by that of the war years, that got him by as a public servant.

Because he loves his country, he accepts the chance to serve it. But the result is a weapon that can destroy not Hitler but man. Oppenheimer feels justified in making the Bomb at his country's command and for his country's defense. But in his work on an instrument that has already poisoned the air, he shares—and feels that he shares—the *original sin* of the age which produced not only the science behind the Bomb but the false values and the conflicts which might move men to explode it. He is again caught on the horns of a dilemma.

The moral responsibility, not of science, which is a method, but of the *scientist,* who is a human being, becomes poignant in the conscience of this man who, unlike others, has not been robotized by an abstract passion. The complexities of this ethical problem cannot be touched on here. The point is that Oppenheimer was moved by it; and that, *because he was moved,* the "Inquisition" damned him. The point is, further, that such agencies as the one over which Admiral Strauss presides inevitably draw men of *his* kind to do their potentially genocidal work—and inevitably exclude men of Oppenheimer's kind, who are alive enough to feel scruples.

As in all good drama, the action in the case of Robert Oppenheimer has had both necessity and freedom. But in this tragedy the protagonist is the chorus—the American people. The failure of our news-drugged eyes and ears to sense the meaning of this drama which is our own *is* the meaning of the drama.

We should consider the dinosaur, that huge, well-armored beast which vanished because it lacked the senses, required by its bulk and appetite, to survive in a changed world.

WHERE EAST MET WEST

Unity Among Workers . . *by Fred Clarke*

Geneva

THE first European Regional Conference of the International Labor Organization, which closed early last month, may well prove to be the last. Conceived in dispute, it opened in a snarl of conflict, proceeded to the accompaniment of threats and insults, and closed with a shaking of fists. It was a revealing experiment in coexistence. The divisions were along vertical rather than horizontal lines, with Western worker and government delegations and Eastern European representatives more often than not on the same side against the Western European employers.

The employers had been opposed to the idea of a regional conference from the outset, though they found it difficult to give plausible reasons. After all, there had been five regional conferences of American states, three of Asian states, and one for the Middle East; why not one for Europe? At the meeting of the Governing Council some of the points the employers made were patently ludicrous. Europe, they said, was not really a region, being made up of different peoples with different religions and customs; its problems were less local than universal and therefore belonged at an international conference.

The actual basis of the employers' opposition was seldom explicitly stated by their spokesmen—that there was not one but two Europes, divided by different social systems, and it were best to keep them apart. This was an extension to the field of labor relations of the idea of a Western military community. In terms of practical politics the problem had become more acute since the last general I. L. O. conference in June, 1954, when the Russians had reentered the organization and a tripartite Soviet delegation representing the government, the workers, and the employers had been seated over opposition. This meant that at a European conference, in distinction to an international one, a combination of Eastern Europe's delegations, including Yugoslavia's, with the West European workers' representatives (forty-nine of ninety-nine total votes) could, with the shifting of some government votes, maintain a constant majority against the employers. And that practically is what happened.

Tempers reached the explosion point on the fifth day of the conference. At a previous plenary session a Soviet proposal to increase the size of the employers' subcommittee from ten to fifteen so as to include Eastern European employer representation had been defeated. As a compromise, on the suggestion of the United Kingdom government delegate, the Russians then requested that three of the Eastern European employers' representatives be seated *as members* on the employers' committee on productivity, two on the retirement-age committee, and one on the social-security committee—the three main committees dealing with "technical" matters. Subsequently the British representative proposed that the Easterners' status be modified to that of deputy members, with voice only, but this was rejected by the Selections Committee by eleven votes to eight with seven abstentions.

At this point Paul Ramadier of France, speaking on behalf of the government group, put the defeated British proposal before the assembly as a whole. He described it as a moderate proposal, since the Eastern European delegates would sit in the committees in consultative capacity

---

FRED CLARKE, an American writer, is a close observer of the European scene.

only. But he went on to say that the organization had no choice if it wished to adhere to its principle of universality and the coexistence of countries with different social institutions within the I. L. O. He did not say it, but everyone understood that the alternative might have been a Soviet walkout on what would have appeared clear grounds of discrimination.

An angry discussion followed. The Western employers made the welkin ring with their cries of totalitarianism; never, they vowed, would they as "free employers" recognize the credentials of men who were nothing but puppets of the state; the government delegates would be held accountable for their position, which Sir Richard Snedden, heading the employers, called a "betrayal" and Pierre Waline of France warned would have "repercussions." Professor Arutiunian, leading Soviet delegate, in a fiery speech came back with the charge that the employers' delegates were really paid agents of corporations who knew little about production or relations with workers.

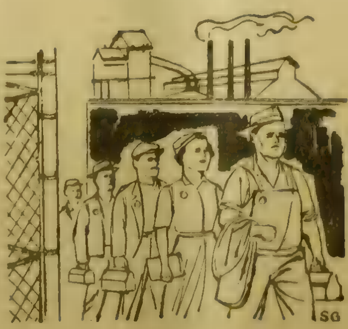
Finally, the British proposal was put to the vote and carried fifty-three to thirty. Western employers and Soviet delegates voted as a block on their respective sides; Western government and worker delegates divided. The West German worker delegate voted for the proposal; his government against it. British, Danish, Norwegian, and Dutch workers' delegates voted against; their governments for. Finnish workers abstained; the government voted for. The Austrian government abstained; Austrian workers voted against. Government and worker delegates from France, Italy, Sweden, and Switzerland were uniformly in favor, while tripartite delegations from Ireland, Portugal, and Turkey were solidly against, as were the Yugoslav.

On the following day the employers declared a lockout. In a letter addressed to the conference they said that since that body had taken a decision to seat the "totalitarian" states, "against the wishes of the free employers," they would cease to participate in the work of the three technical committees. Two days later Waline stoked the live embers of conflict with allegations that freedom of association for workers and the right to strike were non-existent in Eastern European countries, that an Ad Hoc U. N.-I. L. O. Committee had found these countries guilty of forced-labor practices, and that therefore their delegates must prove to the conference that their "social regime was not incompatible with the principles of the I. L. O." Arutiunian picked up the challenge at once, declaring that the employers' solicitude for free labor was sheer hypocrisy inasmuch as "the system of capitalist exploitation was one of slave labor."

Clearly the employers had hoped that by shifting the issue from that of "free employers" to that of freedom of association for workers they could again attract Western worker delegations to their side. But though this issue had dominated other I. L. O. conferences, it was to remain a minor one here. Western trade unionists were inclined to see an important principle in the recognition of the rights of Eastern European employers' representatives.

A remarkable speech to this effect was made by the French workers' delegate, Maurice Biladoux, president of the French Federation of Christian Unions, whose credentials had been unsuccessfully challenged by the Communist General Confederation of Labor, which claimed a majority of French trade unionists. Biladoux said that it was important to recognize the Soviet members as employers in a nationalized industry; the French government, too, was an employer of labor, the biggest in France. The crux of the problem, he maintained, was that trade-union leaders in the West were striving for comanagement in industry, and when this new concept was realized, "the manager of the future would not necessarily be the representative of capitalism."

M. Biladoux had clearly put his finger on the cause of the bitter resistance of Western employers to Soviet-management representation. They were fighting against the principle of nationalization in their own countries. They were less concerned about freedom from state interference—since the state has usually more to fear from corporations and cartels than vice versa—than about freedom from union interference. Shortly before the conference was convened, a million workers in the Ruhr had struck to protect and extend the practice of co-management in German industry. At the conference itself the British workers' delegate, among others, had claimed the right of collective bargaining for the unions in any scheme designed to raise productivity. This conception of "free association" probably also explains why Western trade unionists did not join their employers in fighting for rudimentary "free association" in Eastern Europe.



The employers' boycott did not destroy the tripartite nature of the I. L. O. as Sir Richard predicted it would, but it did diminish the bargaining power of the employers. The give and take in the committees occurred between worker and government representatives. This favored the workers in the final drafting of resolutions, for government delegates, with one eye on the voters back home, are usually less extreme than employer representatives, who have to answer to no one but their conservative selves. Moreover, the Soviet delegates came in with more radical proposals on all questions. For example, they wanted to eliminate workers' contributions to social-security funds, to lower the retirement age to fifty-five, to block all productivity plans in Western countries as leading to unemployment and a lowering of real wages. While those proposals were generally defeated, Western workers' delegates used them to fight off watering-down amendments from the right.

The employers were left with no alternative but to oppose the resolutions by a long series of crippling amendments on the floor of the conference. On all but one minor technical point they went down to defeat. What made the blow even more cruel was that on all these questions the votes of the Soviet bloc were joined with those of the

Western workers and of some or all of the Western governments. Only in opposing the productivity resolution did the Western delegates join the employers.

The general intent of the resolutions, as Director General Morse stated, was to "level up," not down, the social legislation and the standard of living in Europe. They represented at best merely one stage in the process, since the Regional Conference is an advisory body making recommendations to the Governing Council and to the I. L. O. general conference. The state of public opinion and the strength of the unions are the important factors in the implementation of these decisions.

The controversies and even more the alignments of this conference will undoubtedly have greater repercussions than its resolutions. In his Parthian shot, Sir Richard Snedden declared that the objective of the Communist bloc since Russia's entry into the I. L. O. had been to "transform the conference into a force . . . to activate and hasten the disintegration of Europe in the industrial sense as it has patently done in the political sphere." The free employers, he served notice, are not going "to be thrown piecemeal to the Soviet wolves." Mr. Rubattel of Switzerland, president of the conference, condemned these remarks as "excessive." With that Mr. Arutiunian, who had demanded the floor to reply, declared himself satisfied.

HOW MUCH FOR IVAN?

An Old Kremlin Problem . . *by M. V. Condoide*

DURING the short-lived Malenkov regime Soviet economic policy tended to emphasize, for the first time since the establishment of the Soviet state, the needs of the consumer. Whatever other changes the departure of Malenkov may bring, it will certainly lessen or end this emphasis, except perhaps in the sphere of food production. This seems an appropriate time, therefore, to review basic Soviet economic policy and to examine the situation of the Russian consumer before and since the death of Stalin.

From the beginning Soviet economic policies were based on the planned industrialization of the country. The essence of this plan was the heavy investment of resources in new capital construction. The labor and material needed for capital construction were to be taken from the consumption of the people. The theory was that by maintaining current consumption at subsistence level and devoting the resources thus saved to the expansion of capital equipment, the total output of the economy would be rapidly increased, and the level of consumption could eventually be raised. The success of the plan depended on the state's ability to limit consumption and on the speed with which total output could be increased.

In August, 1953, Malenkov presented to the Supreme Soviet a long and candid analysis of the successes and failures of the Soviet economic system, in the course of which he disclosed a number of heretofore unknown but suspected facts. For instance, he said that between 1928 and 1953 the state invested about 1,000 billion rubles (at current prices) in the industrialization of the country, of which heavy industry received 683 billion rubles, or 65.5 per cent of the total; transport, 193 billion rubles, or 18.5 per cent; agriculture, 94 billion, or 9.0 per cent; and light industry (consumer goods), 72 billion, or 6.9 per cent. He also said that heavy industry was employing approximately 70 per cent of all industrial workers. This is in rather interesting contrast with the history of economic development elsewhere. In the United States, Canada, Great Britain, and other countries consumer-goods and capital-goods industries experienced a parallel expansion over a long period of time, a considerable majority of labor was employed in manufacturing consumer goods and providing services, and standards of living steadily improved.

In other words, while the fundamental purpose of economic activity in the Western world has been consumption, as proclaimed first by Adam Smith and 150 years later by John M. Keynes, in the Soviet Union the objectives have been entirely different. Article 11 of the present Soviet constitution states: "The economic life of the U. S. S. R. is determined and directed by the national economic plan with the aim of increasing the public wealth, of steadily improving the material conditions of the people and raising their cultural level, of consolidating the independence of the U. S. S. R. and strengthening its defensive capacity." But until the advent of Malenkov all the other aims took precedence over that of improving the material conditions of the working people.

In September, 1953, N. Khrushchev, secretary of the Communist Party, and today apparently the number one man in the Soviet hierarchy, made an outspoken report to the party's Central Committee on the state of Russian agriculture. After a detailed account of the achievements and failures of Soviet agricultural policies he outlined projected measures to improve output, among them the provision of incentives to the peasants through tax relief and higher prices. (He also indicated the application of more con-

---

MIKHAIL V. CONDOIDE, author of "Russian-American Trade" and "The Soviet Financial System," is assistant professor of business research and economics at Ohio State University.

trols.) He discussed the poor state of livestock breeding and the shortage of coarse grains and other fodder but emphasized that the bread problem was solved. A few months later, however, he admitted that even in the case of bread the problem was far from solved.

The figures on Soviet livestock population given below show the effects of the forced collectivization of the peasants and their slaughter of cattle in the early thirties and the following extremely slow recovery, interrupted by the Second World War. It is worth noting that in 1916 Russian livestock population was larger than in 1952, though Russian area and population were considerably smaller.

(In Millions)

Year	Cattle	Cows	Pigs	Sheep and Goats	Horses
1916	58.4	28.8	23.0	96.0	38.2
1928	66.8	33.2	27.7	114.6	36.1
1941	54.5	27.8	27.5	91.6	21.0
1953	56.6	24.3	28.5	109.9	15.3

IN DECEMBER, 1947, the Soviet authorities purged their financial system by repudiating two-thirds of their national debt and converting the bulk of the old currency into a new one at the ratio of ten to one. At the same time they abolished rationing and established a unified price system, lowering prices on a variety of commodities, raising them on others. The regime claimed that the reform increased the real income of the Soviet population, and this may have been true for city dwellers, but it is questionable whether the rural population benefited.

A fair proportion of the urban population had small savings which were converted at the rate of one new ruble for one old one on accounts up to 3,000 rubles. The peasants had accumulated large quantities of paper rubles during the war by selling their surplus output in the free market. But they were compelled to exchange these hoarded rubles at the rate of ten to one. Since this financial reform the Soviet government has annually lowered prices from 5 to 15 or even 20 per cent on a variety of consumer goods. This means, obviously, that the output of consumer goods has been expanding. There has been no general wage increase since 1947, but most workers have been gradually shifted to a piece-rate basis, and it is claimed that this has increased their incomes.

According to Soviet economists, the policy of reducing consumer prices annually has resulted in an average drop of about 50 per cent from prices paid for similar goods in the fall of 1947 in commercial stores, but not from prices of rationed commodities available at that time in state retail stores. Nevertheless, according to the former Minister of Trade, A. Mikoyan, average wages of industrial workers and employees had doubled in 1954 over 1940, while prices of food and consumer goods were on the average only 14 and 27 per cent higher, respectively.

In the Soviet budget current expenditures are usually fully covered by the yield from taxation and by other receipts. There is no evidence that any credit has been created by the banking system since 1947 to finance industrialization. If such a careful financial policy had not been pursued, it would scarcely have been possible to decree repeated price reductions—there have been seven since 1947—on goods and services. The policy applied in the Soviet Union since 1947 has been in conformity with a principle advocated for years by Western economists—namely, that an increase in output without a comparable increase in costs of production should be reflected in a gradual lowering of prices.

Though these policies may have improved living conditions in Russia since the end of the war, the average citizen's real income has increased little if at all since industrialization began in 1928. An exhaustive study of the subject by Solomon M. Schwartz in "Labor in the Soviet Union" (1952) makes this plain. A study entitled "Purchasing Power of Soviet Workers, 1953," published by the United States Department of Labor, indicates that real earnings of the Soviet worker were actually lower in 1953 than in 1928. In the May, 1954, issue of the *Review of Economics and Statistics* an interesting study of real wages in the Soviet Union, 1928-52, by Janet G. Chapman, reaches a similar conclusion.

WHEN Malenkov came to power, the hopes of Soviet consumers rose. In all his speeches Malenkov insisted that the government's primary objective was to improve the people's standard of living. In October, 1953, Minister of Trade Mikoyan promised a bright future for Soviet housewives, with more of everything from sausages to automobiles. He disclosed plans for increasing the supply of meat and butter, vacuum cleaners, washing machines, and refrigerators, radios and television sets, bicycles, and so on. He also said that the Soviets were willing to purchase consumer goods abroad. Of the four billion rubles' worth of consumer goods purchased abroad in 1953, two-thirds came from the satellite countries. (The nominal value of the Soviet ruble is 25 cents; in terms of purchasing power it is between 5 and 7 cents, according to estimates made in this country.)

Despite the "new look" proclaimed by Premier Malenkov, however, an official Soviet Report on Plan Fulfilment published in *Pravda* on January 31, 1954, showed little basic change in production targets. In 1953, as in the preceding years of the Stalin regime, heavy industry increased output more rapidly than consumer-goods industries. Production of consumers' goods was 104 per cent and of food 100.5 per cent of the amounts set in the annual plan. Light industries developed at a faster rate than in 1952. Greater amounts of silk, woolen, and linen fabrics, cotton thread and fabrics, knitted underwear, hosiery, matches, soap, and other consumers' goods were produced than were demanded by the plan. The report also noted a considerable expansion in the volume of retail trade. Much of this increase in trade, Mikoyan explained in an address to the Supreme Soviet, could be accounted for by the fact that "at the beginning of 1953 the trade network had a tremendous quantity of goods above plan left on hand." There was apparently no improvement in grain production. According to the report, "the actual grain harvest in 1953 was close to that of 1952." In 1952 the Soviets claimed a production of 130,000,000 metric tons. This could probably be somewhat increased in the next few years by the cultivation of more marginal land and the use of more fertilizer, but it is not likely that 180,000,000 tons, an increase of 38 per cent, can be attained by 1955, as called for by the fifth Five-Year Plan.

The Plan-Fulfilment Report does not tell us to what extent the production of consumers' goods was expanded by Malenkov. The promises of his regime dealt chiefly with the near future—that is, with the expansion of consumer-goods output in the next few years; present consumption was discussed only in the most general terms. A careful reading of the Soviet decrees giving the production targets for consumers' goods and food crops indicates rather clearly that the Soviet authorities were particularly desirous of increasing the supply of those consumers' goods which were wanted by the upper crust of Soviet society—the Communist Party hierarchy and the economic administrators.

OF COURSE the problem of raising the standard of living of a population of some 210,000,000 is of great magnitude and complexity. Russia's chief need seems to be to expand agricultural output so as to provide more bread, cereals, meats, butter, and milk. It is here that the Soviet planned economy has been least successful, as Khrushchev disclosed in his candid survey of Soviet agriculture referred to above. "The Survey of Europe in 1953," prepared by a staff of economists of the United Nations, concluded that "in the Soviet Union, in spite of the large expansion of industry during the last twenty-five years, about half the population is engaged in agriculture and the surplus produced is insufficient to permit the rapidly increasing urban population to enjoy food standards comparable to those in the industrialized countries of Northwestern Europe."

It would seem obvious therefore that in order to accelerate the process of change from acute scarcity to a relative abundance of food products and consumer goods the Soviet Union will either have to import much larger quantities of these commodities from the West or greatly increase agricultural production, as Khrushchev has promised to do. On the question of the Soviet importation of consumers' goods it is worth while to recall the testimony of Kenneth R. Hansen, assistant deputy director of Mutual Defense Control, before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, as reported by the New York *Times* of March 14, 1954:

> During the last seven months, approximately, the principal U. S. S. R. commitments to buy consumer goods in the West for delivery in fiscal 1954 are estimated as follows: Butter, approximately $4,000,000; lard, $2,300,000; cheese, $3,700,000; herring, $15,000,000; meat, $21,000,000; sugar, $1,400,000; citrus fruit, $6,900,000; textiles, $28,000,000. . . .
>
> The importance of such purchases in raising the domestic consumption level is extremely slight. It is one of the basic lessons to be drawn from these figures. Imports from the West in 1952 were less than one-tenth of 1 per cent of Soviet consumption. So large percentage changes in imports of consumer goods really have insignificant effects in comparison with the basic development of requirements within the Soviet bloc.

It would appear that the Malenkov regime, despite its professed policy, actually did not accomplish much for the Russian consumer. The new regime's overt change-over to a "heavy industry first" policy, therefore, is not likely to leave him much worse off than he was before.

THE ABORTION RACKET

Product of Laggard Law . . *by Edwin M. Schur*

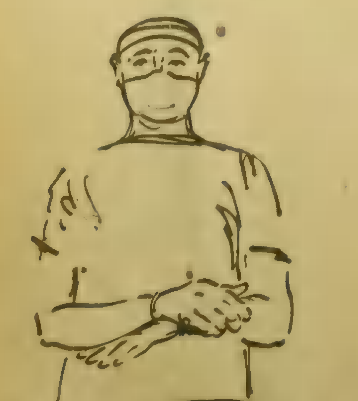
DESPITE abortion's skyrocketing death rate, any talk about it is hushed up, and the law remains powerless to curtail the activities of the professional abortionist. Dr. Frederick Taussig, famous gynecologist, in his 1935 study estimated that there were 681,000 abortions annually in the United States, of which about 60 per cent were illegal. A few years ago the chief medical examiner of Maryland, making what he considered a conservative estimate, held there were 1,000,000 a year, of which 30 per cent were illegal. Other recent studies assess the number at between 300,000 and 400,000 a year.

EDWIN M. SCHUR is a student at Yale Law School, where his study of the abortion problem, on which this article was based, was awarded the first annual Felix S. Cohen prize in legal philosophy.

Laws against abortion are supposed to curb immorality among the young, but statistics show that the majority of abortion-seeking women are married and that many are already mothers. Another mistaken idea is that few Roman Catholic women seek abortion. Actually women of all religions resort to it.

None of the methods of inducing abortion are absolutely reliable and few are safe. Unless an operation is performed by a skilled practitioner, in the sanitary surroundings only available in hospitals, the dangers are manifold. Thousands of American women die every year as a result of abortions and abortion attempts —estimates range from 3,000 to 8,000. If death does not occur, there is a strong possibility of partial or complete sterility, endocrine disorders, menstrual disturbances, or psychic maladjustment. These shocking results need be expected only when the operation is performed covertly by unskilled persons, without modern scientific equipment, but with the legal situation what it is, most abortions inevitably are attempted under these conditions.

While a properly conducted abortion is unlikely to be followed by serious complications, some controversy on this point has been aroused by the reported results of the 1920-36 Soviet experiment in "legalized" abortion. There is no doubt that primary abortion mortality in Russia decreased tremendously, but according to Taussig there was "a marked deterioration of the physical condition of the aborted woman." This may have been true of Russian operations in the 1920's, usually done without anesthesia, but there is little reason to fear such consequences in the United States three decades later, in view of our advanced antibiotic therapy and sanitary hospital conditions. It is interesting, therefore, that the *idea* that abortion under proper circumstances may be relatively harmless has been allowed so little publicity. An emotional resistance to change and a misconception of the ethical problems involved are responsible, not the dictates of sound medicine.



The law has shut its eyes to these facts. Fifteen years ago B. B. Tolnai wrote in *The Nation* that "the foolishness of abortion laws in this country amounts to a tradition." The tradition still flourishes today. Tolnai went on to say that "the result of existing legislation is an anarchy of extra-legal practice, opening up bonanzas of graft to crooked lawyers, politicians, and doctors." The anarchy and the bonanzas persist. The present legal status of abortion in this country can be summed up in one sentence: abortion is illegal unless necessary to preserve the life of the mother. Not all states have such laws, but the large majority do. "Necessity" as the *sine qua non* of a legal abortion puts the doctor in a perilous position. He cannot know for certain that without an operation the woman will die. Even if consultation with other physicians confirms his decision, he may not be able to support it in court.

THE rigidity of American law is pointed up by the decision of an English court in the well-known case of Rex versus Bourne (1939). A fifteen-year-old girl became pregnant as a result of forcible rape. Bourne, an eminent physician, performed the operation openly in a London hospital, asking no fee. Charged with "unlawfully" procuring an abortion, he was acquitted. The judge stated that when the doctor on reasonable grounds believes the pregnancy will make the woman "a physical or mental wreck" he is entitled to perform the abortion. In most American states neither rape nor incest constitutes justification for abortion, and no humanitarian, social, or economic factor is taken into consideration.

This rigidity, coupled with the persistent demand for abortion, has led to a scoffing disregard of the law. Prosecutions are few, and the conviction rate is extremely low. Of abortionists who are convicted, a great many receive suspended sentences. Taking away a doctor's license, as is done in many states, is an ineffective sanction: an abortionist needs no credentials to attract clients. In big cities an abortion practice is highly lucrative; often it is elaborately organized. District Attorney Frank Hogan of New York, in his report for 1946-48, noted an "enterprise" conducted by two women, neither licensed to practice, who used a "palatial private residence on Fifth Avenue" as a front:

> The conspirators [said the report] had a complicated code system for telephone conversations. Payments were "packages." "Six pairs of nylons" or "eight pairs of nylons" meant that the patient was six to eight weeks pregnant. Information concerning a patient's financial status was imparted by terms such as "special delivery," which indicated ability to pay double the usual fee, or "parcel post," meaning a moderate increase over the usual charge.

The professional abortionist can be demanding without fear of disclosure and may force his patients to beg, borrow, and steal in order to pay him. One hears of cases in which the "doctor" indulges his sexual whims, threatening not to perform the abortion if he is resisted. Hypercautious, the abortionist keeps his equipment at a minimum and as portable as possible. He works through "contacts," and his records, if they exist at all, are in code or scrupulously hidden. It must be recognized, however, that he provides the only facilities for meeting a social need. He exists because the public lets him. Public opinion for the most part is not against the practice of abortion.

Where regarded as necessary to save the mother's life abortion is generally called "therapeutic." Recently hospitals have permitted fewer and fewer of these operations. For one thing, many conditions which used to be detrimental to the continuance of a pregnancy are now handled without danger. For another, uncertainty fostered by the law has led hospitals and individual doctors to avoid going out on a limb. If the mother contracts german measles (rubella) before the twelfth week of pregnancy, there is at least a 30 per cent chance that the child will be born with a congenital abnormality. But since the mother's life is not in danger, the operation is clearly illegal. The increase of abortions for psychiatric reasons has not offset the decline in those for physiological reasons.

Since there is no reason to assume a decline in the demand for abortion, the reluctance of hospitals and reputable doctors to perform them can only lead to an increase in clandestine operations and a consequent rise in mortality. It would be realistic to loosen rather than tighten restrictions. Under Swedish law today abortions are permitted on eugenic, social, and humanitarian, as well as purely medical, grounds. This statute, together with an active information program, has caused a large drop in abortion deaths and the continuation of many pregnancies that women had planned to interrupt.

IN THE United States the strong moral feeling against abortions helps keep ineffectual laws on the statutes. It is asserted that killing the fetus contradicts the basic sexual function of woman; in destroying the unborn child, woman denies her own "maternal instinct." Few modern scientists accept this view 100 per cent, but several recent studies have stressed the fundamental significance of pregnancy for the woman. Ashley Montagu sees in woman's ability to conceive and bear children the source of her "natural superiority" over men. Lundberg and Farnham, in "Modern Woman, the Lost Sex," claim that woman's role can be completed only through motherhood. Other writers believe that in most women maternal feelings are the result of social conditioning and as such exist in varying degrees in different persons. They argue, too, that the maternal instinct, even if latent at all times, is relatively inactive in the early stages of pregnancy, developing gradually and coming to its full strength only after the child is born. But the instinct theory retains its force: since abortion thwarts woman's "nature" it must be wrong.

The undesirable psychological after-effects suffered by many aborted women have been cited in support of this argument. For few women is an abortion an unimportant incident; often it constitutes a severe psychic trauma. Helene Deutsch says that "at bottom there is hardly a woman who reacts to it with complete realism even where the rationalization is the best possible one." Yet it can be argued that the guilt reaction is due largely to society's opposition. Can we not say in all truthfulness that the fact that abortion is "illegal" may be the major cause of these reactions? Probably a woman's views are seldom so advanced that she is completely immune to society's condemnation. Simone de Beauvoir puts it very well, I think, when she refers to torment "by useless scruples."

The "instinct" premise is reinforced by the traditional view of woman's role in our society. Most abortion laws are man-made, and women have not been given many opportunities to express themselves on the subject. Taussig cites two questionnaires sent out in the 1930's —one to members of a Danish women's organization, the other to graduate women physicians in Germany. In each group a majority believed abortions should be permitted when socio-economic factors made them advisable. A similar result might be expected in a poll of American women today if the veil of shyness on the subject were pierced. The feminist goal will never be reached until woman has achieved social sanction for the right to decide when she shall have children. With abortion laws as they are today, the American woman is not free to make this decision. The high demand for abortion shows that women want freedom in this regard.

A HIGHLY irrational system of sex ethics gives further support to our present abortion policy. Ours is certainly a sex-conscious society. All our mass media play up sex. It is the inarticulate basis of almost all our advertising. Even comic books exploit sex in its rawest aspects. However, our social conventions insist that sex is wrong. A good example is the motion-picture industry's production code. Another is the widespread custom of calling jokes about sex "dirty" jokes. Though in practice the "double standard" is losing its power, it still affects our thinking. For example, 44 per cent of the women interviewed by Kinsey listed "fear of public opinion" as a factor which had restricted their pre-marital sex relations; 89 per cent said that "moral considerations" had been of primary importance. Abortion, representing sex without procreation and often sex without marriage, still carries a harsh stigma.

The Roman Catholic church has led the fight against abortion reform. Refusing to distinguish between various forms or stages of life, the church claims abortion is immoral because it violates the Commandment "Thou Shalt Not Kill" and is in conflict with the doctrine that when death occurs without baptism the soul is damned. Under canon law abortion is ground for excommunication no matter what the reason may have been. The voice of the church is greatly strengthened by the unprotesting attitude of the general public. Lawyers blame doctors for causing the abortion problem, doctors in turn blame lawyers, but the real impediment to progress is public indifference. The average citizen spends little time thinking what should be done about abortions, though his wife or sister or daughter may some day need one.

Public opinion, once aroused, could force a change. Legislators cannot ignore a categorical demand of the voters. Completely legalized abortion would probably be the best solution; the sooner we abolish the idea that abortion is a "crime" the better. But even to establish social-economic or psychological conditions as legal grounds for abortion would be a tremendous step forward. While the use of a simple, fully dependable contraceptive could to a great extent solve the abortion problem, it may be a long time before such a method, even if permitted by law, becomes generally available. Meanwhile unlawful abortion continues to flourish, with all its ill effects on the female population. Its continued cost in death and injury must not be tolerated.

BOOKS

Lippmann on Democracy

THE PUBLIC PHILOSOPHY. By Walter Lippmann. Atlantic Monthly Press—Little, Brown and Company. $3.50.

By Max Freedman

FEW things would be easier than to caricature this book and make out that Walter Lipmann is an enemy of the democratic tradition. He has laid himself open to this charge by his drumbeat of criticism against the weakness of representative institutions. It is more profitable, however, to take Mr. Lippmann at his own valuation. Very early in his argument he tries to shield himself against misunderstanding by saying, "I am a liberal democrat and have no wish to disenfranchise my fellow citizens. My hope is that both liberty and democracy can be preserved before the one destroys the other." What is the basis of his concern and his indictment?

Mr. Lipmann believes that "the movement of opinion is slower than the movement of events." Except at rare moments of national vision or when the nation is lifted above itself by the challenge of war, public opinion will impose a veto, massive or capricious, on the bold design and the long view. Few politicians dare to confront this whiplash of prejudice. National policy, as a result, is clouded by the wretched compromises struck out by a blundering electorate and a craven executive. A good example would be America's policy toward Communist China.

Fundamental to this argument is the distinction between "the opinion of *the people* as voters" and "the interests of *the people* as an historic community." Mr. Lippmann adds that "the voters cannot be relied upon to represent *the people*. The opinions of voters in elections are not to be accepted unquestioningly as true judgments of the vital interests of the community."

Now what does this mean? In 1932 the voters issued a mandate, beyond all doubt, that they would suffer the Hoover philosophy no longer. In 1940 both Roosevelt and Willkie discussed the war issue with less than candor, and the verdict in that campaign hardly qualified as a guide to national policy. In 1952 the power of a personal legend eclipsed all argument, and Mr. Stevenson learned that an epigram is a poor antagonist of a beatitude. Sometimes an election embodies the mature convictions of the nation; often it merely expresses transient emotions or crowns a temporary hero. All this is a truism that did not require Mr. Lippmann's gift for lucid exposition.

His condemnation of the democratic process, in fact, goes much deeper than a criticism of elections. He thinks of the nation, in Burke's sense, as a communion between the past and the future, with no group of voters having the right, even though they often exercise the power, to represent their decisions as the settled wisdom of the corporate tradition. Here we come to the root of his analysis. If he has to choose, Mr. Lippmann prefers the judgment of executive officials to the decree of public opinion or the action of Congress. He sees the executive, by its function if not by its performance, set above the vagaries of changing opinion. To him the executive, when true to itself, becomes a repository of national tradition and national purpose. His eulogy of monarchies, of the anointment of a king and even of the solemn consecration of the pope, are mere picturesque embellishments of his central theme: the people should trust their destiny to the expert, the courageous servant of the public good, the disinterested guardian of the national welfare. "Though it is not too well recognized," says Mr. Lippmann, "there is a radical difference between the election of an executive and the election of a representative. For while the executive is in honor bound not to consider himself as the agent of his electors, the representative is expected to be, within the limits of reason and the general public interest, their agent.

Who would wish to quarrel, as a theory, with this echo of Plato's wisdom? Yet what does it mean in the practical life of Washington today? Mr. Lippmann, it should be noted, does not elevate the executive simply in matters of defense policy and foreign affairs. The inadequacy of the democratic process covers the entire range of public policy.

AT THIS point a few test questions cannot be avoided. Is the opinion of Secretary Weeks on the national economy always to take precedence over Senator Douglas's? By what proof of wisdom is Admiral Strauss's judgment on the Dixon-Yates contract automatically to be preferred to the dissenting verdict of Senator Anderson? Why should Secretary Mitchell's views on labor receive more respect than Senator Morse's? Applied with full rigor, Mr. Lippmann's theory would endow President Eisenhower's policies with an authority that would almost compel the swift assent of Congress. But he protects himself from this pitfall by arguing, repeatedly, that the executive no less than the legislature is adrift on a tide of events beyond its comprehension or control.

It is a pity that Mr. Lippmann, who admires Burke, failed to remember the wisdom of this passage which would have saved his argument from some of its disturbing overtones and put it in a more creative framework:

> I am not one of those [Burke confessed] who think that the people are never in the wrong. They have been so, frequently and outrageously, both in other countries and in this. But I do say that in all disputes between them and their rulers the presumption is at least upon a par in favor of the people. Experience may perhaps justify me in going farther. . . . The people have no interest in disorder. When they do wrong it is their error and not their crime. But with the governing part of the state it is far otherwise. They certainly may act ill by design, as well as by mistake. . . . If this presumption in favor of the subjects against the trustees of power be not the more probable, I am sure it is the more comfortable speculation; because it is more easy to change an administration than to reform a people.

MAX FREEDMAN is The Nation's *Washington correspondent.*

Not until one has read more than half the book does one discover, at page 10[illegible] what Mr. Lippmann means by the public philosophy. "I believe," says Mr. Lippmann, "there is a public philosophy. Indeed, there is such a thing as the public philosophy of civility. It does not have to be discovered or invented. It is known. But it does have to be revived and renewed. The public philosophy is known as *natural law,* a name which, alas, causes great semantic confusion."

Somehow, after all this criticism, one expected something more. Natural law has an eminent history and many noble names among its accredited apostles. Yet it is rather late to believe that what Mr. Lippmann calls "the malady of democratic government" can be cured by a return to natural law, a doctrine which is itself the subject of controversy and therefore hardly the best means of rediscovering the moral and intellectual unity from which the democratic community should derive its vigor and sense of purpose. Besides, in the world of politics as distinct from the world of theory, natural law has almost always been used as a bludgeon to fling at a tyrant. Mr. Lippmann might be surprised, as well as disappointed, by the uses to which the people would put the doctrines of natural law, once they savored their full meaning.

There are some shrewd and salutary criticisms of democracy in this book. One wishes, however, that Mr. Lippmann had expressed with greater clarity and vigor his undoubted faith in the high lineage of freedom. This is not the great book of distilled wisdom on the ultimate problems of political organization and human destiny for which we have been waiting. But it will stir more thought than most books ten times its size.

"Romantic" Image of the Self

THE OPPOSING SELF. Nine Essays in Criticism. By Lionel Trilling. The Viking Press. $3.50.

By Perry Miller

IT has long since become a habit for admirers of Lionel Trilling to insist that though he is a professor, we need not be put off by the fact, because he writes like a critic. I suspect the time has come when they should more stoutly insist that though he is a critic, we be not put off by *that* fact, because he writes like a scholar.

Seven of the essays collected in this volume were written as introductions to reprints of the books discussed; the other two were occasional addresses. The volume may seem merely a compilation of disparate assignments, but Mr. Trilling, rather charmingly to his own surprise, finds that in the end these chores exhibit an interconnecting theme—"the idea of the self." Recognizing that his conception of the self "emerged" only at the end of the eighteenth century, Mr. Trilling takes the leap of describing his book as concerned with the "romantic" image of the self, and so brings the fatal adjective to bear on certain figures resolutely prized in these days by the anti-romantics—Jane Austen, William Dean Howells, and Henry James.

Thus Mr. Trilling dares to bring scholarship into criticism; therefore he is one of the few critics in this county who can write limpidly, humanely, undogmatically about any and every book that interests him, and who can be interested in any and every kind. While he takes care not to confuse the effects of a book upon himself with the book itself, he is not afraid to entertain relativity; he boldly sets forth a writer's intention, unperturbed by the cry of "fallacy!" So he is constantly instructive, eminently readable, always refreshing.

This is not to say that he will escape the charge of seeking in literature for an element of redemption. Readers less wary than he may find him insidiously leading them back to didacticism. Mr. Trilling moves gingerly around Matthew Arnold's definition of literature as a criticism of life, fully aware of how ferociously the Eliotians have pounced upon it; yet he will craftily

---

PERRY MILLER, professor of American literature at Harvard, is the author of "The New England Mind: From Colony to Province."

A BORZOI BOOK

Will rekindle your faith in the American way

HOW WE DRAFTED ADLAI STEVENSON

by WALTER JOHNSON

This is a unique record of a unique Presidential convention. It is the exciting inside story of the 1952 Democratic National Convention, by the co-chairman of the Draft Stevenson Committee, and is a record of what occurred, how it occurred, and why.

$2.75 at your bookstore

ALFRED A. KNOPF

AAK *Publisher* AAK

the Red Carpet

The book by the man who knows **Khrushchev**

"A book on which your life and mine may now depend."
—N. Y. World-Telegram & Sun

2nd printing

THE RED CARPET

10,000 MILES THROUGH RUSSIA ON A VISA FROM KHRUSHCHEV

By **MARSHALL MacDUFFIE**

77 Illus. $4.50 at bookstores

NORTON

BOOK MANUSCRIPTS INVITED

If you are looking for a publisher, send for our free, illustrated booklet titled To the Author in Search of a Publisher. It tells how we can publish, promote and distribute your book, as we have done for hundreds of other writers. All subjects considered. New authors welcomed. Write today for Booklet 103. It's free.

VANTAGE PRESS. 120 West 31 St., New York 1
In Calif.: 6253 Hollywood Blvd., Hollywood 28

avoid throwing his hero to New Critical wolves. Out of Arnold he extracts, not without a bit of legerdemain, the proposition that our culture is hostile to surprise and elevation because it is hostile to the ideal of the free self, but that the great literature of the last two centuries has asserted that freedom by doggedly making the unconscious portion of the culture accessible to conscious thought. In this complicated sense James and Howells, along with Keats, Wordsworth, Tolstoi, Dickens, exhibit a "romantic" image of the self—the self in opposition.

I TAKE it that fundamentally Mr. Trilling, with all his rich delight in writing as writing, also feels driven —or indeed is unrepentantly eager— to use the great literature as a weapon against what we call the dominant anti-intellectualism of this age. One can hardly censure the intention (perhaps it is *I* who commit the fallacy!) as long as Mr. Trilling remains fully aware of the distinction. Certainly the two purposes, the appreciative and the hortatory, are simultaneously accomplished in, for example, his subtle analysis of the complex components of that quality in John Keats which Shaw named "geniality."

Maybe only the fortuitous requests of publishers resulted in this sequence of studies, but it is amusing —to speak of opposition—to note that Mr. Trilling takes a positive joy in picking up and defending slightly unpopular causes. With numbers of the bright young men of today it is uphill work to get any serious consideration for Dickens at all, but Mr. Trilling elects to proselytize for "Little Dorrit"; out of Henry James, he pleads the cause of "The Bostonians"; he opens his argument for Wordsworth with an admission that outside the universities Wordsworth is scarcely known; he challenges attention for the most difficult of Flaubert, for "Bouvard et Pecuchet"; he champions "Mansfield Park" even while acknowledging that for most partisans of the Divine Jane it is an embarrassment; and he actually has the temerity to find value in a Howells whom so much of so-called criticism disdains.

I can do nothing but admire this advocacy of literary underdogs. However, it has one unfortunate result for Mr. Trilling's prose. He must forever be explaining that "we" are different: "we" love the rare and strange, "we" are not responsive to the common, "we" cherish the beast whom "we" admire in literature, and "we" all know that Plato is wrong. Wordsworth is separated from "us"; "our hyperaesthesia" is a preference for the apocalyptic subject, and "we" appreciate Milton only if "we" believe him of the devil's party. Many of these essays, although written as introductions, also appeared in journals with which some of us have imperfect sympathies. I for one am sometimes uncomfortable at being so cavalierly included in Mr. Trilling's "we."

Still, this may be caviling. Mr. Trilling is enormously sensitive to the anxieties of this age, never less than when he generalizes thus: "The characteristic error of the middle-class intellectual of modern times is his tendency of abstractness and absoluteness, his reluctance to connect idea with fact, especially with personal fact." Possibly we are reduced to making an abstraction out of "we" in order to explain our relation to such highly personal facts as Keats's geniality. As to whether all Mr. Trilling's readers will agree as to precisely which intellectuals of today most often fall into the error of abstraction, I doubt. Nevertheless, he is doing all of us a great service in so convincingly presenting Keats, not as a trembling particle slain by an article, but as an image of spiritual and moral health. He is on solid ground indeed when he concludes that this image we cannot now attain by wishing, but that "we cannot attain it without wishing for it, and clearly imagining it."

Satire Through Mimicry

THE ECSTASY OF OWEN MUIR. By Ring Lardner, Jr. Cameron and Kahn. $3.

By Stanley Cooperman

WIELDING the rapier of satire, Ring Lardner, Jr., in "The Ecstasy of Owen Muir," makes shambles of rigid Catholic dogma, political stuffed-shirtism, and moral doublethink. His formidable combination of sophistication with outrageous mimicry has enabled him to create a modern "Candide," a frankly opinionated satire that will amuse all but the most inflexible.

Lardner's earnest young hero is a hapless herring in a sea of ideological sharks. Invincibly doing the wrong thing for the right reasons, he circles about the various moral whirlpools represented by pacifism, capitalism, socialism, liberalism, and fascism, to come to rest at last in the calm of the "true church." During this process he insists on following all rationalizations to their logical end, much to the discomfort of those around him. Muir finally becomes that most exasperating of individuals—the man who is so thoroughly convinced that he is a living reproach to those who helped form his opinion in the first place.

"The Ecstasy of Owen Muir," however, is not primarily a portrait of Muir. Like Voltaire, that old master of satire, Lardner uses his central character as a catalyst while taking pot shots at a variety of targets. Also like Voltaire, he knows enough about the material he is satirizing to produce wit rather than a simple indictment; he impales his opponents upon their own weapons by absorbing the logic of their argument.

The flaw in "The Ecstasy of Owen Muir" is that Lardner limits his attack; there are areas of extreme political and social thought equally open to satire which he approaches too gingerly. When Lardner is on target, however, there is no stopping the man. He gives us unforgettable portraits of the famous churchman busily scheduling conversions between television shows, the generous liberal, the righteous business man, and many other familiar types.

Lardner owes a great deal of his effectiveness to the accuracy of his ear; the manner as well as matter of conversation and argument is

---

STANLEY COOPERMAN is a free-lance literary critic with a special interest in modern fiction.

recorded with precision. The most incisive parts of his book are those in which his individuals speak for themselves and there is no intrusive moralization. The very pitch and tone of voices become rapid and colloquial, oily and pontifical, or otherwise characteristic.

Like the work of any successful satirist, Lardner's prose defies paraphrase. Take his father's expression of outrage when Owen Muir becomes a pacifist during World War II:

> A stunt like this could kill a job I've got lined up in Washington.... It's one of those dollar-a-year things that if I played it right I could make enough to retire on.

Or this rationale of Hitler's defense against Jewish aggression:

> Any Jew who knew Hitler's attitude toward them would have had to be insane not to be against him. So you could pick them out at random and be sure you had either a hopeless imbecile or an enemy of the state. And whichever it turned out to be, you couldn't let them run around loose.

There's a great deal more where that came from, for Ring Lardner, Jr., has produced what is easily the best satire to appear in several years.

Books in Brief

Major Prize for Minor Novel

TRIAL. By Don M. Mankiewicz. Harper. $3.50.

Don Mankiewicz's new novel, winner of the Harper award, is a streamlined bulldozer of a book, driving relentlessly at and over vitally important aspects of life in the present-day United States. Race prejudice, legal chicanery, hopeful (and often hapless) liberalism, and political opportunism are introduced in "Trial," and introduced with considerable effect.

Mankiewicz spreads his fire in many directions. He does not limit himself to a brief but vivid satire on McCarthyism; he lashes out at the Machiavellis at the other end of the political spectrum who attempt to capitalize on social trouble, using it as the raw material for their very existence. Mankiewicz makes both attacks ring true because he knows his way around among the manipulators of power.

The $10,000 Harper award is a

CAN THE CHURCH LIVE ON HALF THE GOSPEL?

Social justice and individual righteousness are both emphasized in the gospel of the Bible. But for some mysterious reason, the social-justice phase was abandoned when the doctrine of One God began to spread beyond the frontiers of Palestine. In other words, the God of Social Justice was put out of the church picture by the God of Righteousness, who employed all the apparatus of dogmatic theology in pursuit of the individual sinner.

The war between social justice and personal righteousness is exemplified in the ancient church by two ecclesiastical figures, both of them Bishops. The first was the Bishop of Constantinople. He was a disciple of Jesus and the Hebrew prophets. This Bishop vigorously denounced the political and economic conditions in Constantinople. He refused to make full use of the episcopal palace, and occupied only a small corner of it. The result was that his clergy drove him out of Constantinople into the country, where he died a martyr. This man is known in Church History as ST. CHRYSOSTOM. His real character has been thrust into the background; and he has been played up simply as a writer of hymns.

The other figure was the Bishop of Hippo, who knew all about Righteousness, but nothing about Social Justice. This man reduced theology to written form, and is known to Church History as ST. AUGUSTINE. His theology is at the basis of church doctrine, Protestant and Catholic. He helped to banish the God of Social Justice; and he promoted the enthronement of the stern, aristocratic God of Righteousness, who became normal in ecclesiastical tradition, and who is perfectly "safe" in the realm of Things As They Are.

Righteousness long ago succeeded in putting Social Justice into the category of "worldly matters." But today there is revolt against this impious tendency. The Papal Chair, in particular, has been re-defining Doctrine so as to emphasize Social Justice while rghtly excludng socialism and communism. The laity — Protestant and Catholic — can be counted upon to support sane reform which avoids atheism and Marxism. "Restoration of Social Justice to Belief in God" is the title of a new circular which will be sent to you free upon receipt of a three cent stamp to cover mailing cost. Your name and address should be clearly written, or better printed. There has been some difficulty about this; and some circulars have gone astray. Always put your return home, or office, address on the outside of envelope. Most persons requesting the circular are careful to send the stamp. When no stamp is sent, no circular is forwarded. — L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, New York.

(ADVERTISEMENT)

major prize, and it would be encouraging to think it went to a major work of fiction. "Trial," however, is nothing of the sort. It is a polished and highly readable potboiler that hurtles along the surface of its material, making some sharp observations on basic social problems. It has moments of suspense, a constant nervous energy, and several portraits drawn boldly in unrelieved black and white. But the characters are completely without perceptible motivation.

Realism in Depth

OUT WENT THE CANDLE. By Harvey Swados. Viking. $3.95.

Through the use of varying points of view and monologue Harvey Swados succeeds in placing the details of realistic observation within a frame of relative value and nuance. Because of this sensitized observation "Out Went the Candle" bursts into moments of real power. Swados makes a word, a touch, a look, an incident in a crowded and sweaty train, transcend itself even while presenting the scene in meticulous detail. The result is realism which, at its best, plunges beneath the surface of events.

There are, however, serious defects in the novel. Swados explores particular action and event in considerable depth, only to fall back upon such a thin device as letter-writing for continuity which should be implicit. And he spells out the symbolic overtones of action through conversations which make the last section of his book almost an addendum. This seriously damages the structure, which alone should channel meaning to the reader.

Swados's treatment of value is of central interest. His most effective characters are individuals who confront a valueless universe and attempt to challenge this lack of value through a deliberate cultivation of "experience" or power. The individuals who do bring a semblance of value to their experience emerge as mechanisms, little more than catalysts for the progress of the book. The search for "experience," however, is itself impotent; the 1920 thrust of rebellion is dead. Betsy, the neurotic young female, is a 1940-50 flapper basically unable to experience anything at all. She feels no shock at losing values; the values never existed. Her very attempt to revolt is sterile because there is nothing, no actual substance, to revolt against.

Another familiar element is the tormented sex role of the female. Betsy takes revenge on her father, or the fate which made her a woman, every time she goes to bed with a man, glorying in "degradation." Like many contemporary authors, Swados seems to insist on reducing the female sex drive to a psychological purge. This trend may be, in its own right, a fruitful problem for the psychiatric literary detectives.

Life Among the A-Scientists

THE NEW MEN. By C. P. Snow. Scribner's. $3.50.

The English novelist C. P. Snow is fascinated by the interplay of power and personality, the quiet struggle which engages many modern professional men. American readers will remember his last novel as an exegesis of faculty politics on an English campus. This new volume in the "Lewis Eliot" series, while equally specialized, illuminates an area of more vital concern. The "new men" are the atomic scientists who, often in the face of their own convictions, have created new resources for total obliteration of the world.

Knowing the anomalous position of atomic scientists, the mystery and fear surrounding every aspect of their lives, a reader may well be startled by Mr. Snow's unimpassioned approach. His characters, even while shaping the future of humanity, are motivated by petty jealousies and ambitions as well as by the higher emotion of patriotism. They react as individuals to the enormous moral challenge of their position, showing none of the facile uniformity which military and political bureaucrats demand as a matter of course.

C. P. Snow brings his audience close to the basic paradox of the age: the attempt to achieve creative freedom through maximum security, to protect human life by the utilization of megadeath. Although he is concerned with the paradox itself rather than with any fixed solution, the sharpness of his writing will stimulate the thinking of all but those fortunate persons who have already arrived at solutions of their own.

Films

Robert Hatch

THE noisy Broadway attractions as this is written offer Jane Russell swimming, Esther Williams swimming *and* diverting Hannibal the Great, and Broderick Crawford exchanging shots with Richard Conte in the confidential New York underworld. They are all guaranteed to be brand-new pictures; otherwise I would swear they had been running without a break since the Hylan administration. Aside from these monuments to formula, the current bill provides mainly an assortment of British trivia.

The most trivial and most entertaining of the lot is "Doctor in the House," made by the group that produced "Genevieve." Medical students are notoriously an impish breed and this picture exploits their naughtiness right up to the point of tedium. Laboratory equipment explodes, a skeleton falls out of a paper parcel in a crowded bus, a girl is discovered in the wrong bathtub, a reveler falls through a skylight on to a matron's bed, an ambulance is filched, the dean waxes wroth, the great surgeon is understanding, and our heroes graduate in defiance of all probability. "Doctor in the House" is short on wit and novelty; it survives by infectious good humor, speed, bright dialogue—sometimes bright to archness—and the relaxed modesty of its intentions. The leads are played by Dick Bogarde, Kenneth More, Muriel Pavlov, and Kay Kendall; their picture is a pleasant refuge for a rainy afternoon.

"THE STRANGER'S HAND" was written by Graham Greene, acted by Trevor Howard, Alida Valli, Richard Basehart, and Eduardo Ciannelli, set in Venice, and buttressed with the topicality of Communist villainy. A little English boy has failed to meet his father, an unfrocked doctor parrots Spengler and injects some brain-poisoning horror into his charges, a rough and ready American treats the hidden enemy to a taste of Yankee enterprise, the Venice fire department roars out in speed boats to the rescue—the ingredients for an excruciating thriller are here, but the effect is dispirited and second-rate. There is no real mystery, no real tension, no fresh twist to the craft of Ambler and Buchan and Greene himself. The camera work is incurious, the sound track is blurred, the direction is sloppy, the plot is implausible, and the attempt to use Communists as villains without being rude to Russia—references are made only to "them," "that country," "a ship of that nationality"—are enough to make you snort. The English make the world's best thrillers; a dull one seems a breach of faith.

"THE NAKED HEART" is a British movie made in Canada by the French director Marc Allegret, with a French and English cast. It is a melancholy romance based on "Maria Chapdelaine," a once-celebrated novel which ladies of a certain age read in an atmosphere of negligees, bon-bons, and moist cambric. M. Allegret has directed the piece with vigor, and he has been given the excellent talents of Michele Morgan, Kieron Moore, and Francoise Rosay to work with, but he is defeated by the dated pathos of the story. I cannot recall another picture—or novel, either—in which the characters are so unanimously disposed to stubborn misery.

"THE INTRUDER," a filming of Robin Maugham's small novel, "Line on Ginger," is routine Rank, with Jack Hawkins in the lead. It tells how a former British tank officer retraces the steps that have led one of his best soldiers into the position of a nasty cornered criminal. The yarn is a verbose and maudlin chain of depressing coincidence, leading up to the moral that the most desperate social outcast can be reformed if he is sufficiently patronized by a member of the upper class. . . . One learns from "The Long Gray Line" that West Point is a venerable military school with an excellent view of the Hudson and operated primarily on Irish whimsicality, the fortitude of women, and manly tears. This must be a distorted picture of the place, and therefore I do not recommend the film except for its technicolor vistas and the spectacular way in which Tyrone Power ages fifty years in two hours. Power plays a faithful sergeant, a sort of human mascot for generations of the "Corps." Since the film is said to be based on the life of a real man—who was probably a dignified member of the West Point community—it is a little offensive, though I am sure no offense was meant by John Ford, the director, or his collaborators on this mock epic. Men dedicated to supplying "what the public wants" become indelicate quite unwittingly.

Records

B. H. Haggin

REMEMBERING Yves Nat's fine performances of Schumann and Chopin I listened to his performance of Beethoven's Sonata Op. 111 on Haydn Society 110 with expectation not unmixed with apprehension; and therefore heard with relief as well as satisfaction the playing, in the introduction of the first movement, that had continuity of flow and outline and showed awareness of the dramatic things that were happening. And the Allegro portion of the movement was played with similar continuity and awareness, as well as the required power for which the glassy-toned piano that Nat used wasn't adequate. Disappointment came in the great slow movement, where Nat's Andante tempo, in place of the prescribed Adagio, proved to be one in which the expressive effect of the movement couldn't be achieved—at least not when in addition it was played with a lack of rhetorical heightening that made the concluding three measures what the conclusion of this movement cannot be—perfunctory. The performances of Opp. 109 and 110 were good, even with the lessened effect from the lack of rhetorical heightening, except for the perfunctoriness it produced in the Adagio introduction to the last movement of Op. 110 and at the return of the theme at the end of the last movement of Op. 109; and not only, in the measure before the return of the theme, did Nat fail to prepare the listener for the return, but he inserted after the A in the right hand an F sharp and D sharp that Beethoven left out in order to have the A hang in the air and resolve in the initial G sharp of the theme.

Lili Kraus made her reputation with her piano-playing in the superb ensemble performances of Mozart and Beethoven piano-and-violin sonatas with Szymon Goldberg and of Haydn trios with Goldberg and Pini; and this playing must have represented Goldberg's musical guidance, for he played beautifully without her but her solo performances were bad even then. And they continue to be bad today. I have

Sightseeing plus Insight

STUDYTOUR 5
The Nation Seminar
June 24—Aug. 17

STUDYTOUR 2
Economy Tours
July 7—Aug. 10
July 7—Aug. 21

STUDYTOUR #4
Politics, Labor and Social Welfare
July 15—Aug. 22

STUDYTOUR #8
Literary Landmarks
June 15—Aug. 27

STUDYTOUR #9
Festivals of Music and Drama June 29—Aug. 31

Get the greatest benefits from your trip abroad.

Be completely free from the troublesome details of . . . reservations, excursions, luggage, transportation, etc.

Travel with congenial people, who share your interests, under the guidance of qualified leaders.

Do more than just see cathedrals, museums, etc. Meet interesting people in the countries you visit.

Send for complete descriptions of all tours.

WORLD STUDYTOURS

Write Dept. M
WORLD STUDYTOURS
Director, GOODWIN WATSON, PH.D.
A non-profit organization providing adult education through international travel
1175 AMSTERDAM AVENUE, NEW YORK 27, N. Y.

PUBLICATIONS

SOCIALIST BOOKS. Catalog, literature, Free. New York Labor News Company, Dept. M, 61 Cliff Street, New York 38, New York.

STRANGE TRIAL OF STANLEY NOWAK. Was "Labor's Senator" framed? 96 pp $1. Wellington's, 346 Concord, Belmont, Mass.

"THE ANTI-COMMUNIST PERIL OF WALDO FRANK" by James L. Brewer, published by New Christian Books, 95 Argyle Street, Halifax, N. S., 15c postpaid.

THE BETTER OUT-OF-PRINT BOOKS. We search for select fiction and non-fiction. OSTER'S, Dept. C, Box 111, Times Sq. Sta., New York 36.

BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES

CHINCHILLAS—You Raise Them. We buy Them. Small capital can show terrific profits at home in your spare time. Free booklet explains our new lease plan. Box 97, Little Neck, New York.

$200 WEEKLY CLEANING VENETIAN BLINDS. Free book. Burtt, 2434AB, Wichita 13, Kansas.

PERSONALS

WELL-EDUCATED WOMAN of progressive mind and cultural tastes, would welcome exchange of views with others, on topics of word interest. Write to: D. Lippmann, P. O. Box 443, Philadelphia 5, Pa.

WANTED ride from New York to Mexico, in March. Will share expenses. Bob Gill, PL 7, 6136, New York City.

AIR CONDITIONER. Top Rated. 1954 model. Regularly $319.95. SPECIAL PRE-SEASON PRICE $174.95. Free storage until installed. Standard Brand Dist., 143-4 Avenue (13th & 14th Sts.), N.Y.C. GR-7819. 1 hour free parking or 2 tokens.

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE

Buy Your Books

through THE *Nation*

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular retail price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the retail price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to

Miss O. LePach
THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
333 Sixth Ave. New York 14, N. Y.

listened to the performances of Mozart's Fantasias K.396 and 475 and Sonatas K.457 and 576 on a couple of the Haydn Society records of all of Mozart's piano music; and I have been struck by the evidence of a complete lack of any definite conception guiding the playing of as much as a single phrase—the evidence being the fact that not even a phrase is carried through with consistency in force or style from beginning to end—that a phrase which begins powerfully may end as a simper. The Haydn Society has now issued Kraus's performances of the piano-and-violin sonatas with Willi Boskovsky; and it will be interesting to hear whether the playing she does with him has the consistency her solo playing lacks.

London LL-902 offers Prokofiev's Piano Sonatas No. 6, dated 1940, and No. 7, completed in 1942. I find the dissonant writing in the first movement of No. 6, after a striking opening theme, arid; and I don't care more for the finale; but the Allegretto second movement is engaging, and the third movement, heavily sugared at first, becomes more impressive as it becomes more involved and dissonant in its middle section. The more unattractively dissonant first movement of No. 7 I find even less rewarding than that of No. 6; but the middle movement, which begins in the heavily sugared manner of the third movement of No. 6, becomes even more impressively involved and dissonant in its middle section; and the finale is the best thing in the two works—an explosion of motor energy in an unrelenting ostinato in seven-eighths time that builds up tremendous cumulative power. The performances by Robert Cornman are superb.

The Boccherini piano quintets on London LL-749—identified as No. 1 in A and the posthumous No. 4 in D minor—belong among the lesser examples of a highly individual way of thinking and writing that is engaging even in its lesser manifestations. Excellent performances by the Chigi Quintet are reproduced in a way that makes the piano too dominant over the strings.

London LL-1048 offers four Mendelssohn overtures—the lovely "Fingal's Cave," the fine "Ruy Blas," the "Fair Melusina" with its exquisite opening section, and the uninteresting "Calm Sea and Prosperous Voyage"—with beautiful playing by the Vienna Philharmonic in performances that are not always effectively paced and shaped by Schuricht.

Columbia SL-218 offers Mahler's engaging Symphony No. 1, performed superbly by Bruno Walter with the New York Philharmonic, and the performance reproduced with sound that is astounding not only in its beauty and fidelity but in its complete naturalness. And for once the material on the two envelopes—Walter's notes, photographs of Mahler, reproductions and translations of his letters—is excellent.

The Radio Berlin Symphony which plays Prokofiev's "Scythian Suite" under Kleinert on Urania 7138 is a better orchestra, and is better recorded, than the Vienna Symphony which plays it under Scherchen on the old Westminster record; but Kleinert's performance lacks the energy and power of Scherchen's.

Britten's resourcefulness achieves more interesting results in the variations of his "Diversions" for piano left hand and orchestra than in his "Sinfonia da Requiem." He conducts excellent performances by Katchen and the London Symphony and by the Danish State Radio Symphony on London LL-1123.

Illness kept me from Mattiwilda Dobbs' recital; but I had dependable reports of exquisite small-scale singing in a program of songs that called for more vocal and expressive power and variety.

COMING
IN THE BOOK SECTION

"The State of Alaska"
By Ernest Gruening

Reviewed by Evelyn Stefansson

"Human Society in Ethics and Politics"
By Bertrand Russell

Reviewed by Abraham Edel

"The Vagabond"
By Colette

Reviewed by Joseph Wood Krutch

BUY
UNITED STATES
SAVINGS BONDS

NEW YORK CITY: CAPTIVE GIANT BY PAUL L. ROSS

BURLINGAME
PUBLIC LIBRARY
Burlingame, Calif.

THE *Nation*

March 12, 1955
20c

How Strong Is India?

Audit of the Five-Year Plan

by T. Balogh

Bonn's Disastrous Victory

by Carolus

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

Disunity in SEATO — *O. Edmund Clubb*

Forum for Liberals — *A New Feature*

FORUM for Liberals

TODAY'S QUESTION: ARE THE DIFFICULTIES OF LIBERALISM DUE TO ITS ADHERENTS' VIEWS OF HUMAN NATURE?

Affirmative

LIBERALISM has reached a crisis where immediate measures must be taken to save it from extinction. What are the causes of the crisis? No philosophical or ethical system can be permanently successful unless it reflects reality. Liberalism's crisis is due to a faulty analysis of the nature of man. According to the liberal creed, man is a product of his environment and hence if he can be surrounded with good things, both in a material and a spiritual sense, he will never be tempted to commit evil acts. Liberalism, in fact, would deny that evil exists. Most liberals, I am sure, would prefer to ascribe phenomena like crime to the economic or political structure of society. In the utopias of the liberals, no-admission signs are to be erected which will exclude both God and the devil.

While this view could withstand the shock of Freudianism, behaviorism, and other creeds which denigrate man's dignity, it could not survive the shock of the atom bomb. Belief in man's essential goodness is incompatible with saturation bombing and the gas chambers of Hitler's Germany. If the liberals themselves did not realize the impasse their position had brought them to, the average citizen did. Having nowhere else to go, he tended to turn to the authoritarians who were ready as ever with their special nostrums of obedience, tradition, and respect for authority. Hence the anti-intellectual quality of so much of contemporary activity.

Liberalism, of course, could not remain impervious to the new feeling in the air. Faith in man and hostility to institutions always go together. As the belief in man declined under the impact of twentieth-century violence, the liberal opposition to current norms and values weakened.

Liberalism needs to be reborn. No patchwork can save it. To regain vitality, liberalism should, it seems to me, first discard its one-dimensional view of man. The new view must be founded on a synthesis of religion and psychology. Both have to do with the nature of man and his relationships to God and his neighbor. Here is the crux of the matter. Psychology and religion—particularly the Christian religion—are in agreement that man is profoundly sick. To use an old-fashioned term, man is possessed of demons. The demons (manias and fixations, if you prefer) prevent men from loving as mature human beings. They love neither themselves nor others. Man must be cured of his sickness before there can be any real hope of a change for the better in our society.

Because politics and economics are expressions of man's relationship to his neighbor, a liberalism which hopes to be viable cannot dismiss them as irrevelant. Therefore liberalism will always be concerned with such problems as the relation of human freedom to corporate power. The mistake of the liberals up to now has been to overrate the importance of politics and economics, just as it has been the error of psychologists to underrate them.

Most important, the new liberalism must restore to life the element of personal responsibility. In regarding man, it should continue the fierceness of Isaiah with the cleansing power and yet the love and the mercy of Jesus. It will acknowledge the evil in man, his imperfections and fallings from grace, as well as his goodness. It will be less cocksure in its judgments, less facile in its prescriptions. It will hold up goals truly worth striving for. It will regard the whole man, realistically and tenderly. It will love man, not dogma, and it will be of the world as well as in it. For, imperfect as they are, the world and man are all we have to work with.

HERBERT M. ORRELL

Negative

OF COURSE the condition of liberalism is critical. It usually is. This is an age in which some men derive pleasure from the contemplation of "crisis"—in art, in politics, in civilization itself. For there is drama and unconscious sexual symbolism in the image of climax. But another figure of speech seems more appropriate. There is nothing like a period of almost total political impotence for liberals to pass the time of day arguing about their "desperate" condition. While controversy about diagnosis may seem wasteful, it is clear that there can be no effective remedy until we agree about the precise nature of the ailment.

Are the difficulties of liberalism due to its adherents' views of human nature? Theologians and philosophers may illuminate the problem, but the study of personality is properly one of the tasks of psychology. As yet this discipline has produced no evidence that would justify either a wholly pessimistic or optimistic theory of human nature. Today, social psychologists describe personality as the result of interplay between biological and cultural factors. Since the latter vary widely, it is impossible to speak with any seriousness about the "evil" or "goodness" of man. At any rate social science recognizes no such categories as inherent in the nature of man, and if liberals are to remain faithful to their empirical traditions, they will be cautious about adopting simplistic doctrines of human nature. For example, the Polynesians are hardly implicated in the "guilt" which we may share for the development and use of nuclear weapons.

Undoubtedly, many liberals have been naive about the human capacity to perform violent acts, just as some of the enemies of liberalism have exaggerated destructive tendencies. But it is just as erroneous to attribute a utopian conception of human nature to liberals collectively as it is to call them the "dupes" of communism. It requires no great effort of the imagination to recognize that our age has been particularly barbarous, and if idealists have been sobered by the panorama of violence, this may be regarded as a net gain. But the fact that men are often destructive does not prove that they are inherently "evil" or "sick."

In the light of modern history and the findings of psychologists, the liberals' view of human nature can and should be as "hard-boiled" as that of the Communists—making full allowance for powerful tendencies toward violence, but also recognizing that generous impulses are no less universally human. For it is not to the destructive impulses in men to which liberalism must appeal but rather to their capacity for moderation and cooperation.

(Continued on page 228)

Readers are invited to contribute to Forum for Liberals, a page of debate which will appear occasionally in this space. Contributions must not exceed 600 words and must take the affirmative or negative on a specific issue to be announced in advance. We will pay $20 for each accepted contribution.

The next issue for debate will be: "Would a depression help the Right or Left in the United States?" Manuscripts must be typewritten and addressed to Forum Editor, The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York City.—THE EDITORS.

VOLUME 180, NUMBER 11
NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MARCH 12, 1955

THE Nation

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

The Shape of Things

The Responsibility for Gaza

The Egypt-Israel border clash at Gaza is a startling reminder of the dangers in the continuing abnormal situation in the Middle East. Although the U. N. Mixed Armistice Commission, by the deciding vote of its chairman, charged Israel with responsibility for the incident, such clashes will remain inevitable as long as there is no permanent settlement of the Palestine war.

In the larger context, it is of small moment which side was directly responsible for the latest outbreak. Ultimately responsible is the failure of the principal powers, particularly the United States and Britain, to insist on peace, formalized by an Arab-Israel treaty. The countries which were able to bring about an end to the fighting in 1949 through armistice agreements could today bring about discussions for peace. That this has not happened is due not to lack of capacity but to lack of will.

Both Britain and the United States, each for different strategic reasons seeking to unite the Arab states in alliance with it, have been reluctant to push them into a peace they obviously do not now want. The Arabs have interpreted this reluctance as an invitation to intrasigance. Even so not a single Arab League sponded to the West's courting until the United States finally induced Iraq's defection from the Arab League with the bait of free arms and the exclusion of Israel from consideration for arms or alliances. The most recent border incidents are the reaction by both sides to internal conditions produced by this policy which for the moment has removed Egypt from its central position in the Arab world and rendered even more unstable the government of Colonel Nasser.

Security Through Peace

The border clashes render the whole area inflammable. And what is to keep them from multiplying? For six years the Arab world has been told by its leaders that its principal enemy is Israel. The Israeli population has been harried for six years by attacks on all its frontiers. Now, isolated by the new American policy from any hope of peace with its neighbors, small wonder if Israel has adopted the desperate tactic of armed reprisal.

All this adds up to an explosive situation which could wreck Western hopes for a Middle East defense group. Our present policy is short-sighted in many respects. There is no assurance that the Iraq government, or any other Middle East government which signs arms pacts with Turkey as a preliminary to a NATO alliance, will long be in existence to honor its pledges. In the ferment of the Arab world, guns for unstable governments are an invitation to hungry populations to accept the Communist lure of bread and land and to revolt against rulers who make no effort to satisfy their needs.

Moreover, our policy is based on the fallacy that security is possible in a region from which Israel, which lies at its very heart, has been excluded. Aggression need not necessarily come through oil-rich Iraq or Iran. In the age of the plane and the atom bomb, an enemy need only extend his timetable by a few hours to destroy Israel and the oil installations both. Presumably some substitute might be found for Arabian oil. But could the West find a counterpart for the loyalty and skills of Israel's democratically oriented population?

The Security Council will hear a first-hand report on the Gaza incident from the chairman of the Mixed Armistic Commission. After so many years of delay and dalliance the U. N. again has opportunity to assume a more creative role and to move forward with determined initiative to settle the Palestine war.

Tax Politics in Britain, Too

Freed from most controls since the middle of last year, Britain's booming economy has for some months been showing inflationary symptoms. At first these were not merely ignored by the government but hailed as evidence of Conservative prosperity. However, the rising trend of imports, which have been going up twice as fast as exports, and the consequent weakening of sterling have forced Whitehall to take action. On January 27 the Bank of England's rediscount rate was raised from 3 to 3½ per cent and last week the dose was doubled while restrictions on installment purchases, abandoned last fall, were reinstated. This treatment provided a shock that manifested itself by a wave of selling on the London Stock Exchange. But it remains to be seen whether the medicine will have the desired effects on curbing home consumption, boosting exports, attracting foreign short-term funds, and preventing further liquidation of Britain's none-too-ample dollar and gold reserves.

The situation has political overtones. The Government is likely to call a general election this fall or even

In This Issue

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 209
Hearst In Moscow 210

ARTICLES

Washington in Focus by Max Freedman 211
Bonn's Disastrous Victory: A Vote Against the People by Carolus 213
How Strong Is India? Auditing the Five-Year Plan by T. Balogh 215
Disunity in SEATO: Asia Prefers Asians by O. Edmund Clubb 217
New York: Captive Giant Albany Holds the Key by Paul L. Ross 219

BOOKS

A Plea for Intelligence by Abraham Edel 222
Alaska the Foundling by Evelyn Stefansson 223

ART by S. Lane Faison, Jr. 224

THEATER by Robert Hatch 226

RECORDS by B. H. Haggin 227

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 610 by Frank W. Lewis opposite 228

FORUM FOR LIBERALS opposite 209

Editorial Board

Freda Kirchwey	Editor and Publisher
Carey McWilliams	Editorial Director
Lillie Shultz	Director, Nation Associates
Victor H. Bernstein	Managing Editor
J. Alvarez del Vayo	Foreign Editor
Martin Solow	Assistant to the Publisher
Harold Clurman	Theater
B. H. Haggin	Music
Robert Hatch	Films
Gladys Whiteside	Copy Editor
Caroline Whiting	Assistant Literary Editor
Alfred Maund	Editorial Assistant
Mary Simon	Advertising Manager

Contributing Editors: Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus, Keith Hutchison, H. H. Wilson, W. Macmahon Ball, Maxwell Geismar, Bruce Catton.

The Nation, March 12, 1955, Volume 180, No. 11

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1955, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879 at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Reentered as second class matter at the Post Office Montgomery, Alabama. Printing Office 1603 Reuben Street.

Subscription Prices Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12, Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1. **Change of Address:** Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs, Information Service, Dramatic Index

earlier and obviously any setback to current prosperity would imperil its chances at the polls; it is not only in America that political strategy influences fiscal policies. The *Sunday Times,* one of the government's most loyal supporters in Fleet Street, suggests that Chancellor of the Exchequer Butler "may well have calculated that he must choose between applying a financial brake now and foregoing a popular budget in a few weeks time. To distribute surplus revenue in tax reliefs on top of the incipient inflation which he already faced would have been a dangerous excess. If this interpretation is correct, then Thursday's moves may be regarded as a prelude to a stimulating budget."

The *Sunday Times* credits Mr. Butler with little sense of responsibility. For if the monetary sedative just administered is really necessary, it will be hard to justify the early application of a stimulant in the form of substantial tax reductions.

Inform—or Else

NEW YORK'S Board of Education has been conducting an open forum on the question of whether a readiness to inform on others should be made the test of good faith for teachers who have withdrawn from "subversive" organizations. From a narrow legal point of view, the board may have the power to issue an inform-or-else ultimatum, but the real problem is moral and administrative, not legal. To set the seal of official approval on the practice of informing would, as the New York Civil Liberties Committee points out, open "floodgates of disaster." For if it is the duty of the "former member" to inform on others, then informing becomes the measure of good faith for all teachers, including those who were never members of "subversive" organizations. Teachers would then live in fear not only of informing colleagues but of tale-bearing adolescents who had failed to make satisfactory grades. A chance remark, a wisecrack, a bit of "Aesopian" language, appearance at a "radical" play or a "suspect" meeting or party, would be sufficient to imperil a teacher's security and involve the board in endless administrative tangles. Pressure for adoption of the ultimatum has come from a handful of zealots representing a single religious grouping; the opposition is broad and representative. Surely now is the time for the New York board, which has spearheaded the witch hunt against teachers nationally, to exhibit a measure of self-restraint and reject this immoral and unworkable proposal.

Hearst in Moscow

THE Soviets, it is said, lack a well-developed sense of public relations; indeed they have often acted as though they were utterly indifferent to American opinion. But whoever it was in the Kremlin that approved the recent visit of William Randolph Hearst, Jr., to the Soviet Union, knows a trick or two about the art of publicity. Approval of the visit was not entirely out of keeping with prior Soviet practice; the Russians have often shown a preference for dealing with the opposition. All the same, it was a shrewd move to have encouraged the visit of the chief executive of a chain of newspapers that—apart from one or two lapses—has been bitterly anti-Soviet. Not only did Mr. Hearst have long interviews with key officials but stenographic reports of these interviews, with only minor omissions, were published in the Soviet press.

The initiative for the visit, it should be noted, stemmed from Mr. Hearst and his timing was perfect. He seems to have returned from Moscow with some favorable impressions. When the editor-in-chief of the Hearst newspapers can write that the men who run the Soviet Union today are "not possessed by the madness that drove Hitler to bring Germany down in ruins" nor "by the recklessness that led Mussolini to tie Italy's kite to the shooting star of Nazidom's short-lived conquest," and can then add, "they are not paranoiacs," it represents a significant political concession. Indeed, if Mr. Hearst is not careful, what with the friendly tone of the articles on his visit and a most intelligent speech before the National Press Club on "competitive coexistence," he may well find himself "invited" to appear before one of the inquisitorial committees. He seems to have had the same thought in mind when, grinning broadly, he told the press club of his interview with Mr. Khrushchev in the Kremlin. "The Communist leader told me," the publisher reported, "that if I got into trouble with Senator McCarthy back home, I could call on him to testify that during my stay in Russia I was a loyal and capable spokesman for the capitalist point of view."

Just before going to press we got in touch with Mr. Hearst and put a few questions to him about his visit. "My decision to visit the Soviet Union," he told us, "was prompted simply by a desire to get a first-hand glimpse of the country, the people, and if possible their rulers. I did not receive any prior suggestion or intimation from the Russians directly or indirectly indicating that I would be welcome. I did not experience any delays or difficulties in making arrangements for the trip. The visas for myself and my two associates came through within one week after the request was made to the Soviet Embassy in Washington." Queried about the timing of his visit, he replied: "There was no special significance in the timing beyond the fact that I felt the Formosan situation and the reported change of atmosphere in Russia since Stalin's death would make it an opportune time to go. The reaction here and abroad to the interviews and series has been most gratifying."

Impressed as we are with Mr. Hearst's initiative and verve, we cannot help feeling a twinge of pity for the Hearst editorial writers and columnists. If the boss holds to the "new line" of competitive coexistence, just what are these case-hardened veterans of the thirty-years-war against the Soviet Union to write about?

Washington in Focus

by Max Freedman

Washington

MEASURED by any public standard, the Senate inquiry into the stock market has begun very well. Many differences exist between the stock-market boom of 1929 and the abrupt rise of stock prices in November and December of last year. All the same, it surely was time for Congress to take another look at the stock market. The last Congressional study of the stock market was in 1933-34. Since then the American economy has been transformed. Washington has assumed powers of regulation unknown before the great crash. Members of the stock exchange have themselves placed the industry under rules and restraints designed to guard the public interest.

The mood of the present inquiry is alert interest rather than inflamed indignation. That is why there was acceptance of Senator Fulbright's opening statement as chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee when he promised that its zeal for the facts would never degenerate into abuse of individuals or a vendetta against institutions. The committee has two main purposes: to educate the public on the functions of the stock market in today's sensitive and interdependent economy; and to investigate specific abuses and the weaknesses, if any, of existing regulations.

Mr. Keith Funston, president of the New York Stock Exchange, defended the exchange as an essential instrument of national prosperity and as an economic device which must be judged by its national results. That was a fair statement of the central issue. But in its desire to be impartial, the committee must also remember the necessity of conducting a searching inquiry. Otherwise politeness may become the enemy of courage.

WHEN Sinclair Weeks the Secretary of Commerce, testified before the Senate Finance Committee he suceeded in proving how small and grudging are the reforms contemplated in the President's reciprocal trade program. He spoke as a protectionist. According to him, the philosophy of reciprocal trade had been given its classic expression not by Cordell Hull but by President McKinley in 1901. Then he carefully proved how limited would be the reductions in the tariff even if the Senate extended the trade act for another three years. The duty on most manufactured goods ranges from 10 to 35 per cent. The President has asked for authority to cut tariff rates by 5 per cent annually over a three-year period. That simply means that on goods subject to a 20 per cent duty, there would be a reduction of "only 1 percentage point ad valorem per annum during three years." Mr. Weeks is quite correct in stating that a reduction at this rate would not harm American industry. Whether it would help world trade seemed to trouble him only in the mildest way.

As he confessed, the level of the American tariff had a "symbolic" value in determining the sincerity with which the United States would practice reciprocal trade. If Western Europe or Japan heard his testimony in detail it would at once decide that he was hardly a persuasive symbol of America's desire to receive more imports. Mr. Humphrey, the Secretary of the Treasury, was a far more courageous advocate of the President's program. The Administration once again is speaking with a divided voice and thus encouraging the opponents of reciprocal trade to increase their criticism.

INADEQUATE attention has been given to the Department of Agriculture's report on a two-price system for rice. Under pressure from Congress this department has moved dangerously close to a policy of dumping in order to reduce the large surpluses now held by the government. Secretary Benson has tried to blunt criticism from foreign governments by insisting that it is contrary to the interests of the United States to break world prices. But the fear has persisted, especially as important members of Congress have continued their campaign to subsidize exports or to accept a system of "competitive bidding," a soft term for the rigors of large-scale dumping.

If Mr. Benson has gone too far in the past in responding to advice and criticism from Congress, he certainly has recovered his moral consistency in this report on rice. It goes far beyond marketing plans for one commodity and enshrines a philosophy which touches America's political relations with the Far East, no less than its economic interests.

Before the war the world trade in rice was about nine million tons. By 1943 this figure had fallen to 4.6 million tons. The Far East has sharply changed its rice consumption during these two periods. Before 1940 about 88 per cent of Asia's cereal imports were supplied by rice. The figure for 1953 was 31 percent. Last year the United States supplied less than 10 per cent of Asia's total rice imports. From the point of view of supply, therefore, America's share of the world trade in rice is marginal. But a decline in export prices would force the countries of Asia to market their low-market grades at a reduced price to meet American competition. The department boldly argues that other nations would find it hard to lodge an effective complaint with Washington if the United States lowered its support prices and thus managed to sell abroad at a reduced figure. It would be a different story, however, if the two-price system resulted in dumping part of the rice surplus upon Asia while the American producer sheltered behind his high supports.

The department predicted that such a policy would lead to discrimination against the United States through exchange manipulations and then to deliberate acts of retaliation against American products, manufactured and agricultural. Since this resentment against American trade practices would fester in countries peculiarly exposed to the danger of communism, it is obvious that American foreign policy would be under new challenge just when it is supremely important to win friends in this danger zone.

Secretary Benson

No one studying this admirable report can escape the conviction that the Department of Agriculture has prepared a document which shows a greater respect for the interests of producers in the Far East than often is found in the declarations of the State Department. But the problem of poverty which haunts the people of Asia will not be relieved by the report, no matter how enlightened its economic principles may be. Congress has already passed legislation permitting the United States to dispose of surplus farm products by barter with friendly countries or by accepting payment in local currencies. Having two-price system for rice, the Department of Agriculture should now accept the positive task of fighting the challenge of poverty and hunger in Asia by making greater use of this act over the wide range of agricultural surpluses. It should also consider the gift of food to relieve suffering. Such a gesture, in the American tradition, would be supported widely in Congress if Mr. Benson showed the same courage in enforcing this policy as he did in the report on rice and in his continued defense of flexible price supports.

UNLESS the State Department and the Atomic Energy Commission can produce better arguments than they have so far, there will be general support for the proposal by the Federation of American Scientists that the United States take the lead in arranging for a United Nations Commission to assess the potential dangers in atomic and hydrogen bomb tests. This proposal has the great merit of persuading the people of Asia that future tests can be made under rules which will greatly reduce the danger of contamination and fall-out. When the next Assembly meets there will be a concerted attempt by many nations to halt the competition in atomic armaments between Russia and the United States, or at least to bring it under come salutary restraint. Why should the United States not anticipate this criticism and advance a constructive program of its own?

BONN'S DISASTROUS VICTORY

A Vote Against the People . . *by Carolus*

Bonn

The bitter fruits of Chancellor Adenauer's victory in the Bundestag last week are already apparent. His coalition government is crumbling; a half-dozen of his ministers are quitting their posts or their party; the fierce and personal attacks upon him have shaken his leadership, perhaps irretrievably; and a huge gulf has opened between his Bundestag majority and the people of the Federated Republic.

The campaign against the Chancellor and the Paris treaties which preceded the Bundestag debate took on the aspects of a popular movement such as Germany has not seen since 1930, the beginning of the Hitler era. According to time-honored German tradition, the movement was orderly, well organized, meticulously prepared—with one exception. Ten days before the offensive started there was a sudden strike of the miners and metal worker of the Ruhr which lasted for twenty-four hours. The careless utterance of a Ruhr magnate who opposed the principle of worker-employer co-management set off the fuse. No labor union had officially ordered the strike; no strike benefits were paid. It was a spontaneous rank-and-file gesture which saw 450,000 miners and a half-million metal workers lay down their tools.

This had not happened in Germany since 1921. There can be no doubt, occurring as it did in the industrial heart of West Germany, that it was intended as a warning against the ratification of the Paris agreements. In Munich, where workers gathered for mass demonstrations as the Bundestag debated, in Hamburg, in Frankfurt—it was the same picture everywhere, the same determination and the same protest. The American A. F. of L., which recently addressed a long and urgent appeal to the West German labor unions to support the Paris agreements, would have been better advised to keep quiet. For generations, the German workers have been like burnt children—burnt by militarism. They know only too well that the costs and the sacrifices attending a revival of German military power will again be borne by workers and the people with small pensions, and that in present-day Germany army and democracy cannot coexist. Felix von Eckar Eckhardt, press chief of the Adenauer government (soon to be sent to New York as observer at the U. N.), has already threatened to apply the constitutional clause concerning high treason against Adenauer's opponents. Will not the Bonn government be obligated, as a result of the Paris treaties, to promulgate a decree giving itself emergency powers to abolish the right to strike as well as other civil liberties?

Chancellor Adenauer

But in this struggle for "Western integration and the German military contribution for the defense of Western civilization" there is more at stake for the Germans than labor's freedom and civil rights. The creation of German military divisions means that the dream of reunification must be buried; it means that eighteen million Germans must for an indefinite period be abandoned to the Russians; in case of war, it means political strife between the Germans on both sides of the Iron Curtain, and the physical annihilation of the German people.

All this explains the passionate concern which the Paris agreements generated in West Germany. Even in government circles there was doubt and uneasiness; Adenauer and his ministers were compelled to step into the ring and organize counter-demonstrations which could be staged solely with the protection of the police. In Augsburg, for instance, where Adenauer's Minister of Defense, Theodor Blank, was scheduled to speak, a one-legged war veteran limped onto the rostrum and started beating up the speaker with his crutches. Signed petitions against the Paris treaties collected by the Social Democrats clearly showed that the majority of the people was opposed to the agreements in general and to rearmament in particular. The people in the towns and villages who signed the "German Manifesto" against the treaties numbered up to 25 per cent more than the votes that the Social Democrats were able to obtain in the last elections.

This "German Manifesto for Unity, Freedom, and Peace" was proclaimed last January 29 at Frankfurt am Main, in the Paulskirche, that shrine of democracy in which the first though short-lived German parliament deliberated in 1848 until it was dispersed by Bismarck's Prussian bayonets. This time, it was the authoritarian Dr. Adenauer who raged against the goings-on in the Paulskirche. There stood the dean of German universities, 83-year-old Professor Alfred Weber of Heidelberg, side by side with the great Protestant theologian, Professor Gollwitzer of Bonn, and the Catholic theologian, Professor Hessen of

---

CAROLUS is The Nation's *Bonn correspondent.*

Cologne. Erich Ollenhauer, head of the Social Democratic opposition, spoke for eight million voters in his camp. The six million members of the labor unions were represented by their vice-president, Georg Reuter. A young Protestant pastor spoke for Germany's youth.

No ratification of the Paris agreements without prior negotiations with Soviet Russia; *for* the unification of Germany, and *against* war: this was the leitmotif of all the speeches and it found a vast echo in all West Germany. Meanwhile the number of Protestant clergymen intellectuals who raised their voices in the same spirit grew all the time. Despite this, everyone knew that the Bundestag would approve the agreements. In the Paulskirche Dr. Gustav Heinemann, who once was Minister for Internal Affairs in Adenauer's Cabinet and resigned as early as 1950 in protest against the Chancellor's remilitarization plans, put the matter clearly: "Can't you see that the dominating philosophy of Bonn can be summarized in three phrases: to make colossal profits; to have soldiers for defending these profits; and to have churches for blessing both?"

THESE three phrases do indeed explain the phenomenon of the Bonn regime and its contempt for the people. Hitler's former financial sponsors—the only beneficiaries of his war of conquest, who have already recouped their wealth and political power—want to become still richer and still more powerful; for this purpose they need German divisions. Unity, freedom, democracy; these are superfluous ballast, and it will be far easier to live and make money without them. Anyone who looks for other motives among the financial sponsors and wire-pullers of today's parliamentary majority is off the beam.

To have a remunerative job, to make money no matter where it comes from, and to have political power—these are the motivations of Adenauer's Bundestag majority. On such quicksand the State Department and Pentagon are today building a policy which postulates that without German divisions NATO lacks military strength and Western Europe lies open to Communist Russia. That these divisions, imposed on the German people, have no military value in this atomic age, that they cannot strengthen the West and may even produce calamitious results if matters get really serious—none of this bothers the wise statesmen in Washington, London, and Bonn.

IN THE plenary hall of the Bonn parliament the speeches droned on and Dr. Adenauer leafed through his papers. But behind the scenes smoldered a government crisis which broke out on the eve of the debates and is only now reaching its climax. The fly in the ointment is the separate status of the Saar, which has been tied to acceptance of the treaties. On the eve of the debates the Free Democrats, second largest government party, decided almost unanimously to vote against the Saar agreement. This coalition party, representing the propertied upper classes, wants soldiers and divisions but refuses to sacrifice the Saar. Nine delegates of Adenauer's own party abstained from voting on the Saar question. Even before the debate started Dr. Adenauer was determined to expel the Free Democrats from the coalition, and in the night of February 24 there was a Cabinet session to which the four Free Democratic ministerial advisers were not invited.

If American High Commissioner Dr. James B. Conant had not intervened, the government might have fallen apart before the debate began. Conant held the coalition together by pointing to the inevitable repercussions in Paris. But the fact remains that Adenauer's majority for the Saar agreement was made possible by the vote of Pan-German, revanchist, and semi-fascist delegates who have no intention whatever of permitting Germany to stick to the terms of the Saar agreement. "Today we give up the Saar, and tomorrow, once we have soldiers and the opportunity, we will get it back," is their motto. Many in Adenauer's own ranks harbor similar ideas. The vote on the Saar last week was a piece of hypocrisy for which Europe will one day suffer.

What is now happening in Bonn is the beginning of a reckless adventure which sooner or later must end in catastrophe. Even today it is a great tragedy. Instead of unifying Western Europe, the Paris treaties and Germany's remilitarization have had the blast effect of TNT. Schuman the European perished in Paris, thanks to E. D. C. Mendes-France had to go because he lost the support of the French masses when he acquiesced in the Paris agreements. The Adenauer government in Bonn, the most loyal ally of the State Department, is disintegrating from within.

Owing to the agreements and the division of Germany which they perpetuate, the religious schism in the Federated Republic and the struggle between Protestants and Catholics is deepening daily. At the same time, the differences between government and opposition are becoming unbridgeable. In West Germany, a gulf has opened between parliament and people in which democracy threatens to go under even without the assistance of militarism. West Germany and the territory occupied by the Russians are becoming more and more alienated. Soon they will scarcely recognize each other. The financial burden arising from rearmament is bound to drive the workers into radicalism. The result, given the mentality of the German propertied classes, inevitably means sharpening social conflict. No matter which way you look at it— militarily, politically, or sociologically— all this means more trumps for Moscow. Even before ratification, the Paris agreements had begun to undermine the foundations of the feeble German democracy. How will it be when the generals are once again in command? No one will be able to guarantee anything in West Germany—neither its domestic nor its foreign policy.

THIS is Germany's great tragedy. After the defeat of 1918, Hindenburg rose from military defeat to become head of the state within seven years. But after 1945 the beaten German generals of World War II were a joke to the young and an object of hate to the older generation. German militarism seemed dead for generations to come; the Germans had become pacifists. Now the "democratic liberators" are imposing on them, by force and amidst tremendous sacrifices, a new militarism, and their sons are again headed for the barracks.

HOW STRONG IS INDIA?

Auditing the Five-Year Plan . . *by T. Balogh*

Public Development Expenditures 1951-56
Under India's Five-Year Plan

	(Millions)	Percentage
Agriculture and community development	758.2	17.5
Irrigation and power	1178.2	27.1
Transport and communications	1043.8	24.0
Industry	363.4	8.4
Social services	714.0	16.4
Rehabilitation	178.6	4.1
Miscellaneous	109.2	2.5

New Delhi

There is a feeling of exhilaration here, and not only in the monstrous building of the Old British viceregal headquarters. After the post-war period of stringency and threatened famine, conditions eased in 1954 at the end of the third year of the Five-Year Plan; many goals have already been reached and some even passed. Industrial output has risen 37 per cent in three years; what is more important, agricultural output has also risen—some 15 per cent. The danger of a decline in the real per capita output and income, a danger which has dogged all underdeveloped areas since 1914, has for the moment been averted. The removal of controls from the distribution of vital grains, undertaken with some trepidation by the government on the basis of a bold statistical prognosis by outside experts, has been entirely justified by events. No inflation ensued. Indeed, prices have declined, supplies having proved ample to take care of the increased demands of the rich without trenching on the meager rations of the poor. The fall in the prices of some commodities, notably oleaginous seeds, has been so great as to cause concern since it threatens the maintenance, let alone the expansion, of production.

Nor is this all. The Indian balance of trade, which was propped up only by continuous reliance on war-time accumulations of sterling balances and on American help, has suddenly been stabilized. Only a part of the recent contractual releases of blocked sterling balances could be utilized to finance imports, and at times there was a considerable accumulation of free reserves. In consequence, the pressure in favor of a general relaxation of import restrictions could be gratified. The precepts of a more liberal trade policy, continuously reiterated by the ever-present representatives of the United States and no less emphatically by the International Monetary Fund, seem well on their way to implementation.

In addition, it is asserted that land reform has liquidated the British-favored large landowners, the Zamindars and Taluqdars who battened on the land without putting anything back into it. An upper limit is set now to landholdings, and a beginning has been made toward the consolidation of the innumerable strips into which the land was divided by the completely unsuitable law of inheritance. Thus the requisite of a successful rationalization of agriculture has been met. The large community-development schemes, it is said, provide education and certain essential services and the peasants are being mobilized for a voluntary cooperative effort to ameliorate their lot. Land has been reclaimed, roads have been paved, artificial fertilizers introduced and popularized. New methods of cultivation, especially the intensive Japanese method of increasing rice output, and the use of new implements have been demonstrated. There has been instruction in animal husbandry. Some progress has been made in protecting drinking water supplies from pollution.

These achievements have caused an outward show of confidence on the part of government spokesmen, who are of course at pains to claim the credit. But there is also genuine popular pleasure in the record. Nehru has undoubtedly been able to buttress the unity of his all-embracing party and he could have confounded his opponents, both Socialists and Communists, even without adopting their most important political plank, the enforcement through taxation and welfare services of a greater equality of standards and opportunity. The new confidence and enthusiasm make possible further progress, which is a pre-condition of true political consolidation. Eventually it must be demonstrated that by relying on a determined bureaucracy, devoted helpers and teachers among the peasantry, and ambitious, disciplined private entrepreneurs the government can make its daring experiment succeed.

The doubts and uncertainties below the surface find muted but sig-

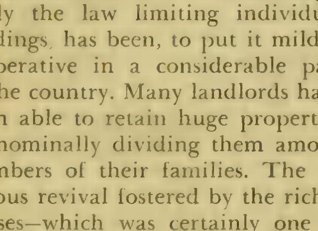
Agricultural Targets
Under Five-Year Plan

	Output 1950-51	Target 1955-56
Food grains (million tons)	54	61.6
Cotton (million bales)	3	4.2
Jute (million bales)	3.3	5.4
Sugar Cane (million tons)	5.6	6.3
Oil seeds (million tons)	5.1	5.5

T. BALOGH, noted Britist economist, has been a guest professor at the Delhi School of Economics, University of Delhi, and lectured at the Universities of Calcutta, Benares, and Agra.

nificant expression in the increasing sharpness with which Indian leaders discuss the progress of Chinese reconstruction. This reflects their anxiety about developments on the northeastern frontier, their fear of being outdone by the Chinese Communists, and also their disinclination to use revolutionary methods. They are uneasy also because they know that the undoubted improvement of the Indian position is due partly to accident, and that many changes generally regarded as "improvements" endanger the basic coherence of the community.

Two-thirds if not three-quarters of the rise in agricultural output must be attributed to the exceptionally favorable weather with two consecutive excellent monsoons. A continuation of such good luck is at least improbable. Investment in irrigation and other agricultural improvements has been only half as much as the amount set in the first Five-Year Plan. While the peasants have been taught the value of artificial fertilizers, cow dung is still used for fuel instead of to enrich the soil. The land reform, and especially the law limiting individual holdings, has been, to put it mildly, inoperative in a considerable part of the country. Many landlords have been able to retain huge properties by nominally dividing them among members of their families. The religious revival fostered by the richer classes—which was certainly one of the reasons for the recent leftward turn by Nehru and some of the old-established leaders of the Congress Party—prevents a rational policy to improve livestock. India has 200,000,000 cattle, many of them quite useless, existing on an extremely scanty food supply. Yet the slaughter of cattle is banned by law in many sections and has been stopped de facto in most areas. Even monkeys are sacrosanct, though they destroy or eat an estimated one and a quarter million tons of grain annually.

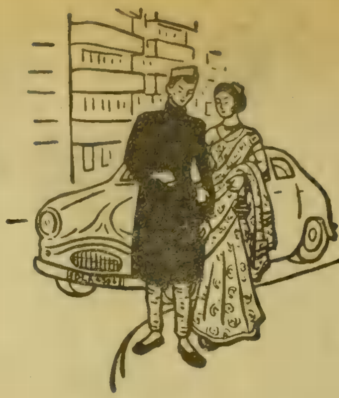


A large number of the development schemes are uncoordinated, and interdepartmental jealousy prevents a full use of existing facilities; for example, many railway bridges which were used for road transport during the war are no longer available for truck traffic. The enthusiastic temporary civil servants of the Planning Commission are kept very much in their place by politically appointed officials, whose attitude has not changed for the better since liberation. The methods of recruitment to the Civil Service and the type of person preferred also remain unchanged from the previous regime. Despite the educational reforms instruction is still of the formal kind which develops dialectical power rather than knowledge of the world's problems; vocational training and technology are not favored.

Though both labor and material for their construction would have been available, storage facilities for crops are inadequate. Thus when the favorable monsoon produced a bumper crop, the surplus could not be fully stored as a reserve against lean years, and a vital weapon against later inflationary developments was thrown away.

THE effect of this failure to increase buffer stocks to the maximum and to prevent a fall in prices will be far-reaching. It will not only interfere with the expansion of agricultural output but tend to depress the volume of planned investment. In the same way the attempt to break the grip of the money-lenders through the establishment of an effective rural credit system was not carried through with sufficient vigor. The nationalization of the Imperial Bank and its conversion into the apex of a new rural credit system is now planned, but it is doubtful whether an institution with a staff so bound by ultra-conservative tradition can be transformed into an instrument of positive policy. Much more ought to have been done much sooner to start a new rural banking system.

The provincial parliaments have proved inadequate to supervise let alone control the bureaucracy. The Administration set-up remains unchanged, though an organization created to manage a police—or at best a night watchman—state could hardly be expected to be able to cope suddenly with the problems of a welfare state. In consequence the elaborate schemes put forward by the central government are not always carried out in the spirit in which they were conceived, with resulting loss of momentum. Real discontent has been caused by the ineffectualness of voluntary cooperative schemes. Owing to lack of planning, roads built by villagers are not linked up with the trunk system, irrigation canals are not put to optimum uses.



It can be said without much exaggeration that the British Raj has been replaced by a dominant class which holds itself quite as much aloof from the people and enjoys the same shockingly higher standard of living. The highest old-type Indian civil servant received up to 150 times the wage of the common laborer; today the civil servants may get 100 times as much as a laborer.

THE whole problem of reform is complicated by the fact that the "center," which contains exceptionally able people, has difficulty in obtaining reliable information on developments in the provinces, and the administrative link between the central and the actual local administration is too weak to permit a smooth translation of plans. Of course the existence of a reliable and well-trained administrative staff is in itself a tremendous advantage for India—an advantage which to be appreciated must be viewed against the chaos and decline in Indonesia and the diffifamilies still live in substandard flats which are either dilapidated or do not have an inside toilet, bath, or hot running water. Another 50,000 families live in substandard one- and two-family houses. Altogether almost 500,000 families live in tenements which were built before 1900, thousands of them dating back to the Civil War. Even tenements built after 1900, according to the Mayor's Committee on Slum Clearance, contain a large proportion of dilapidated, unsafe, and unsanitary apartments.

These thousands of slums are tolerated of course for one reason: they are profitable. In a study entitled "The Housing Market in New York City," published in 1944, the Institute of Public Administration explained the situation in these words:

> Many persons exhibit impatience over the slow lingering "death" of obsolete buildings. They overlook the fact that an obsolete building may still possess a considerable life of economic usefulness to marginal or submarginal users. The fact is that no building can be replaced by the owner so long as it yields a return in excess of its ground rent. A scheme for demolition and replacement becomes remunerative only when the income ascribable to the site exceeds the annual rent from present building and plot. Neither the prospective life nor the original cost of the existing building enters into the problem of a profitable replacement. The question is simply —does the old building, as a structure, return a net surplus above ground rent? If it does, it is unwise to demolish it.

The same study offered a simple solution which apparently never came to the ears of the members of the state legislature:

> Were the minimum legal standards of marginal occupancy raised ever so slightly, the demolition of the poorest structures would be greatly accelerated. A gradual progressive tightening up on sanitary, plumbing, and open-space requirements over a period of years, with a deadline set for a termination of occupancy unless these standards are complied with, would have a pronounced effect upon prospective demolitions. Such a program would prove an appreciable aid in the clearance of the blighted areas for subsequent planning and housing.

Such a solution, however, is at present beyond the city's power. When the New York City Commissioner of Housing and Buildings under Mayor LaGuardia tried to impose more rigid standards on a Bowery flop-house, the courts said that he had no power to decide whether additional requirements concerning the construction and maintenance of buildings were necessary for the public health and safety, not even where higher standards might reasonably be exacted, "even where the legislature has been remiss in failing to exact them." For good or ill, the court said, it is the legislature which sets the policy.

AND when LaGuardia did succeed in getting the legislature to pass a law which gave the city the power to compel the owner and mortgagee to repair a dilapidated slum to make it livable—in default of such action the city could make the repairs and charge the cost against the building, making it a lien payable before the first mortgage—the court said the law was unconstitutional. On that occasion three New York City savings banks, which admitted that among them they held first mortgages on 4,500 tenement houses, argued in effect: If the tenement house is dangerous or unsuitable, the city in the interest of the public health or welfare may close it up, or restrict its use, or even, where dangerous, demolish it. But the city cannot take away the mortgagee's rights and privileges, even though the improvements may enhance the value of his security. If the owners—usually marginal speculators—cannot afford to make the repairs to their buildings, agreed the court, then the city can close them up or, on the owners' default, "permit" the banks to take them over, but it cannot repair them at the bank's expense. (Banks and insurance companies then held about five billion dollars in first mortgages on New York City real estate. Their stake today is greater than it was fifteen years ago.)

In a report submitted to Mayor Wagner early in 1954 the New York City Planning Commission estimated that construction of 438,000 dwelling units between 1950 and 1960 would be necessary to meet housing needs; 214,000 new apartments would be required by 1960 just to meet the population increase among Negro and Puerto Rican families. How can these needed homes become a reality? According to the Planning Commission report, the outlook for public housing under existing programs is bleak. The federal housing program gives New York City a quota of 1,800 apartments a year. State funds will soon be exhausted, and additional funds require an amendment of the state constitution by two successive legislatures and a vote of the people at a general election to follow. A minority of the Planning Commission recommended building 44,000 apartments a year during the 1950-60 decade, considering this figure, "developed on the basis of conservative assumptions, a rock-bottom figure." They pointed out that during the mayoralty campaign of 1953 two of the candidates —Harold Riegelman, the Republican, and Rudolph Halley, of the Liberal Party—publicly announced annual new-housing goals of 45,000 to 50,000 apartments, and that Mayor Wagner had been committed to this figure since 1948.

Robert Moses called it a "preposterous" proposal. In condemning it out of hand, although not denying the need, he declared:

> No conservative citizen, taxpayer, non-subsidized rent-payer, or home-owner would listen to such a program. If it were seriously proposed as a working schedule it would mark us as crackpots and irresponsible demagogues in Albany and Washington.

Governor Harriman is undoubtedly aware of the influence which Robert Moses can exercise in the councils of the Republican legislature. He had better gird his loins for a hard, rough-and-tumble struggle this winter in Albany.

BOOKS

A Plea for Intelligence

HUMAN SOCIETY IN ETHICS AND POLITICS. By Bertrand Russell. Simon and Schuster. $3.50.

By Abraham Edel

IN this book Bertrand Russell stands out more than ever as a spokesman for the permanent interests of mankind over and above the present conflicts and intolerance. He calls for the spread of the scientific temper and conducts a spirited defense of it against current claims that faith is the solution of our ills. He devotes more than half of the book to ethics, a bit thereafter to political themes, and concludes with the cosmic vista, affirming that in man's hands now lies the decision whether his present spectacular drama upon the face of the earth is to be a prologue or an epilogue. The treatment of ethical theory is fuller than in any of his writings in recent decades, profound in getting down to fundamental problems and frank in exhibiting its own conflicting tendencies. The treatment of politics is more cursory, focusing primarily on the human motives underlying political action. In spirit the book combines a wide humanism with a sober liveliness—sober in its tone of qualified optimism and in its deliberative restraint aiming at a widest common-sense agreement, lively in Russell's usual charm of style, lucid presentation, and choice of the precise historical example to unmask pretentious dogmatism.

Russell rejects the belief in a self-sufficient moral code dictating what is right and wrong on grounds of religion or conscience. There are too many conflicts in such codes; they embody too obviously a given state of knowledge or ignorance; and besides, he notes, even Aquinas defends Christian moral rules by utilitarian considerations. A larger measure of general agreement is therefore likely to be secured by seeing morality as a means to achieving the satisfaction of human desires. At the base of Russell's ethics thus lies the conception of "good" as what men find in their experience that they value for its own sake. Right and wrong are determined by reference to the general good. No partial good, for individual self, class, nation, elite, can be substituted for the general good; men's desires are not actually bound within such limited scope, and constructing morality in these partial terms accentuates conflict.

SO FAR, the structure of his argument is clear. But in dealing with decision in the conflict of ultimate ends—whether of individuals or groups—Russell's argument wavers. As in some of his previous writings, his view is sometimes close to a type of emotive theory, which sees ethical judgments as wishes or imperatives, not as indicative statements of fact that can be scientifically decided. But in many contexts he moves away from this view. He gives some weight to men's feelings that their ethical judgments are more than just subjective taste preferences. He shifts attention from the conflicting individuals to the wider community for whom the issue—say whether A should take what he wants from B—may often be intelligently decided. He spotlights the corrupting effect of oppression on the oppressor. But lest ethics be considered unqualifiedly within the area of scientific investigation, he resorts to an occasional illustration of possibly irreconcilable judgments—for example, that vindictive punishment is morally mandatory as against the view that it is immoral.

In the preface Russell says that the book refutes critics who accuse him of overestimating the part of reason in human affairs, and he subscribes to Hume's famous sentence, "Reason is, and ought only to be, the slave of the passions." But philosophical critics have often found him underestimating the role of human rationality by putting ends beyond the domain of intelligent decision. And from this point of view the present book is increasing, not diminishing, the role that Russell has been willing to allow to intelligence. As in much modern ethical writing, there is a real confusion between the question of how the good may be determined when two men disagree sharply about it, and the practical problem of how the "loser" may be persuaded to accept the verdict. The latter may be difficult and sometimes even impossible, but this need not be regarded as conclusive with respect to the role of intelligence in the former. This is an issue to be faced squarely.

In dealing with political behavior Russell resorts largely to explanation in everyday psychological terms; he makes no attempt to probe systematically into the social and cultural conditions under which human aims take shape. Rival ideologies are not seen as important except as determining the groups or herds which verge on conflict: "If the Russians still adhered to the Greek Orthodox religion, if they had instituted parliamentary government, and if they had a completely free press which daily vituperated us, then—provided they still had armed forces as powerful as they have now—we should still hate them if they gave us ground for thinking them hostile." Russell's treatment of politics still gives love of power a more central place than material needs and conditions. His analysis of psychological elements is carried out with considerable refinement. He distinguishes acquisitiveness, rivalry, and vanity from love of power; noting, for example, in a succinct comparison of glory and power, that "the people who enjoy the greatest glory in the United States are film stars, but they can be put in their place by the Committee for Un-American Activities, which enjoys no glory whatever." Other desires, such as love of excitement, are also given their due. Russell would have every big town contain artificial waterfalls for people to descend in fragile canoes, and bathing pools full of mechanical sharks; any person found advocating a pre-

---

ABRAHAM EDEL is a member of the Department of Philosophy at the City College of New York and author of "The Theory and Practice of Philosophy" and of the forthcoming "Ethical Judgment: The Use of Science in Ethics."

ventive war is to be condemned to two hours a day with these monsters!

On the whole Russell's treatment of politics in this book resolves itself into a plea for more intelligence, which he regards as the main thing now needed to make the world happy. Whatever the shortcomings of his treatment from a scientific point of view, it is given impact by the demand that we face up to the needs of men and the present global ability to achieve a better life, and use a little more sense in coming to a resolution that will mean life instead of death.

Alaska the Foundling

THE STATE OF ALASKA. By Ernest Gruening. Random House. $7.50.

By Evelyn Stefansson

FOR years we have needed a political history of Alaska. Despite hundreds of books on innumerable aspects of the territory, no work has appeared combining political and historical scrutiny. The reason may have been that the source material was to be found chiefly in a formidable mountain of government documents; only an intrepid scholar would want to dig into this mine of information, for the pay dirt would be likely to be small in comparison with the tailings.

We are blessed in that Ernest Gruening, dynamic governor of Alaska during some of the most interesting years of its life, 1939 to 1953, has bent his talents to the task. Newspaperman, editor, and publisher before he entered the political arena, he has written a beautifully organized book which covers the political and economic development of Alaska down through 1954.

Starting with Alaska's earliest days, the author brings us quickly to 1867, the year we bought Russian America. It is a tribute to his skill that he makes enthralling a chronicle which is essentially depressing, especially when it describes the relationship of Congress with Alaska. Here the leitmotif might be characterized as "neglect plus spoils-seeking" or, if you are fond of subtitles, "too little or too much, and always too late." In Gruening's words, "this is a history of a region which in the first half of its existence under the United States had less government and in the second half more government—but always less self-government—than any other American area since the founding of the Republic." That Alaska grew and developed despite the obstacles placed in its path was chiefly due to the hardy, enterprising character of the Alaskans.

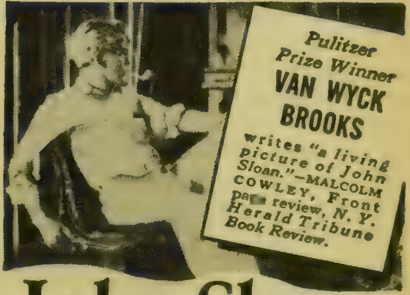
With fine objectivity Gruening details the neglect suffered by Alaska during the early years and the trials of its population when settlers could not acquire title to land, property could not be deeded or transferred, no will was valid, no marriages could be solemnized, crime could not be punished, and no injured party could get redress. Appeals to the government went unanswered. Not surprisingly, both population and trade decreased. Bill after bill was introduced into Congress providing for some form of government, but all remained buried in committee.

IN 1884 Congress finally recognized the existence of Alaska, and deigned to confer on it a code of laws, but with deplorable lack of understanding of the country and its problems it chose as model the completely irrelevant Oregon code. Designed for an agricultural, fruit-growing state, this code was utterly unsuitable to a mining, fishing, fur-trading region. It raised no taxes within the district for purposes of government. It provided no legislature, no representation in Congress, no general land laws. The administration installed was told to "inspect, enforce the laws, and report, yet denied the means either to inspect or enforce." The code frequently referred to county and town functions, but Alaska had neither. This vast land was given no land laws. Appointments to office became political plums, and few Alaskans ever obtained them. They were used stateside to pay off old political debts. Occasionally an appointee turned out to be a good man. Alfred P. Swineford, for instance, a Michigan newspaper editor who became governor, was a man "of energy, courage, and vision. His four annual reports may be considered classics in the literature of protest." Later the government completely reversed the situation, substituting meddling for neglect, and the territory suffered from constant interference by misinformed non-Alaskans.

The seven section headings of the book indicate its method and purpose: Discovery (1741-1867), The Era of Total Neglect (1867-84), The Era of Flagrant Neglect (1884-98), The Era of Mild but Unenlightened Interest (1898-1912), The Era of Indifference and Unconcern (1912-33), The Era of Growing Awareness (1933-54), and Alaska's Pending Problems. The last contains informative discussions of land, law, and native problems. The controversial fisheries question and the transportation difficulties are also covered.

The book ends with a discussion

EVELYN STEFANSSON is the author of "Here Is Alaska."


Pulitzer Prize Winner
VAN WYCK BROOKS
writes "a living picture of John Sloan."—MALCOLM COWLEY, Front page review, N. Y. Herald Tribune Book Review.

John Sloan
A PAINTER'S LIFE
Illustrated with photographs
$5.00 at all bookstores
DUTTON

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE
Buy Your Books
through THE *Nation*

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular retail price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the retail price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to
Miss O. LePach
THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
333 Sixth Ave. New York 14, N. Y.

of statehood. Gruening feels, and most readers by the time they have finished the book will be inclined to agree, that only through statehood can Alaska realize its enormously rich potential. Alaskans suffer from "taxation without representation"—they have a delegate in the United States House of Representatives, but he cannot vote. There is an "absentee landlord" situation in mining, fishing, and other sources of wealth. Alaskans must travel six thousand miles to seek legislative action on their problems. Until its form of government places the primary responsibility on its citizens, Alaska will be retarded.

Art

S. Lane Faison, Jr.

IT IS easy for New Yorkers to forget that until the turn of this century Philadelphia and Boston were far in the lead as centers of painting. A selection of the best works of artists who were trained in these two cities or who instructed others there up to around 1910 would include most of what we can take the greatest pride in.

One of these cities, Philadelphia, is exhibiting such a selection. To celebrate its 150th anniversary, the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, America's oldest fine-arts organization, has been showing the work of twenty-two painters and three sculptors who were at one time or another enrolled as its students or on its staff. The exhibition is currently being held in the spacious galleries of the Academy, Broad and Cherry Streets, and anyone with an interest in the American tradition, or in quality in American art, or in the growth of the American vocabulary would be unwise to forgo the opportunity it offers.

After closing, a large portion of this show will be sent to certain European cities which have had little chance to learn at first hand what America has achieved. Florence and Innsbruck are among them—centers accustomed to giving to, not receiving from, America the blessings of visual refinement.

While one may argue about the contemporary art that has been sent abroad to represent the United States—except for what the Museum of Modern Art has managed to accomplish with private funds—there can be little argument about the impact of the works on view in Philadelphia. The director of the Academy, Joseph T. Fraser, Jr., should be congratulated on the selection of examples—only a few of which come from the Academy's own collection—on their arrangement, and on the catalogue, to which many of the best-informed students of American painting contributed. The catalogue is much more than a souvenir of a visit. It is a compendium of authoritative knowledge of a major slice of creative activity in America.

If I have placed a terminating date of around 1910 to the period that merits these complimentary remarks, it is not because the exhibition stops here or because the quality always declines in works of later vintage. Philadelphia, however, lost its leadership around that time, and work of stature became sporadic rather than cumulative. It would be invidious to name the less distinguished recent artists. Others have maintained the high quality for which the Academy has stood during its long and honorable history. Charles Demuth, a Pennsylvanian from Lancaster, studied there from 1905 to 1910 when he was in his middle twenties, but his art is better understood in terms of his European contacts and of the Armory Show of 1913. John Marin, no Philadelphian, studied at the Academy from 1899 to 1901, but as an artist he too must be approached through European idioms of expression, Yankee to the core as his painting undoubtedly is. Among the more recent painters, Arthur B. Carles, who died in 1952, is the most impressive, better in his later abstract work than in his earlier nude and flower pieces. Set in his generation—he was born in 1882, close to Demuth and Picasso and Braque and Franz Marc—he can hardly be said to survive the competition, whether European or American.

We need make no apology, however, for Thomas Eakins, an exact contemporary of the Impressionists who neither imitated them nor played second fiddle to them in quality. If it be argued that Eakins was closer to earlier French masters like Courbet, one may reply that Eakins survived Courbet's competition too, or, more accurately, that there was in truth no competition here. For Eakins was essentially a new Rembrandt, while Courbet was at once a prophecy of Cezanne (in his rocky landscapes) and a reincarnation of the great portal sculpture of Gothic France (in his figure pieces). Virtually all the great Eakinses and many lesser ones are assembled in the central galleries of the Academy, and his dominance is properly registered by this emphasis. It is a privilege to see his two big medical compositions, brought together from the Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia and the University of Pennsylvania Medical School. I do not hesitate to compare them with Rembrandt's Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Tulp, though in fairness it should be added that this early work is hardly a measure of Rembrandt's full genius.

LATE in his career Rembrandt painted another medical picture, for Dr. Deyman, of which only a central fragment survives. Here we may surmise that he probed the full depth of human personality, much as Eakins did in the Gross Clinic (1875) and almost did again in the Agnew Clinic (1889). While I insist on the parallel to Rembrandt, I must admit it can be overdone. One of the most unexpected passages in the Gross Clinic is the painting of blood in a manner that foreshadows expressionist violence of sheer intensity of color. The bust portraits catch the sitter in deep concentration but never, as in Rembrandt, with romantic allusions to patriarchs of the Old Testament. Many of Eakins's personages are engaged in making music (The Cello Player, The Concert Singer, The Pathetic Song); more might be imagined as listening to music being made by others. Even the Oarsmen rest from their labors as if to hear the swish of their craft through the waters of the Schuylkill.

As this is a Philadelphia show, Winslow Homer is missing, and so is Albert Pinkham Ryder. I cannot, however, let pass this opportunity to remark that references to America's famous trilogy of nineteenth-century masters are getting shopworn. Ryder seems to me a small talent in the company of the other two, whether we consider his range, or his over-all growth, or his fundamental ability to communicate experience through the language of painting.

From the point of view of growth Cecelia Beaux makes an interesting contrast to Mary Cassatt. The former started off solidly and well in Le Derniers Jours d'Enfance, which we might call early Degas seen through the temperament of Henry James, but gradually she turned to superficial society portraiture and ended as insipid as the poorest Sargents. Mary Cassatt (1844-92) was never finer than at the end of her career, at least if The Bath (Art Institute of Chicago) be taken as an example, and in her work of the early 1880's (Reading le Figaro) she managed to rival Degas without being, as he used to put it, *du batiment.*

ANOTHER unusual opportunity afforded by this exhibition is the chance to see the work of William Harnett and John Frederick Peto in nearby rooms. In a recent book by Alfred Frankenstein, "After the Hunt," the careers of these superficially similar painters of still life are brilliantly disentangled. (Harnett signatures were forged on Peto's work to make them bring Harnett prices.) Harnett struck more for the luxury trade—elegant objects, highly polished surfaces, unbelievable virtuosity in fooling the eye. It is possible, however, to consider the humbler Peto a more moving painter, and I have the impression that criticism is gradually coming around to this judgment.

The exhibition leads off, appropriately enough, with Charles Willson Peale, founder-in-effect of the Academy. As early as 1786 he had established his own museum in Philadelphia, and the famous painting, commemorated in a current postage stamp, in which he lifts a curtain on its interior is of course included. The Staircase Group, representing two of his sons, is a more substantial work. It rivals Copley and even Eakins in forthrightness. William Rush, America's first sculptor, is not very different from him, despite certain awkwardnesses in allegorical themes.

Perhaps the greatest surprise in the show is the inclusion of George Caleb Bingham, the painter of life on the Mississippi River. Largely self-taught, he received his only formal training at the Academy in 1837. The connection is admittedly tenuous, but if Bingham was able to elevate scenes of rafting and boating out of a merely documentary class, if Poussin has cast a distant spell over, shall we say, Mark Twain, no doubt the Academy had something to do with it.

Finally, mention should be made of the Ash Can School, a name hated by its adherents—Robert Henri, who was chiefly responsible for persuading his slightly younger friends to strike for artistic levels higher than those offered by magazine illustration, and Sloan, Luks, and Glackens. All these painters are seen in major examples and in full range. Everett Shinn was a member of their company, but in retrospect he seems thoroughly outclassed.

CHURCHLY OVER-EMPHASIS UPON "RIGHTEOUSNESS"

These advertisements have insisted upon the honesty and sincerity of all church people. But if we go back into ancient church history, a slightly different picture comes into view. The ancient church inherited from the Holy Land a Belief in One God who was the Divine, Democratic Champion of social justice for the "Poor and Needy." But when the God of Social Justice left the Holy Hills, and came down into World History, hoping for a good reception by everybody, he was only welcomed by poor people; and, worse still, he was presently met by a stern, aristrocratic God of Righteousness, who usurped the chief place in church for more than fifteen hundred years.

The fact is that today's church people have been victimized by their ancient ecclesiastical predecessors, who deliberately obscured the preaching of the Hebrew prophets and ignored the repeated endorsement of the prophets by Jesus. The so called "early church fathers" kept the masses of laity ignorant of the prophets' real meaning as preachers of social justice. They actually made the people believe that the prophets' work was to foretell the advent of a theological Christ, when, as a matter of historical fact, modern critical, scientific scholars find that there is not a single passage in any of the prophets that will bear this artificial interpretation. The prophets' work for social justice prepared the way for Jesus; but that is precisely what the orthodoxy of the past has obscured and kept away from the people. The struggle for justice, indeed, was the very force that ultimately swept away the false gods, that stood for injustice, and led to the victory of Monotheism.

But here again, a great truth is practically obliterated by the mythological story of "Mount Sinai," which asserts that Monotheism was passed down from heaven without any historical evolution. A circular, entitled Restoration of Social Justice to Belief in God, will be sent to you upon receipt of a three cent stamp to cover mailing cost. If no stamp is forwarded, no circular will be sent. — L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, New York.

ADVERTISEMENT

Theater

Robert Hatch

AFTER several evenings spent marveling at the dubious merchandise with which the show-business peddlers find they can attract a crowd, I am grateful to Christopher Fry for "The Dark is Light Enough." Though unlikely to please an audience as much as it obviously pleases its author, it is a play of sufficient moment to prevent your eyes from straying toward the nearest exit.

Mr. Fry calls it a winter comedy, by which he means that, despite a lightness of treatment, the content is serious. So it is—serious and important, though not sufficiently debatable to strike many sparks off the attending minds. His theme is that humanity has a value quite independent of its particular human example, that the champion of humanity must defend it on every occasion and not qualify his allegiance according to the merit of the individual. In short, charity is absolute.

How this might work out in practice the author demonstrates in three acts of very fine talk. His place is a country house not far from Vienna during the Hungarian revolt of 1848-49. The object of charity is one Richard Gettner, an Austrian who, having joined the rebel army, now deserts it in the hour of battle and seeks refuge with a family where he was once son-in-law. His protector is the Countess Rosmarin Ostenburg, a woman whose forebearance has won her a large following of admirers and a wide circle of influence, though not all her admirers are certain that her influence is harmless. A refusal to judge can so readily be interpreted as a failure to accept responsibility.

Gettner is a thoroughly worthless fellow, full of self-importance, quite without pride, intemperate and childish, and solicitude for him appears to cause pain in varying degree and in ever-widening circles. But the Countess's position is that we can never be sure of cause and effect; all we can be sure of is the human instance—of which Gettner is an example. There is a small epilogue to suggest that, at least momentarily, Gettner understands what he exemplifies.

Fry develops his thesis with a pleasant modesty, but he couches it in a style that is neither pleasant nor modest. He suffers again, as he always suffers, from a verbal facility that he will not curb. He chatters like a squirrel brought up on Oscar Wilde, never failing to see the epigram, never failing to pop it into some character's mouth, never noticing when the flow of language has broken its banks and become a flood of words. He employs a poetic license too large for his poetic gift. Fry is a moralist and it is ironical that his lust for rhetoric seduces him into the position that there is nothing good or evil but phrasing makes it so. It is still more ironical that in a time when most dramatists do not write elegantly enough, he makes a vice of elegance.

Katharine Cornell, as the Countess, bears the brunt of Fry's poetry, and she speaks it with astonishing endurance. But she gives me the impression that she is making a stage appearance, not participating in a play. It is a fault in great figures of the theater to use drama as a personal occasion, to suppose we come to revere a legend rather than to witness a performance. The problem is the director's, but Guthrie McClintic is too much part of the Cornell legend to cope with it.

Tyrone Power plays Gettner overloudly, for which he deserves some sympathy. It is the second principal part in the play, but it could be eliminated entirely and not be much missed. Gettner is what the play is *about,* but he is not really part of its action. The character keeps complaining that no one pays any attention to him, and Tyrone Power understandingly feels this to be a disadvantage.

Marian Winters, as the daughter of the house and one-time wife of Gettner, offers the warmest performance; she is the one person of the company who can make her feelings seem more than verse deep. Arnold Moss, as a Hungarian officer, is one of Shakespeare's innocent soldiers; William Podmore, Donald Harron, and John Williams, who attend the Countess, move about the stage like court gentlemen and handle Fry's beanbags dextrously. (Anta Theater.)

"SILK STOCKINGS" is the big new musical hit. Many people have been involved in bringing this successful venture into town and I do not intend to abuse them individually. The product is a cooperative disaster—tuneless, ugly, boring, and without taste. It contains three performers—Leon Belasco, Henry Lascoe, and David Opatoshu—who capably pursue the trade of burlesque comedy and who have been supplied by George S. Kaufman or Abe Burrows with jokes sufficient for their purpose. They are the only hint that converting "Ninotchka" into a musical comedy might have been a good idea. (Imperial Theater.)

"TONIGHT IN SAMARKAND" by Jacques Deval and Lorenzo Semple, Jr., is a reconstruction of the legend about the man who meets death in the market place and flees to an appointment with him in a distant town. This version is ingeniously put together, with some fine tricky scene shifts and some fine tricky plotting; more than that, it offers several attractive people, notably Louis Jourdan as a circus mindreader with a troublesome gift for prophecy, Jan Farrand as a passionate tiger trainer who has some trouble deciding between men and cats, and Theodore Bikel as an infinitely cynical and patient French detective. But the play is really a fidget; you wait around for three acts to see the promised trick. And in the end, the authors have to cheat a bit to accomplish their kismet. (Morosco Theater.)

IF YOU fed into an electric computer all the Irish whimsy that has appeared on the stage in the last forty years and instructed the machine to extract from it a new play, it could probably type out "The Wayward Saint" as well as Paul Vincent Carroll has done it. I failed to detect a new quirk of character or a fresh turn of phrase or plot in the whole script and can recommend it only to those who have not yet learned that the Irish live on terms of quaint familiarity with angels, demons, and the beasts of the field. Liam Redmond plays a meek-cocky priest who has modelled himself so closely on St. Francis that he is suspected of sanctity; Paul Lukas is a diabolic messenger sent to corrupt him (Mr. Lukas plays a shame-faced tempter, which *is* a novelty, but not one intended by the author of his embarrassment), and a man named Albert Corbin cavorts about in a lion skin. Mr. Carroll has some edifying message about the power of virtue. (Cort Theater.)

Records

B. H. Haggin

FURTHER hearing of the Columbia record of Berlioz's "Les Nuits d'ete" impels me to speak of it again—to report that each time I listen I am more overwhelmed by what comes off the record: not just Berlioz's music, but this music as it is performed by Steber and the orchestra under Mitropoulos; and not just the opulent and powerfully expressive singing and the excitingly enlivened orchestral playing, but the way these work together as an integrated progression—the way the successive orchestral details are colored and shaped and timed to work with the vocal phrase as comment and context. And this even when, occasionally, the progression moves too slowly and ponderously, or an upper note is shrill: these are not imperfections that lessen the magnitude of what one hears.

I heard something of this magnitude again when a guest for whom I played Tebaldi's performances of the Willow Song and Ave Maria from the new London recording of Verdi's "Otello" asked me to play the old Rethberg record of the two pieces. It was a long time since I had played it—long enough for me to be newly amazed. Tebaldi had given us an artful and tasteful deployment, in the musical phrases, of the ear-titillating resources of a luscious voice; from Rethberg we got the simplest possible emission of an exquisitely pure voice in continuous, sustained singing which articulated and shaped the phrases in overwhelmingly beautiful statements of the two pieces. After which we wondered at the fact that two such great performances hadn't been included by Victor on any of its various LP's devoted to great singers of the past; and we might have wondered also at the fact that with all the singer-cultists' effusions about Ponselle and Muzio and Mary Garden there hadn't been a word about the exquisite art with which Rethberg delighted music-lovers in the twenties and early thirties. (Nor for that matter has there been a word about the unique art that can be heard on Hempel's records; and whereas Victor has reissued on a couple of its LP's Rethberg's performances of the two arias from "Aida," it hasn't reissued a single solo performance by Hempel.)

Getting back to singers of today: the lovely mezzo-soprano voice, the superb style in ornamented cantilena, the brilliant bravura style in

The Lightfoot Conviction Must Be Reversed

On January 26, 1955, Claude Lightfoot, Illinois Communist leader, became the first person to be convicted under the "membership" provision of the Smith Act. He was sentenced to five years in jail and fined $5,000 for the sole crime of "knowing" membership in the Communist Party.

The trial was summarized by the American Civil Liberties Union, Illinois Division, in the following words:

". . . There was no charge nor was there any proof on the part of the Government of any overt act. There was no charge nor was there any proof of any conspiracy of which Lightfoot was a party. There was no charge nor was there any proof that the defendant himself believed in or made preparation for the overthrow of the Government. The proof presented by the Government was that Lightfoot read and disseminated information from certain books which in the *opinion* of the informants espoused the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist theory, which theory, in the *opinion* of the witnesses, by necessity is to be equated with force and violence."

The Lightfoot conviction will be appealed. What is the meaning of this appeal, to democratic Americans?

"This case may, therefore, be the means of producing that comprehensive review of the Smith Act that the Supreme Court has so far avoided. . . . It is a case of such importance that lawyers and laymen alike must hope than an appeal can be presented which will induce the Supreme Court to review the Smith Act in its entirety. If it does so, and then upholds the Smith Act, then, indeed our concept of individual liberty as defined in the Bill of Rights must be considered to be changed forever." *The Louisville Courier Journal (1/27/55).*

We ask **your** support.

YOUR Right to Think and Speak Freely Will Rest on HIS Appeal

For more information on the Lightfoot Case write to:

LIGHTFOOT DEFENSE COMMITTEE
189 W. Madison St., Room 1102, Chicago 2, Ill.

MEETING

"The Work, My Friend, is Peace . . ."
Franklin D. Roosevelt. 1945

Save The Peace Rally

at
Manhattan Center
34th Street & 8th Ave., N. Y. C.
Monday, March 21, 7:45 P.M.
Speakers: Frederick L. Schuman,
Russ Nixon
Entertainment: Nadine Brewer,
Hersh Bernardi
Admission: $1 (tax included)
Auspices: N. Y. State Committee
American Labor Party, 220 W. 80 St., N. Y. 24

PUBLICATIONS

NEW BOOKS FROM THE U.S.S.R.
GREAT SOVIET ENCYCLOPEDIA
VOLUME 28 (In Russian)
Complete edition will consist of 50 volumes. Deluxe printing and binding. Profusely illustrated with color plates and maps.
Special price per. vol. $8.00

BOOKS IN ENGLISH:
VITALI ZAKRUTKIN
FLOATING STANITSA
A very interesting and informative novel of the life of Soviet fisher folk. A vivid insight into the present day fishing industry in the USSR. 367 pages 90c

ANATOLI RYBAKOV
THE DIRK
A delightful boys story with a "Huckleberry Finn" flavor. Deluxe edition, illustrated. A handsome boys gift for any occasion.
[illegible] pages $1.00

A.G. IVANOV-SMOLENSKY
ESSAYS on the Patho-Physiology of the Higher Nervous Activity.
(according to I. P. Pavlov) 349 pages 1.50

JOSEPH STALIN WORKS
in 16 volumes—Vol. 10
Available Vol. 1-10 price per vol. $1.00

Again in Stock
A. VOLOSHIN
KUZNETSK LAND
A vey interesting novel unfolding against a background of life in a Soviet mining town.
439 pages $1.50

A wide assortment of newly received records from the USSR including LP records for the first time in this country.

Ask for our catalog E-55 and Records
FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.
55 West 56 Street
New York 19, N. Y.
822 Broadway
New York 3, N. Y.
GRamercy 3-2018--19

UNUSUAL BOOKS you can't find elsewhere. All subjects. Bargain catalogues free. Transbooks, Box 22-N, Brooklyn 26, N. Y.

SOCIALIST BOOKS. Catalog, literature, Free. New York Labor News Company, Dept. M, 61 Cliff Street, New York 38, New York.

FREE catalogs on Social-economics Movements, etc. regularly from: The Hammersmith Bookshop, Beadon Rd., London, W6, England.

rapid florid passages that Giulietta Simionato exhibited in the old Cetra-Soria recording of Rossini's "La Cenerentola" are to be heard, better reproduced on London LD-9162, in *Una voce poco fa* from "The Barber of Seville," *Nacqui all' affanno* and *Non piu mesta* from "La Cenerentola," *O don fatale* from Verdi's "Don Carlo," and the unfamiliar and beautiful *Deh! tu bell' anima* from Bellini's "I Capuleti ed i Montecchi." Ghione conducts the Orchestra of the Academy of Saint Cecilia in Rome.

The "Rigoletto" offered by London LLA-25 has lovely and affecting singing most of the time by Gueden as Gilda (her voice is not at its best in *Caro nome)* and good and dramatically effective singing by Aldo Protti in the title role; it has Siepi as Sparafucile, Simionato as Maddalena; but right from the beginning in *Questa o quella,* the unpleasant voice of del Monaco, the Duke, is a blight on the performance, and the worse for being so close to the microphone. The poor microphone placement produces extremely bad balance between the singers and the Saint Cecilia Orchestra conducted by Erede--Rigoletto's *Cortigiani, vil razza,* for example, being sung not with an orchestra that rages but with one that is a whisper in the distant background.

Esoteric 520 offers a number of beautiful vocal pieces by Morley sung well by the Primavera Singers under Noah Greenberg, with a few pieces for virginals played well by Winogron. The recorded sound has an over-resonant sharpness that is lessened by reduction of treble.

Similar recorded sound exaggerates almost to absurdity the intensity that is one of the charms of the counter-tenor Russell Oberlin's performances of a number of fine Purcell songs on Esoteric 535, with harpsichord and viola da gamba played by Paul Maynard and Seymour Barab. I found it interesting to hear how differently, and how impressively in the different way, "Musick for a While" and "An Evening Hymn" are sung by the baritone John Langstaff on his Renaissance record of a few years back.

Much of Gluck's "Iphigenie en Tauride," which the American Opera Society performed for the first time in New York since 1917, has the loveliness and nobility of the more familiar works; but there are also occasional harmonic progressions and uses of wind-instrument color that are strikingly unusual and dramatic. Arnold U. Gamson again conducted a well-integrated performance, with especially beautiful singing by Leopold Simoneau, singing by Lucine Amara that was more beautiful in quiet melody than in powerful proclamation, and singing by Hugh Thompson which I hope was the result only of temporary hoarseness.

CORRECTION

In B. H. Haggin's article in the February 26 issue the first sentence in the fourth paragraph should have read: As it happened the recital was recorded and has now been issued on London LL-1108/9. . . .

Forum for Liberals

(Continued from Inside Cover)

Liberalism will have betrayed its traditional role in political life if it adopts the fatalism and pessimism which have gained currency among disillusioned radicals, theologians, and philosophers of history. A political movement or persuasion that is obsessed by the destructive impulses in men either will end up at the head of those impulses, or it will be destroyed by them.

Liberalism must continue the dreary work of so ordering society that barbarous impulses are checked and man's capacity for co-operation and self-control can be given full expression. In pursuing this objective, liberals must be sophisticated in considering which impulses are most important in human nature and which of them should be the targets of liberalism's appeal. But the "crisis" of liberalism will not be resolved merely by a revision of its traditional views of human nature, however desirable such a re-examination may be in and of itself. The problem of motives is important, but it is subordinate to the larger question of the tactics which should be employed in order that liberalism may straighten its ranks and resume the performance of its thankless tasks.

JONATHAN LIVERMORE

CONSUMERS' GUIDE TO TROTSKYISM
1955 CONVERTIBLE
THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST: ORGAN OF THE NEW TROTSKYISM
CAN TROTSKYISM BE PRO-SOVIET?!
THE CATCH-ALL OF AMBIGUOUS SOCIALISM
IN FEBRUARY ISSUE OF
TURNING POINT
PUBLISHED BY COMMUNIST LEAGUE
15c From P. O. Box 24, Midtown Sta., New York 18, N.Y. or at Newsstand, S. W. Corner 42nd St. and Sixth Avenue

FRANCE'S "NEW LEFT": J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

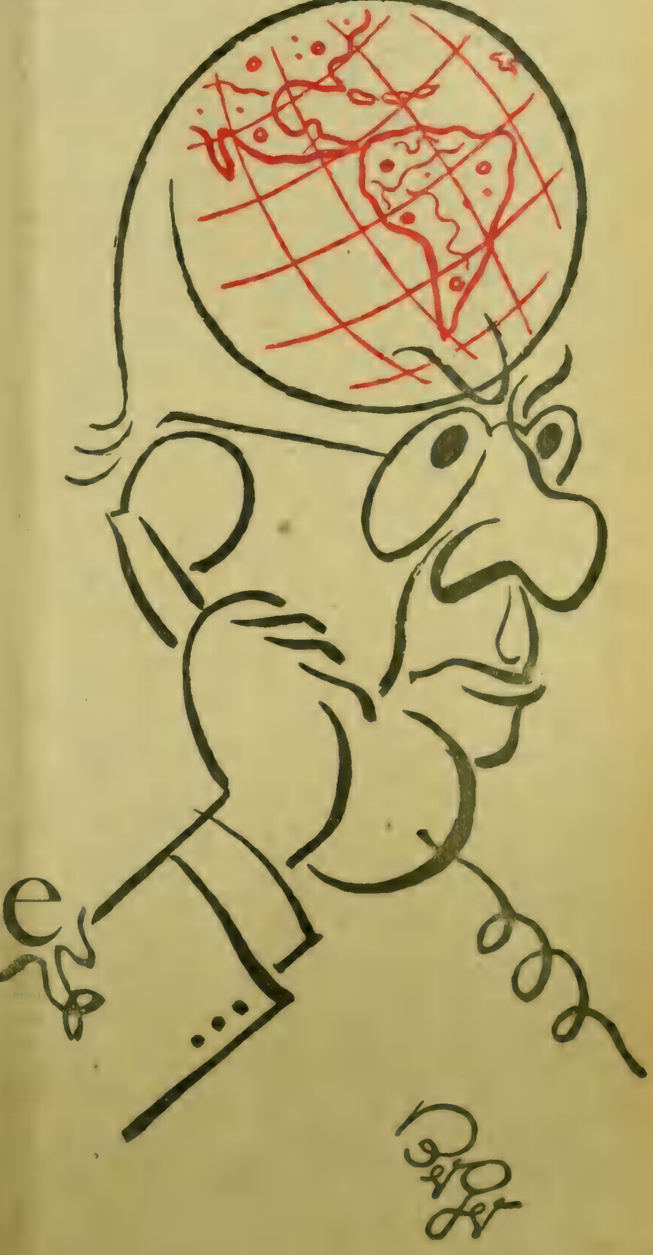
MAR 2[illegible] '55
BURLINGAME
PUBLIC LIBRARY
Burlingame, Calif.

THE *Nation*

March 19, 1955
20c

The Riddle of David Lawrence

by Edgar Kemler



EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

THE Nation Bulletin Board:

A MAN of exemplary candor and courage in the field of publishing—and a good friend of The Nation—is William T. Evjue, editor and publisher of the Capital Times in Madison, Wisconsin. Liberals have known and admired Bill Evjue from the days of "Old Bob" LaFollette when his paper spoke for a progressive majority in defending the social and political achievements of the state of Wisconsin. Those days are gone but Evjue doesn't need a majority behind him in order to speak out—as he did, for instance, in the case of Joe McCarthy.

He was pretty much on his own when he published the famous series of articles in 1951 exposing the gamy record of the junior Senator from Wisconsin. And Bill Evjue kept sounding the alarm until the tide started turning. Today it's most respectable to take a swipe at McCarthy and Bill Evjue is one of the handful who made that possible.

The other week, Evjue spoke out again. The occasion was the 50th Anniversary of the University of Wisconsin's school of journalism and his editorial in the Capital Times celebrated the event in the unique Evjue manner. It was about as sharp an attack on the present state of the press in America as we have seen. Evjue said that the tremendous concentration of power—economic and financial, hence political—has reduced the mass media (films, radio, TV, the big papers) to an abject state of conformity. Eventually, he said, this must affect the schools of journalism, since a school is bound to be judged "not so much on what or how it teaches, but on the number of graduates it places on newspapers." He recalled the war hysteria which shut off open discussion in 1917, just as the drive for conformity has done in recent years, and he demanded that the press reject this conformity as a pattern in American life and rally to the defense of the old tradition of freedom, "freedom for the printed and spoken word, freedom of inquiry, freedom of assembly, and freedom of conscience."

The same day, Evjue's conservative competitor, the Wisconsin State Journal, also saluted the School of Journalism and the six leading graduates who received anniversary awards. Then, half-ironically, it nominated its "hated rival," William T. Evjue, "for this same honor on some future occasion." Bill Evjue's lusty editorial is hardly calculated to promote this idea. In any event, he is not a candidate for such honors. In a letter to the editor of The Nation, he observes tartly:

"I have never yet received any award or recognition from a newspaper organization for my 50-year record in the field of journalism in this state. I trust that I can wind up my career with the record a blank in that respect. If I ever receive an award of this kind I will suspect that something is wrong with me."

WE HAVE BEEN receiving observations about the recent change in appearance of The Nation. Some people have pointed out that the magazine is slightly smaller; this is true. The press at our new printers necessitates the slicing off of a quarter of an inch in the depth. However, the paper itself is precisely the same as that which we have been using these past three years. The fact that an issue may appear thinner is due to the binding: previously copies were stitched. Now they come off the press pasted at the fold. This gives the magazine a slightly flatter look. But please be reassured: there has been no cutback in the amount of reading matter in the magazine. In fact, in the coming year we expect there will be more issues running above the standard 24 pages than in past years. As for the new type face, it is definitely more legible than the grayish font used before the change. Readers are going to be grateful for it once they become accustomed to it.

TO THOSE who have inquired about The Nation's special tour of six Western European countries a note of warning: if you want to go by ship your reservations must be in early in April; if you want to go by plane, you have till the end of April. The tour by ship begins June 24; by air, July 1. You will return to the United States August 10 by air; August 17 by ship. To repeat some of the details: here is a rare opportunity to meet with members of parliament, deputies and other government leaders; to take part in programs arranged by the Manchester Guardian, New Statesman & Nation, and other leading European journals of opinion. The all-inclusive fee covers transportation, hotels, meals, a full program of sightseeing, interviews, discussions, entertainment, and the services of guides, organizers and interpreters. Professor Colston Warne of Amherst is the leader of the tour. For more information and applications write at once to The Nation, Travel Department, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York City 14.

MARTIN SOLOW.

Letters

The War on the Press

Dear Sirs: We all have a personal respect for George Seldes, but how "new," really, is the war on the press of which he writes in The Nation of February 5 and 12? Isn't the criticism of the press "from the liberal point of view" still what we should be using our ammunition for—even more so than ever now that In Fact is no more and the liberal and Left press is reduced to a mere twig in the forest of newsprint? Wouldn't Seldes be more in character analyzing, for instance, why the New York Times suppressed for eighteen months Harvey Matusow's sworn affidavit that he lied in charging there are over a hundred Communists on the Times's own staff?

The voice of the old Seldes, exposing not the lunacies of the Peglers but the hypocrisies of the "respectable" press, has never been needed more than now. The Nation does us a service by giving him a forum. I hope to hear his old voice echoing through the ramparts we watch before I, the editor of a nonconformist journal, am compelled to watch them from the other side of the Atlantic for the crime of having the wrong politics in 1937.

CEDRIC BELFRAGE

New York, N. Y.

'Then Where Would We Be?'

Dear Sirs: Your Washington correspondent, Max Freedman, in his dispatch of February 19, wonders "why Matusow was believed and supported by anyone with power in Washington." With varying degrees of bewilderment and dismay this bemusement has been expressed by many editorials, "letters to the editor," and individuals. The way it is put is, "Why doesn't the Department of Justice, the various Committees, the Smith Act trials, etc., etc., use honorable and unimpeachable citizens for its witnesses?"

Isn't the answer obvious? Is there any doubt that the Department of Justice, etc., etc., would love to have upstanding, respected citizens as in-

(Continued on Page 248)

VOLUME 180, NUMBER 12
NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MARCH 19, 1955

THE *Nation*
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

The Shape of Things

Disarmament: a Weapon?

"The only real significance of disarmament discussions," comments the *Wall Street Journal* (February 28), is that "they have become simply a weapon in propaganda warfare." A summary—and cynical—judgment of this kind implies that the most recent disarmament conferences have served no other purpose than to provide an opportunity for each side to shout propaganda at the other; it also implies that future conferences, including the critical discussions now under way in London, can serve no other purpose. Yet it should be obvious that a single, significant act on the part of either the U. S. S. R. or the U. S. A. would undercut the notion that disarmament conferences are useless. In an editorial of February 11, which produced few echoes in the American press, the Washington *Post* proposed a moratorium on further H-bomb tests. Here was a step in the right direction.

What is more urgently needed is not another proposal or "gesture," which might be advertised as evidence of our "sincerity" and Soviet "hypocrisy"; what is needed is a formal announcement by the Administration that no more tests will be staged for the time being at least, coupled with whatever qualifications might be necessary. We should then ask the Russians to join with us in agreeing not to make further tests and in supporting the proposal of the Federation of American Scientists that the United Nations study the effects of H-bomb explosions. Doubtless these and similar ideas are in fact being discussed in London but the work of the conference might be advanced if one of the two great world powers were to take some dramatic, unilateral action which implied a degree of trust in the other. Such action, moreover, might help check the spreading dogma that disarmament conferences are a sheer waste of time.

Moscow's Answer to Rearmament

A Geneva correspondent writes: Recent comment in the Soviet press indicates that the Kremlin now regards ratification of the Paris agreements as certain and is taking measures to meet the new situation.

Despite earlier threats, diplomatic observers believe Moscow will do nothing that could seriously impair the general effort to reduce international tension. For instance a return to the days of the Berlin blockade is considered highly improbable. Any too drastic answer to the Paris agreements would diminish the impression that Moscow's more cooperative mood has made, particularly in Britain. This was the mood in which the representatives of Britain and India found Foreign Minister Molotov when they approached him again on the question of Formosa; in fact, well informed Europeans are convinced that Russia is doing what it can, behind the scenes, to end the Formosa crisis. The benefit it might draw from this conciliatory role would be jeopardized should it lose its temper when the last ratification is voted.

Russia's answer will be double. Through the East German government it will multiply proposals for a direct agreement guaranteeing what every German wants more than anything else, reunification. The last statement by Prime Minister Otto Grotewohl before the Council of the German Democratic Republic, makes some further concessions to the West German point of view. However, his proposal of a plebiscite has been rejected by the West Germans, including the Socialists who continue to ask for a Big Four conference because they believe that only through negotiation among the great powers can the German problem be solved.

Russia's other answer is on the military level. Not only is the Kremlin increasing its armed power, but a new military conference is planned for the spring to coordinate all the forces of the Soviet Union and the Peoples Democracies in an even closer relationship than exists today.

"A Glowing Thing"

March (from Mars) has never been a cheerful month—the birthstone is the bloodstone—but now that it has become the season for testing A-, H-, U-, and other types of bombs and weapons, it is a month of terror and alarm. This year the A. E. C. detonated something vaguely tagged as an "atomic device" that further pulverized the wounded flats of Nevada and jolted dishes in cupboards several hundred miles distant The flare was described in faraway Portland, Oregon, as "a glowing thing." In Southern California it was so bright that the skies took on "the yellow flush of early sunrise."

In its wake, the Southern Californians received a jolt more severe than that caused by the explosion itself. Val Peterson, the Civilian Defense chief, testifying before the Senate interior subcommittee in support of the Upper Colorado River storage project, said that in the

In This Issue

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 229

Trouble in Formosa 230

ARTICLES

Washington in Focus
by Max Freedman 231

France's "New Left":
What It Is and What It Needs
by J. Alvarez del Vayo 233

The Lawrence Riddle:
The Man or the Times?
by Edgar Kemler 234

Which Way Asia?
India's Way, or China's
by T. Balogh 237

Lesson for the West:
The Japanese Elections
by W. Macmahon Ball 239

BOOKS

Formulas for Foreign Policy
by Frederick L. Schuman 241

A Liberal on Canvas
by S. Lane Faison, Jr. 242

Selected New Books:
Fiction by Stanley Cooperman 243

Miscellaneous by Jacob Korg 244

THEATER by Robert Hatch 245

MUSIC by B. H. Haggin 246

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 611
by Frank W. Lewis opposite 248

THE BULLETIN BOARD
by Martin Solow opposite 229

LETTERS opposite 229

Cover Drawing by Oscar Berger

Editorial Board

Freda Kirchwey	Editor and Publisher
Carey McWilliams	Editorial Director
Lillie Shultz	Director, Nation Associates
Victor H. Bernstein	Managing Editor
J. Alvarez del Vayo	Foreign Editor
Martin Solow	Assistant to the Publisher
Harold Clurman	Theater
B. H. Haggin	Music
Robert Hatch	Films
Gladys Whiteside	Copy Editor
Caroline Whiting	Assistant Literary Editor
Alfred Maund	Editorial Assistant
Mary Simon	Advertising Manager

Contributing Editors: Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus, Keith Hutchison, H. H. Wilson, W. Macmahon Ball, Maxwell Geismar, Bruce Catton.

The Nation, March 19, 1955, Volume 180 No 12

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1955, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879 at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Reentered as second class matter at the Post Office Montgomery, Alabama. Printing Office 1603 Reuben Street

Subscription Prices Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12, Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1. **Change of Address**: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs, Information Service, Dramatic Index.

event of nuclear war Los Angeles would have to be evacuated for "a long, long, long time." (Apparently Mr. Peterson based his argument on the reasonable assumption that since Los Angeles has been unable to conquer "smog" in the last decade, it could not be expected to make much headway against fall-out and radioactive particles in the next.) Immediately the Los Angeles traffic experts came forth with screaming protests against the idea of evacuating the city. Such a proposal would be physically impossible to execute, they said. Four major highways lead north from Los Angeles, three east, and two south, and there are, or were at the last count, 2,500,000 automobiles. "We'd kill ourselves trying to get out of the city," the experts said. To take care of Los Angeles evacuees, Colorado River water would have to be diverted from Southern California to Arizona evacuation centers and something, too, would have to be done about the pyramiding of industries in Los Angeles which Mr. Peterson regards as "indefensible" from a civilian defense point of view. If this year's March tests accomplished no other purpose, they have apparently aroused a new consciousness in Southern California of the perils of nuclear warfare.

Trouble in Formosa

THE USUALLY reliable and consistently anti-Communist *Chinese World* of San Francisco, a Chinese-English daily, has carried some interesting recent reports on mounting tensions in Formosa. According to these accounts, Article III of the Nationalist-United States treaty, in which the parties undertake "to strengthen their free institutions," has been taken quite literally by dissident political elements as an American-backed guarantee of their right to exercise a measure of political independence. For example, one Cheng Sheh-wo, a newspaperman who has remained silent for the last five years, recently addressed a formal query to Premier O. K. Yui about the continued detention of certain political prisoners. Cheng's action is described as "a ray of light in the darkness and intrigue which surrounds Formosa."

More recently, Li Wang-chu, of the Formosa Provincial Assembly, submitted a list of thirty-two good questions to Governor C. K. Yen. Among other things, he wanted to know why the police continued to molest law-abiding residents, accept bribes, and consort with gangsters. "It would appear," comments columnist Dai-ming Lee, "that the United States is in a position where it is obliged to see that this particular provision (Article III) is implemented by its partner. Otherwise, if Chiang Kai-shek is not forced to democratize his administration, the people of Formosa will be greatly disappointed. In such event, their antagonism to Chiang could very well be transferred to America."

Of even greater interest is a report from Hong Kong in the *Chinese World* (March 4) that General Chiang Ching-kuo may be planning a coup. Now 49, Chiang

Ching-kuo is the eldest son of Chiang Kai-shek by his first wife. In 1924, during the period of cooperation between the Soviet government and the Kuomintang, Chiang Ching-kuo was sent to Moscow where he enrolled in Sun Yat-sen University, joined the Communist Youth Corps, and later became a member of the Communist Party. After graduation, he transferred to Lenin University where he underwent strict training. He was then assigned to practical work in Russian factories and eventually became manager of one. In 1927, he bitterly denounced his father's purge of Communists from the Kuomintang, calling him, in most unfilial terms, "an evil warlord bent on oppressing the laboring and peasant classes." After the Marco Polo Bridge incident of July 7, 1937, Chiang asked the Russians to permit his son to return to China. The Russians agreed but kept Chiang Ching-kuo in Moscow for a year's additional training before returning him to China in 1939. He was accompanied, incidentally, by his Russian wife.

During the period from 1940 to 1944, when Chiang Ching-kuo was assistant commander of the Kiansi provincial "Peace Preservation Corps," the Chinese Communists became deeply rooted in that area. After V-J day, Chiang Ching-kuo was made special foreign-affairs officer for the Northeastern province (Manchuria) from 1945 to 1947, and in 1949 was named assistant in charge of the Economics Affairs Bureau in Shanghai. "Throughout the whole of his career in China," comments the *Chinese World,* "there has been no report whatsoever of his giving up his connections with the Communist Party."

Since the Nationalists retreated to Formosa in 1949, the Generalissimo's son has gradually seized top party, military, and administrative powers and, as a result of his rise in influence, such pro-American elements as Wang Shih-chieh and K. C. Wu have been banished. In 1951, when the head of the Kuomintang "CC" clique, Chen Kuo-fu, was on his death bed, he is said to have entered this notation in his diary: "At present, an important Red international spy is manipulating things. If the members of the Kuomintang do not meet this threat, our party will certainly be annihilated." Given the external pressures, it is not unlikely that mounting internal tensions could set the stage for a coup in Formosa. In any case, the internal situation there warrants a great deal more attention by American correspondents than it has received to date.

Washington in Focus

by Max Freedman

SENATOR DOUGLAS is perfectly right in repeating his request for an apology from Mr. Humphrey, the Secretary of the Treasury. Without any proof and in defiance of the record, Mr. Humphrey accused the Senator of having predicted that the country would be struck by a depression. When Senator Douglas denied this charge and confronted Mr. Humphrey with a demand for proof, there was only a shambling and sheepish evasion. Then later, Mr. Humphrey tried to prove his indictment by quoting from Senator Douglas. Unfortunately for the success of this attempt, it was easy for Senator Douglas to prove to reporters that Mr. Humphrey had tortured the quotations and wrenched them from the context so as completely to misrepresent what had been said. It may suit the Republicans to pillory Senator Douglas as the "prophet of gloom and doom." It would be more consistent with Mr. Humphrey's national stature and personal honor to withdraw a charge which he cannot sustain even by the most arbitrary departures from the public record.

Incidentally, Mr. Humphrey would perform a greater public service if he stopped blaming Senator Douglas and tried to answer the criticism of his tax policy brought by the Democratic members who analyzed the President's economic report. The Administration boasts of the $3,000,000,000 reduction in taxes made last year. The joint committee on internal-revenue taxation has estimated that $935 million, or only 31 per cent of this, will be reflected in the returns of taxpayers with less than $5,000 adjusted gross income. Yet these small taxpayers account for 74 per cent of the total tax returns. Therefore, $2,080,000,000, or 69 per cent of the reductions, will be on returns above $5,000.

The figures produced by the Democrats in the joint economic report prove that Mr. Humphrey made another mistake in his calculations. Reductions in the tax on corporations failed to produce a corresponding increase in investment. There is reason to believe that a large part of these savings went to greater activity in the stock market instead of to investments on plant expansion leading to more jobs.

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER has marked his regret in the most emphatic way at Mr. Robert Cutler's withdrawal from his official family. He accepted Mr. Cutler's resignation with extreme reluctance, commended his services in a letter which flashed with gratitude, and then gave him a farewell dinner party at the White House, an honor paid to no other departing official. Mr. Cutler deserves these laurels, for he has been one of the pivotal figures in Washington, although he is almost unknown to the public.

He bore the title of Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs. Under his guidance the National Security Council became more important over large ranges of policy than the Cabinet, of which it is a mere committee. Mr. Cutler developed a capacity for self-effacement. The substance of power was in his hands and so he wisely shunned its trappings. Reporters lost some fine copy when he took this vow of silence, for his gift of mordant phrase crackled easily into gay epigram and devastating portraiture. His public reticence must have been a strain almost as great as his austere abstention from society, since his talents would have sparkled in a large company. As the custodian of Washington's most significant secrets, however, he chose the shadows rather than the deceptive glories of publicity. His successor, Mr. Dillon Anderson of Texas, inherits a public instrument which has been molded into sturdy efficiency by Mr. Cutler's diligence and vision.

It must be reported however that some observers with great experience in government are beginning to see dangers in the new eminence of the National Security Council. They are glad that a White House staff is advising the President on national security, and they welcome the high qualities of this staff, especially when President Eisenhower follows his advisers on so many delicate issues. But they think the center of creative thinking has shifted from the departments to the National Security Council. In the Truman Administration, the State Department and Defense Department prepared policies which then were judged by the President. Today there is an increasing tendency to lodge ultimate power in the National Security Council and to subordinate departmental thinking to its decrees. In the process, not all the creative resources of various departments are being used to the best advantage. The ideal arrangement would be for the White House staff to be sufficiently wise to evaluate the suggestions from the departments without being sufficiently powerful to disturb their functions.

The National Security Council works under conditions of vigilant secrecy, doubtless unavoidable, but cause for disquiet when its decisions affect so many aspects of public policy. President Eisenhower, satisfied with the present trend, is leaning more heavily on it. What we may be seeing now is one of those silent transformations resulting, in the end, in a new balance of forces, with both the Cabinet and the departments having forfeited much of their power to the National Security Council. If this new design is achieved, one of its principal architects will unquestionably be Mr. Cutler.

WHEN Mr. Tompkins, the Assistant Attorney-General, testified before Senator Humphrey's committee last week he spoke as if the new security regulations were completely satisfactory. There might be an occasional human error, he admitted, but the program was soundly conceived to protect the national interest. Above all, he defended the Administration's power to take secret testimony and to suspend the right of an employee to confront his accusers, whenever this denial of due process seems justified by national security. Despite these strenuous claims, it should be understood that recent changes have merely improved some of the methods of administering the security regulations; the fundamental injustices of the program itself still remain. In a few weeks the Supreme Court will hear the Dr. Peters case which raises this issue in a direct and challenging form, perhaps going beyond any other case before that tribunal.

Dr. Peters is senior professor of medicine at Yale. For several years before 1953 he was a special consultant to the Public Health Service of the Federal Security Agency. He never had access to strategic information. In fact, the Department of Justice's brief admits that his duties required his presence in Washington "for four to ten days each year to advise the Surgeon-General with respect to proposals to grant federal assistance to medical-research institutions under the public-health laws." It is hard to imagine a more "non-sensitive" assignment. In January, 1949, a loyalty board, after investigating charges about his political activities, found that it had no evidence for holding him disloyal. Two years later, in December, 1951, the Federal Security Agency decided to reopen the matter by holding hearings before its own board of inquiry. Among the sixteen charges was one that he had been a member of the Communist Party. Once again the board determined that there was no doubt of his loyalty. Eleven months later his third ordeal began. Part of the case against Dr. Peters rested on secret information. The board itself did not know the identity of all the accusers and secret informers. It refused, in fact, to reveal the name of the one confidential informant known to it. The chairman said the board "would consider evidence given by confidential informants not disclosed" to Dr. Peters. Five witnesses at this hearing supported Dr. Peter's testimony that he never had been a Communist and that he always had been loyal to the United States. Two of these witnesses were former medical students. The others were Charles W. Seymour, former President of Yale, Judge Charles Clark of the Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit, and C. M. Hugh Long, former dean of the Medical School at Yale.

The board decided there was reasonable doubt of Dr. Peter's loyalty and the Civil Service Commission barred him from government service for three years. The Surgeon-General discharged Dr. Peters in June, 1953. Lawyers for Dr. Peters were not permitted to file a motion for a hearing before the full loyalty board of the Civil Service Commission. Dr. Peters then took the matter to the courts.

Meanwhile, it is permissible to emphasize one passage in the brief filed with the Supreme Court by the C. I. O. as friend of the court. "The C. I. O. believes," it said, "that no one can constitutionally be deprived of employment, pursuant to governmental action, where the deprivation of employment carries with it the stigma of disloyalty or of characterization as a security risk except after a fair opportunity to rebut the adverse loyalty-security charges at a hearing. Where these charges are based on statements to an intelligence agency by secret informers unavailable for cross-examination, and whose identity is often not disclosed even to the board members, there is no such fair opportunity and the purported hearing is a travesty on our democratic processes."

FRANCE'S "NEW LEFT"

What It Is and What It Needs . . *by J. A. del Vayo*

Paris

I ARRIVED in Paris just in time to witness the end of the eighteen-day government crisis. I found Pierre Mendes-France's supporters saddened by the fact that the country as a whole, which six months before had been hailing the former premier as a hero, watched his departure with little emotion. Only the Socialists supported him to the very end; the regional party federations are still passing resolutions protesting his overthrow. The general apathy was deplored particularly by those who looked to Mendes-France as the natural leader of the "New Left."

But to lead the Left one must have mass support, and the French masses knew Mendes-France was not their man the moment the American press, previously so hostile, began to praise him for his support of German rearmament. Then came the parliamentary debate; the day of his victory on the Paris agreements in the National Assembly can be seen in retrospect to have been the day of his defeat.

The accession of Edgar Faure, who had been Mendes-France's First Minister, to the premiership, was marked by elements of drama. Mendes-France sat on his hands, so to speak, during Faure's program speech, and abstained in the vote which created the new premier. But privately he is said to have told Faure: "You and I form a tandem. We need each other. But the tandem will hold only so long as you assure yourself of Socialist support, which you cannot do by constituting a Rightist Cabinet."

Yet it is precisely to the Right that Faure has turned, and the fact that France today is governed by a Cabinet without Socialists, headed by a man with a Leftist reputation but who is nevertheless "trusted" by the Right, is of considerable significance. The Left may now have to wait quite a while for a chance to return to power. Faure hopes to hold office at least until autumn, and perhaps, if fortune smiles, until next year's general election. But few of the people to whom I have talked give him that much time. The Premier's astuteness is undeniable; he managed to create a Cabinet which includes some of the most irreconcilable elements among the old politicians. But this very fact makes the government vulnerable. Most experts agree that as soon as the two immediate tasks—the approval of the budget and the ratification of the Paris agreements—are fulfilled, the inner strains will begin to show. They will certainly be manifest the moment Faure tackles the North African issue, on which the divergence of views among the most important ministers is widest.

Edgar Faure

BUT no matter whether Faure lasts four months or six, his government will probably be followed by another Rightist combination. No important change in French politics is to be foreseen until the general election of June, 1956. During this period the Left must gather its strength. The strength is there—today everybody "talks" Left, confirming the disparity between the people and the parliamentary majority about which I wrote not long ago—but it must be organized and unified.

For some time the term "New Left" was applied to three organizations. the Young Republic, the Independent Left, and the Progressive Union—none either Communist or anti-Communist—which together command a modest but estimable following in certain areas of France outside of Paris. Now the term has been appropriated by two brilliant writers, the Gaullist Andre Malraux and the independent-minded Catholic Francois Mauriac, who hope to create a movement to return Mendes-France to power.

It is, however, difficult to conceive of a strong Left without the participation of the Marxist parties. The Socialists, of course, are suffering the consequences of their support of the Paris agreements. The seventeen Socialist deputies who broke party discipline to oppose the agreements have been expelled, but they still have a strong following in three regional federations, particularly that of Haute-Caronne. But whatever the vagaries of Socialist policy, a Left without the participation of the Socialists is inconceivable. They still boast the largest party representation in the National Assembly.

Equally it is difficult to imagine an effective French Left without the Communists, who gathered five million votes in the last general election and are likely to get as many in the next. The Communist Party's campaign for peace and its opposition to German rearmament find echoes in the hearts of many Frenchmen, and the party is likely to gain rather than lose supporters in the coming months. For if there was considerable doubt about the realism of Mendes-France's policy of "parallel negotiations"—rearming

Germany while simultaneously talking to Moscow—there is no doubt at all about the foreign policy of the Faure government. We are not likely to see Antoine Pinay, the Foreign Minister, hurrying to talk to Molotov under any circumstances.

Moreover, there can be no Left without labor; but to win labor a Left grouping must have a strong social policy. Despite France's relative prosperity, the average wage here is still only 28,000 francs (about $80) a month.

An effective Left must also take into account the growing fear of atomic war. "Men's Folly," the recent book on nuclear weapons by Jules Moch, France's representative in the U.N. disarmament conference in London, made a deep impression on the French people. The author predicts a "push-button" war with the victim of aggression brought to his knees within a few hours, and he dismisses as "nonsense" the efforts to build a "civil defense" against the A- and H-bombs. The French press has also made much of recent statements by Professor C. F. Powell of Bristol University, England, to the effect that "twenty or thirty H-bombs would make organized life impossible throughout Britain." The fact that in the eyes of many Frenchmen the Communists have taken the lead in the fight against atomic war cannot easily be shrugged off when it comes to organizing a French Left.

The Left must learn to be as realistic as the Right. Too many Leftists here were under the illusion that Chancellor Adenauer would never be able to persuade the Bundestag to ratify the Paris agreements, tied as they were to the Saar understanding. Now these same people are counting on the French Senate to delay ratification. Advocates of this flank attack on the Paris documents think they can keep the Senate busy with other matters until the end of March, by which time the calendar will be relied upon to do the rest. This year the legislative Easter holiday has been prolonged until the end of the cantonal elections, which take place at the close of April. But Premier Faure and his colleagues are convinced that they can win the battle of the Senate before Easter Sunday.

If the Left wants to be in a position where it can shape France's future, it must acquire unity, audacity, and a revolutionary spirit. Above all it must be able to resist the blackmail of the Right, which here as everywhere is unceasing in its efforts to split the progressive forces by branding the most courageous among them as tools of Moscow.

THE LAWRENCE RIDDLE

The Man or the Times? . . *by Edgar Kemler*

IN THE past two years the very conservative, very respectable David Lawrence has become a McCarthy-Knowland right-winger. Despite this, or perhaps because of it, the sixty-six-year-old news veteran has reached a new peak in his astonishing post World-War II revival. His column was once so solemn and dull that editors frequently forgot to print it. Now, enlivened by sly innuendoes against New Dealers, both Republican and Democratic, it is the most widely read of all "serious" columns (it is syndicated by the New York *Herald Tribune* to 250 papers). As for his weekly magazine, *U. S. News and World Report,* in theory its news pages are independent of Lawrence's editorial views, yet apparently it too has become a right-wing sounding board—and with a similar increase in popularity. While the circulation of *Newsweek*, the first news magaine after *Time,* has stood almost stationary at 850,000, that of *U. S. News* has risen from 364,000 in 1951 to 725,000 in 1954. To meet the competition *Newsweek* has borrowed some of its rival's gimmicks—the interview, for example—and occasionally its slant.

What Lawrence has gained in influence by this right-wing gambit he has lost in credibility. Indeed, it looks as if he were determined to destroy himself along with the New Dealers. On August 1, 1952, he described his present bedfellows as a force that would "impair American leadership in international affairs" and "unintentionally, of course," involve America in a third world war. Until then, or at least until the Korean War, he had not only preached coexistence but once boldly attempted to practice it. In an open letter to Ilya Ehrenburg in 1947 he offered that Soviet apologist an informal peace pact: Lawrence would stop picking on Russia if Ehrenburg would stop picking on the United States. But today Lawrence seems convinced that peaceful gestures will bring war and warlike gestures bring peace.

Lawrence used to be much admired for his Christian forbearance. This, he explains, was an outgrowth of a deep non-sectarian interest in Christianity itself. In former days whenever he felt like blasting a rival, he would pray directly to God to purge him of his bitterness. And when his bitterness was purged, he would call on the victim he had spared and ask his forgiveness—not for anything he had said but for what he might have said. He is said to have exercised this kind of self-discipline when the Washington columnists, Drew Pearson and Robert S. Allen, attacked him in "Washington Merry-Go-Round." Even more striking was the way he defended Dean Acheson when that

---

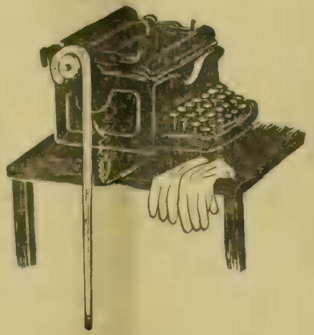
EDGAR KEMLER, author of "An Ethical Guide for New Dealers," is a frequent contributor to The Nation.

highly vulnerable New Dealer refused to turn his back on Alger Hiss. Lawrence called this an act of "practical Christianity" not to be confused with condoning treason, as McCarthy would have it. Now Lawrence attacks the New Dealish Ford Foundation for befriending Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, whose alleged misdeeds are far milder than those of Alger Hiss.

WHY DOES he act this way? The answer lies partly in the man and partly in the times. Under his deceptively rational facade there lurks an intense partisan—a Hoover Republican, but also a Woodrow Wilson Democrat who is still a registered Democrat and who resents New Dealers as parvenus.

While pro-Ally during World War II, Lawrence carried on a guerrilla campaign against the Roosevelt Administration because, he said, the Administration was carrying on its own guerrilla campaign against $25,000-a-year bankers. In those days this was the worst charge he could bring against his opponents. Since McCarthy's invention of "treason" as the absolute counter-weapon, the New Dealers are on the defensive, and Lawrence survives as the "only true liberal." Oddly, it was not until the Jenner report on internal subversion that he really became addicted to this weapon. In his *U. S. News* editorial of September 4, 1953, which he reprinted again on Novem-20, he indicated he would hold it over New Dealers' heads until they too showed "more zeal" in ferreting out traitors. Now that some of them are doing just that, Lawrence is visibly disappointed.

Lawrence's story shows how ineffectual is moral restraint in official Washington today. Lawrence has had his full share of success here. When he first read the *Congressional Record,* he says, Senatorial bombast about the Spanish-American War (1898-99) seemed like poetry to him, and the windbags themselves like Olympian gods. The son of a poor immigrant family which after a stay in Philadelphia settled in Buffalo, young David never dreamed that he would one day be rubbing elbows with these gods, and not only rubbing elbows with them but outranking them in wealth if not in influence. After his marriage in 1918, at the height of his first success, he and his family lived in the fashionable Massachusetts Avenue section of Washington, in a mansion now the home of the Swedish ambassador. They had a Cadillac and also a small yacht, which they used for fishing trips in Chesapeake Bay. Lawrence became a member of nine clubs, including the Bankers' Club of New York and the exclusive Racquet Club of Washington.



By contrast with his former swank, he now belongs to only three clubs and lives in seclusion on his two-hundred-acre farm in Fairfax, Virginia, in summer and in Florida in winter. He lunches regularly with political leaders, mostly right-wingers, and thus keeps ahead of the news. He is an infrequent party-goer. A short, vibrant man, with intense blue-gray eyes and a scholar's paunch, he drives himself hard and indulges in no minor vices—he neither drinks nor smokes. One of his few diversions is a Sunday drive through the Virginia apple country.

AT FOURTEEN, when Lawrence started as a sports reporter on the Buffalo *Express,* his nose for the whole truth was just as sharp as it is now for the half-truth, and he followed his nose just as ruthlessly. That is how he made his legendary leap into the front rank of Washington correspondents. When he enrolled at Princeton, few men realized what a news center that ivy-league school was Its president, Woodrow Wilson, was still little known, and Grover Cleveland, who lived nearby, was a has-been. Yet in his four college years, from 1906 to 1910, he sold the Associated Press enough stories to pay his tuition and board, with $500 over. Cleveland's death, which occurred in the summer recess of his second year, was a Lawrence exclusive in the Lawrence manner. He had stood the death watch for three weeks in a deserted dormitory. Also he had persuaded Mrs. Cleveland to telephone him at once—he was the only student allowed to have a telephone in his room. As to Wilson, then engaged in a historic battle to uphold Princeton scholarship against Princeton snobbery, Lawrence's copious reports undoubtedly helped build his growing reputation. In return, Wilson gave Lawrence his friendship.

When Wilson was elected President two years later, Lawrence had already made his mark as an Associated Press reporter in Washington. It was inevitable, therefore, that the A. P. should assign him to the White House. His White House pipe line was managed with classic skill from Inauguration Day, 1913, to Wilson's paralytic stroke in September, 1919. He had few private sessions with the President and did not need them. The President's aides and Cabinet officers told him everything he wanted to know. When he did see the President, Wilson sometimes asked him to suppress certain items he had got from other sources, but after lecturing Wilson on the importance of good public relations he usually obtained permission to print them. Wilson broke with him only when he boldly printed the truth about the stroke—namely, that it had made the President incapable of fully rational decisions.

After the break, Lawrence, less from choice than necessity, switched from scoop journalism to journalistic business. In 1916 he accepted the New York *Evening Post's* offer to hire him away from the Associated Press, which had smothered him in anonymity—as it did all its staff reporters—and to set him up with a syndicated column under his own by-line. The *Evening Post* did this on the basis of his White House pipe line. When the pipe line failed, the *Post,* then under new management, evidently felt that the whole arrangement was voided, and in October, 1919, stopped syndicating his column. Attempting to syndicate it himself, Lawrence discovered that he could not make it pay unless he could supply other features—enough to keep a wire busy for eight hours.

In choosing to supply mainly financial items his amazing flair did not fail him. Before the great stock-market boom was off the ground, he got exclusive rights to provide afternoon papers with quotations from the New York Stock Exchange. The success of this service later suggested other news services, not only for newspapers but for a selected clientele of business executives— economic news letters, weekly labor-relations reports, court reports, and the like. No matter how dull and academic such matters may have seemed at first, most of them, sooner or later, paid off. Four years after the crash he was forced to transfer his stock-market service to the Associated Press, and his own column was picked up by the North American Newspaper Alliance, but eighteen other services still prosper under the aegis of what Lawrence has portentously called the Bureau of National Affairs, Inc.

ODDLY enough, *U. S. News and World Report,* which is now the richest of all his properties and which he regards as "his greatest public service," was the hardest to get started. Founded in 1926 as the *U. S. Daily,* a thirty-six-page newspaper concerned exclusively with government, it did not show any sign of vitality until its conversion into a weekly magazine fourteen years later. Less a newspaper than an adjunct of the Government Printing Office, printing "authorized statements only" and "without comment," it had a virginal non-partisanship at variance with *U. S. News and World Report,* in which, consciously or no, even the gossip columns are slanted. It was kept alive for seven years by Lawrence's rich friends, including Otto Kahn, Simon Guggenheim, and Ruth Hanna McCormick (of the Chicago *Tribune* McCormicks). And when these "public-spirited men and women," as Lawrence called them, were pumped dry — their estimated contribution was about $2,000,000—Lawrence kept the thing alive for another seven years, presumably out of the earnings of his column.

The gradual transformation of this innocent sheet into a house organ for right-wing intellectuals is a measure of Lawrence's own transformation. In the late twenties, as the columnist Drew Pearson, once a reporter for the *U. S. Daily,* has pointed out, Lawrence had become so rich and conservative that as a journalist he had slipped into the second rank. In the thirties the New Deal brought relatively new men, like Walter Lippmann, Joseph Alsop, and Pearson, into the limelight. This was especially humiliating because Lawrence had known "Frank" Roosevelt when he was a mere Assistant Secretary of the Navy and Lawrence himself was working higher levels.

In sounding the anti-New Deal tocsin Lawrence came alive again. In five years he wrote five books, three of which had the challenging titles, "Stumbling Into Socialism" (1935), "Nine Honest Men" (1936), "Who Were the Eleven Million?" (1937). Oddly enough, very little of Lawrence's own bias slipped into the news pages of his magazine, which was launched in January, 1940; his inaugural editorial merely called on President Roosevelt to stop referring to rich men as "crooks." In the last year or so, however, *U. S. News and World Report* has made up for lost time. It will now print anything that seems to document Joe McCarthy's thesis of "Twenty Years of Treason."

To the headquarters of *U. S. News and World Report* some forty-five reporters bring their stories, to be boiled down into creditable English by forty editors and laid out with multicolored charts, maps, subheads, and summaries. To a nucleus of old friends of Lawrence dating back to the twenties, many new recruits from the Associated Press and United Press have been added. Like all newsmen, they are primarily interested in front-page scoops, which they produce week after week. These scoops are guarded with the greatest care. Interviews with Knowland, Radford, Martin Dies, Syngman Rhee, and other right-wing dignitaries are tape-recorded on Tuesday and edited on Thursday, and nobody except the ten or twelve participants knows anything about them until the magazine hits the newsstands on Monday.

The prestige of *U. S. News and World Report* in the government varies more or less directly with the strength of right-wing Republican influence. In the Pentagon the magazine is much admired; it got the only exclusive interview that Secretary of Defense Wilson has granted. In the State Department it is currently deplored because of its innuendoes about the department's handling of the still unpublished Yalta papers. Because it prints such "opposition" documents as the Bishop Oxnam defense and the full Watkins committee report the magazine is less controversial than its editor, Lawrence, who is one of Washington's greatest enigmas.

WHEN asked to explain his new affiliations, Lawrence denies that he has any. Now, as always, he says, he is concerned with principles, not with men. He thinks that sooner or later everybody who attacks Communists in Washington is smeared by them. He mentioned the classic example of Martin Dies, the pioneer red hunter who tried, but failed, to attain McCarthy's stature in the early days of World War II.

Lawrence is widely hailed as an almost perfect employer; he cares for the four hundred-odd workers on *U. S. News* with an old-fashioned paternalism and allows them to look forward to complete ownership of that fabulous property—in 1952 its revenue from advertising alone was $7,000,000. They already own 40 per cent of the stock, and the remaining 60 per cent will be sold to them after Lawrence's death. His $600,000 Bureau of National Affairs was sold to its 265-man staff in 1946.

Freed from business worries by the success of *U. S. News,* Lawrence can devote himself to his column, which is now in its thirty-ninth year. Once its plan is fixed in his head, he, says, he can type it out in less than an hour—in fifteen minutes, if necessary. However, it takes a full day of lonely thought and exhaustive digging to work out the plan. Though the column is more concerned with interpretation than news, it is given a newsy quality by references to arguments and facts overlooked by rival columnists. In his one-man battle to save McCarthy from censure, Lawrence asserted that he alone had showed how the Watkins committee had "infringed" on Joe's rights. He was the true liberal in that fight, according to his interpretation. He was routed, of course. But there was some consolation in that the Watkins committee changed the wording of the proposed resolution from "censure" to "condemnation." According to Webster's dictionary, "condemnation" is a stronger word than "censure." As Lawrence explains it, however, "censure" is a legal term like "contempt," while "condemnation" is a moral judgment, which in Lawrence's topsy-turvy world is of less weight.

From his casual remarks, one gathers that Lawrence is ensnared by a dead-end logic and that he would give anything to escape from it. He thinks that if he could only take off two years he could write a book on what caused World Wars I and II and how World War III could be avoided. This presumably would be one way out of his dilemma. But he is a slave to the news ticker. He can't take time out. He can't even take vacations. He mentioned his famous trip to Bermuda some years ago, which he found thoroughly depressing. Meanwhile, he continues his lifelong interest in religion. Last Christmas he bought an impressive set of heavy tomes called "The Interpretative Bible." This set now sits on a side table in his small office under photographs of United States Presidents whom Lawrence has known. Unfortunately the volumes turned out to be highly technical. As soon as he can get around to it, he plans to give them to some seminary and buy himself something a little more agreeable.

WHICH WAY ASIA?

India's Way, or China's . . *by T. Balogh*

New Delhi

IN THE last three years India has been engaged in a unique and inspiring experiment which will be decisive for the fate of the non-Soviet world, as the further progress of communism in Asia may depend upon it. India is trying to do by democratic means what so far has been done only by communism and totalitarian compulsion: to lift a poverty-stricken country, mainly by its own efforts, on the road to progressive improvement.

Last week I wrote of the strength and weaknesses of India's economic management. I turn now to the social sphere. A greater equality has not been achieved either socially or economically since liberation. There is a drive against untouchability, but conditions in the 560,000 villages have not really changed. The drive against illiteracy is not sufficiently intense and much money which should go to elementary and technical schools is spent in providing educational frills and "pure" scientific institutes. These are devoted not so much to the solution of urgent problems but to demonstrate (quite unnecessarily) the capacity of India to tackle "higher" problems. In so far as the universities bring forth a stream of unemployables, they hinder rather than buttress the experiment in democracy. Moreover, so long as the quickest and easiest rise into the dominant bureaucracy leads through the imitation of the least attractive aspects of British educational methods, the best talents will not be mobilized for the best purposes.

Though the Indian government realizes that efforts to limit the population are essential if a beginning is to be made with the relief of poverty, all that has happened in this field has not been very effective. No headway has been made in providing mechanical means of contraception on the argument that they are expensive and unpopular, at any rate with men. Open propaganda against, or an outright attack on, archaic social arrangements seems to be frowned upon for political reasons.

The really serious thing is that the origin of the administrative difficulties is not fully realized or, at any rate, is firmly suppressed. The *laisser faire* traditions of the British civil service in the last thirty years of its existence—far are the days when the great irrigation and railway schemes were launched—are hardly shaken except among the few brought in since the liberation.

But even if all these painful doubts about the energy and the capacity of a large part of the ruling oligarchy—in so sharp a contrast to the ideals and endeavours of the few surviving helpers of Gandhi—were suddenly dispelled, even if one were more convinced of the single-minded devotion and energy of the decisive local-administrative machinery, the fate of this experiment in constructive democracy would still be in doubt. The dangers from the Right must not be underestimated. There are significant indications that communalism and separatism, though for the moment discredited, have not by any means been eradicated. The language has become an effective nationalistic rallying cry. There has been trouble in Andhra and worse is to come in the Punjab. The border countries, Nepal and Sikkim, do not appear to bear much love for India, and in many of the tribal areas trouble might easily develop and suddenly change into flirtation with communism for nationalistic reasons.

And then there is a supreme

T. BALOGH, British economist, has been a guest professor at Delhi University. This is the second of two articles.

danger from across the Northern border. In the best of circumstances, India can hardly hope to equal the rate of development in China. The ruthless liquidation of the upper class; the capacity to disregard or to overcome, by police action or by massive indoctrination, customs and traditions which hamper progress; an incentive mechanism which does not stop at the "sack" or promotion, all these give China immense material advantages. India has yet to achieve a rate of investment of the order or magnitude of more than 7 per cent of the national product, disregarding agricultural-maintenance work. China already seems to have surpassed 8 per cent and should approach 12 per cent this year. China's aim apparently is 20 per cent toward the end of the decade. Though the first phase of reconstruction is over and industrial expansion in China has slowed down, it is still above 10 per cent per annum.

AS THE critical level of investment, i.e. the level at which output per man can be expected to increase, is hardly less than 10 per cent, the vital importance of the difference can easily be appreciated. There is no way of breaking the vicious circle of poverty other than by a decisive increase above the critical lower limit of investment. This India has not accomplished yet, or at any rate there is no margin of safety on which one might count for the time when the weather will not be a faithful ally. There is, moreover, no obvious direction from which the increase can come. There is growing resistance to further taxation. And controls which would have buttressed the economy against shocks resulting from a bolder use of the printing press for development have, as we have seen, disappeared. India is naked in the face of any storm.

It appears, moreover, that Russia has started to build a full-scale industry for China which in many essentials contrasts painfully with the fumbling efforts in India. The new Russian automobile factory built for China is to be the most modern in the Soviet orbit and on a truly American scale (over 250,000 units per annum). The start of the motor industry in India was on a pitiable scale and there are already signs that the curse of multiplication of types, which have such a painful effect on the standard of life even in advanced countries through necessary rise in prices, will beset the Indian infant industries at their very inception.

Thus China has a material advantage, not merely of ruthless methods and lower consumption through greater equality, but also in being able to rely upon planned long-term help. This double advantage might well prove decisive in the struggle for Asia. We must not indulge in the idle dream that the loftiness of Western ideals of liberty and humanity will alone prevent a Communist victory. Those ideals do not now look too secure to the Asian onlooker even in Western countries and they were something of a sham in Western relations to the colonies and under-developed areas. The British, in their struggle with the Indian nationalists, were at times quite ruthless and the situation of the large masses has not materially changed since. Religion might make them accept their present position and resent a Communist intrusion, but the hope of a change for the better in their miserable fate might easily reconcile them to a new despotism.

New Delhi's second Five-Year Plan represents a groping effort to ward off the Communist deluge. But what is needed is a much more drastic mobilization of national economic resources than any hitherto attempted. Investment plans would have to be multiplied, and far greater effort made at the mass-training of technicians. Controls over imports and even of internal distribution would have to be tightened or reintroduced. Taxation would have to be made far more progressive, especially on sumptuary expenditures absorbing scarce resources, and more discrimination between necessary and unnecessary investments must be introduced. Banking reform must be pushed through and plans made to take over a number of key industries. There is urgent need for administrative reform.

It must be realized, however, that such internal reform would take time, which is the one thing the Indians no longer have available. In order to be successful, they need help on a grandiose scale. At least five to seven hundred million dollars of foreign aid would be required annually for at least ten years to enable India to overcome the massive advantages of China. Nor must there be persnickety special schemes and regulations in channelling the help, creating the suspicion that the United States is merely trying to "dump" unwanted goods and incompetent "experts." Above all, a long-term plan of help would have to be worked out to avoid the yearly alarums and last-minute pressures by which a frantic American Administration tries to placate a hostile Congress before appropriations are voted. No Indian government can build its plans on so flimsy a foundation.

IT IS not surprising that it is in the most literate part of India, the desperately poor South, that the Communists have established a powerful hold. It is equally comprehensible that the growing unemployment and frustration of the educated middle-class in Bengal has resulted in a disturbing strengthening of extremism. Beyond all this the number of Indians is growing—and some of them are in exceptionally influential positions—who are so impressed by the achievements of China that they are moved to imitation. Consciously, no doubt, they adhere to Mr. Nehru's proud refusal to copy foreign methods and to accept all their social and political implications. Subconsciously they try to persuade themselves that grandiose plans can be put forward without accepting Soviet methods of incentive and control.

AN unsuspecting regime might be pushed into trying such over-ambitious projects; opponents can easily be discredited by being accused of reaction. The fact is that, once accepted, it would be difficult to back away from plans committing the government to revolutionary change. Yet it would be impossible to implement them with the administrative means available. And an economic breakdown is likely to present rich opportunities to the Communists, at any rate in the key state administrations, and it is questionable whether the federation could then continue to function. The consequence might well be a renewal of violence on a tragic scale.

But even if well-intentioned efforts did not result in such a drastic reversal, and even if a revolutionary situation were not produced, the dangers facing India are not inconsiderable. The present exhilaration might well be confounded by a setback, and a setback wold be inevitable if the next monsoon is a failure or the terms of trade worsened. The ensuing disillusionment and bitterness would inevitably have grave political consequences, the graver because the present suspicious situation has raised hopes so high. There is an ominous gamble in promising, as Congress did, to abolish unemployment within ten years when unemployment continues to rise. It is just possible that it was the fear of Right reaction and of the rise of dangerous discontent in strategic frontier areas, and not merely electioneering in Andhra, which prompted the Congress Party to veer left. The party has accepted all but unanimously a resolution in favor of remodeling Indian life "on a socialistic pattern." These resolutions may well strengthen the party further; they will not eliminate, though they may temporarily weaken, the Communists. The Congress victory in Andhra confirms this analysis and the grave danger which exists if the victory is not followed by positive, energetic action.

If the second Five-Year Plan were already successfully prepared and passed and on the way to its fulfillment, no problems would arise. But the democratic process itself militates against its smooth passage, and the weakness of the administrative and social structure inevitably magnifies the dangers. There can be no doubt that all well-wishers of Indian democracy must do their utmost to persuade the Western powers to concert action for a large-scale help, given without strings or conditions, as a sense of duty toward the success of an experiment on which the fate of the free world in fact depends.

LESSON FOR THE WEST

The Japanese Elections . . *by W. Macmahon Ball*

London

IT SEEMS a long time since that afternoon in April, 1946, when a special meeting of the Allied Council for Japan was hastily summoned to decide whether Mr. Hatoyama was a suitable person to become Japan's first "democratic" prime minister. He had won an overwhelming vote in Tokyo's First District, was the acknowledged leader of the conservative majority returned to the new Diet, and therefore, barring accidents, would have become prime minister in a few days. The Allied Council had his record placed before it and quickly reached one of its very few unanimous decisions. The representatives of the United States, Russia, China, and the British Commonwealth all felt that Mr. Hatoyama was not suitable to sit in parliament, much less to become prime minister. At that time Mr. Shigemitsu was awaiting trial as a major war criminal.

The Western attitude to these issues has changed since then, and I think this is sensible. If the Japanese people voting at elections which, at the very least, are very much freer than any elections before the war, want men like Mr. Hatoyama and Mr. Shigemitsu as their leaders, it would be foolish and futile for the West to try to intervene. In any case, the effort to separate the "liberals" from the "militarists" among Japan's former rulers was always a moralistic muddle. Any one who held a responsible position in Japan during the war years participated in the war effort, and was to that degree responsible. When it became clear that the war was being lost, some of these leaders got into serious trouble for urging a negotiated peace. That did not show that they were liberals, but merely that they wanted to save something from the wreck. It would therefore be pointless to feel any personal animus against Japan's present leaders. They are the able and experienced representatives of the groups who have for so long ruled Japan. They were forced to bend, but they never broke, during the early part of the Occupation.

The election confirms the steady trend back to conservatism and authoritarianism in Japan. Though the changes made in the electoral laws at the end of last year favored the conservatives by making things difficult for the new and less known

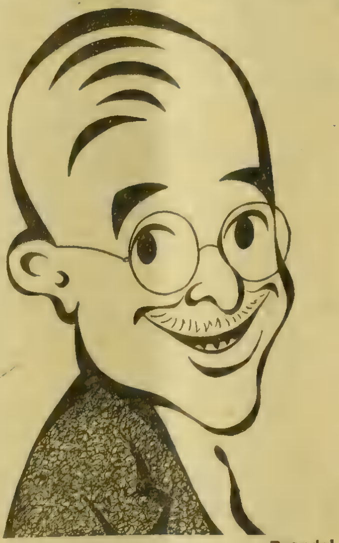
---

W. MACMAHON BALL, a contributing editor of The Nation, *is professor of political science at Melbourne University. He is now visiting England.*

candidates, the political atmosphere seemed to favor the Socialist opposition. The two main conservative parties, the Liberals and Democrats, had been distracted by endless interparty and intra-party feuds. Many of the Liberals, and some of the leading Democrats, had been up to their necks in the financial scandals that aroused popular disgust. The conservatives stood for rearmament, while most of the people were afraid of it. Above all, the conservative deflationary policy had helped to make more than a million workers totally unemployed. Yet with all these seeming advantages, the combined Socialist parties were only able to win about sixteen more seats than in the last election. This gain certainly had some significance, for it deprives the conservatives of the two-thirds majority they need to amend the constitution. But the importance of this can easily be exaggerated. The constitutional prohibition of armed forces has not so far interfered with Japan's rearmament. And although there can be no immediate constitutional change in the Emperor's position, the Ministry of Education has announced plans for reintroducing courses in the schools on what the Emperor really means to Japan, despite the surface changes enforced by the Occupation. There is really no hurry about purely constitutional questions. When the old national spirit has been fully restored, the legal forms can be readily adjusted. In my own view, the main domestic significance of the election is that it shows that however seemingly unfriendly the political and economic circumstances, the conservatives can be confident of holding a comfortable preponderance of power.

THE QUICK rise of the Democrats at the expense of the Liberals shows some transfer of power from bureaucrats to business men. Before the war effective power was shared by three groups—the military, the bureaucracy, and the zaibatsu—and the policy followed at a given time reflected the prevailing balance of power among the three groups. The Occupation forced the military to go underground, and seriously interfered with the zaibatsu; it worked through, and thereby enhanced, the power of the bureaucracy. The military group has not yet openly revived its organization, but the business men have reasserted themselves and are now the dominant conservative group.

It has been once again made clear that communism has no attraction for the Japanese. Since November, the party has had considerable freedom, and some of its strongest leaders, emerging from hiding to take part in the election, took great pains to present a moderate policy that might appeal to national rather than revolutionary sentiment. Yet the party won less than 2 per cent of the total vote.


Brandel

Prime Minister Hatoyama

The election gives clear notice to the world that henceforth Japan is resolved to struggle for the right to make its own foreign policy. This is something for the West to ponder. I doubt whether many Westerners have fully realized how frightening and frustrating Japan's international position seems to the Japanese people. There are two ways in which this position remains unaltered since before the war. The social structure and political outlook are essentially the same; the need for external trade and the population pressure are the same, only greater. But there are two ways in which Japan's situation is profoundly different: The neighborhood is not the same—a new China stands next door; and there are new bombs.

In some ways Japan's position is like Britain's. Both are vulnerable, crowded island outposts of the Western bloc, heavily dependent on foreign trade. But Britain has some kind of shield in NATO; its nearest continental neighbors are allies. It can draw some comfort and economic strength from the Commonwealth and from the Empire. Its towns and cities are mostly built of brick and stone. And Britain has been able to play an active part, though perhaps not as big a part as it would wish, in shaping Western policy in Europe. Britain is now to make its own hydrogen bombs, mainly because it hopes thereby to exert more influence on America.

Japan, unlike Britain, has no friends nearby. It would be straining words to call Formosa and South Korea friends. It has no preferences in Commonwealth or Empire markets, no secure access to raw materials—except silk of dwindling value. It is an exposed American military base, but has had no say in the critical issues that keep the Far East on the verge of a major war in which it would certainly have high priority as a target. In the political and military decisions which will decide the future of the region in which it lies, Japan plays no independent part. Though it belongs to Asia, it has been required to behave as though it belonged to the West. The plain fact is that in the cold war Japan loses more, because of the restrictions of its trade with Russia and China, than does its Western associates, and that in a hot war its prospects of survival would be much dimmer than theirs.

TO EXPECT Japan to be a trusted armed ally of the West is to defy economic and geographical realities. Japan simply cannot afford to align itself firmly either with the Communists or the Western bloc. In any foreseeable future it is in Japan's national interest to work for peace in the Far East, and its leaders, however conservative, know this. That is why the emergence of a more independent Japanese policy should be welcomed. To try to force Japan to align itself automatically with the West, when Japanese leaders do not feel that Western policy serves their country's own interests, is the surest way to make Japan an enemy.

BOOKS

Formulas for Foreign Policy

POWER THROUGH PURPOSE. By Thomas I. Cook and Malcolm Moos. The Johns Hopkins Press. $4.

COMMON SENSE AND WORLD AFFAIRS. By Dorothy Fosdick. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.50.

CIVILIZATION AND FOREIGN POLICY. By Louis J. Halle. Harper Brothers. $3.75.

By Frederick L. Schuman

IN THE continuing "great debate" over American diplomacy the issues of isolationism versus interventionism and nationalism versus internationalism are long since gone with the wind. The major controversy of our time is between "idealists" and "realists." Extremists among the former, following in the footsteps of Woodrow Wilson, are apostles of "crusades for freedom," holy wars against sin, and high-minded adventurers to vindicate righteousness. The "realists" are disciples of national interest, respect for allies, toleration of foreign devils, horse-trading with potential foes, and acknowledgment that America, unlike God, is not omnipotent.

Publicists and professors possessed of no burdens of public power find it pleasant to preach moral indignation as a guide to policy. But policymakers and politicians, providing they are not demagogues, often find responsibility a sobering experience. The President and Secretary of State who two years ago were all in favor of "liberation," "massive retaliation," and "unleashing" Chiang Kai-shek now speak softly of moderation, coexistence, a cease-fire, and a modus vivendi. It is no less heartening that various ex-members of the Policy Planning Staff of the State Department—Kennan and C. B. Marshall, and now Dorothy Fosdick and Louis J. Halle—have put into print their counsels of sobriety.

Dean Acheson's introduction rightly gives high praise to Halle's book. The author, now at the University of Virginia, is blessed with historical perspective, intellectual discipline, and literary skill. His analysis is operational and dialectical *a la* Plato. He strives to elaborate a theory of foreign policy. Its elements are familiar, but are here synthesized with rare lucidity and insight. His premise: we are what we are, and the world is what it is, and neither will soon be changed. Power is not evil but morally neutral and coterminous with life itself. Power politics is not unethical but inevitable. "The eternal problem of politics is not to do away with power but to tame it." To debate, in either-or terms, the perennial question of whether the Kremlin is motivated by Russian nationalism or Communist ideology is, opines Halle, "as pertinent as it would be to ask whether a man is the son of his father or of his mother." The term "communism" is incapable of objective definition, for it "means what men think it means." Again, *a la* Toynbee: "If our own civilization remained in full possession of the vision on which it depends, the ideological challenge of communism would be quixotic. It could not endanger any more than termites can endanger living wood. The danger to our civilization today comes from within, from the weakening of its vision."

So much granted—who among us grants it?—it follows that the problem of national security is one to be lived with rather than solved. "The problems that we can solve now, or by tomorrow noon, are generally the fewest and least of our problems. If, then, we approach all our problems with the grim determination to do away with them forthwith, by whatever desperate expedients, we would shortly find ourselves exhausted amid the wreckage of our lives." America cannot Americanize China or Russia or even our own allies. "You cannot, as a rule, get an opponent to commit suicide by threatening to kill him; if you want him dead, you have to kill him yourself." But "a state's adoption of objectives beyond its means leads to the reduction of its means. It compounds weakness." Halle's trenchant conclusions flow logically from these premises, which seem to me sound.

Harry Emerson Fosdick's talented daughter, now a consultant of NBC, has set herself a more modest task but executed it brilliantly. Her purpose is to recall to Americans the precepts of "common sense"—for example, "to know when to be scared is the beginning of wisdom; whoever says he has the solution of our problems speaks too soon; fashioning your methods in the light of your end is prudence; sometimes to let things alone is wise; to believe you are more generous than you really are is hazardous," and so on. On the basis of such precepts she offers a thought-provoking commentary on what foreign policy is, or ought to be, about. If every citizen would read this book—and Miss Fosdick has made it easy to read—the prospects of an enlightened public would be vastly enhanced.

THE idealist rebuttal is here represented by the work of two able political scientists, both of John Hopkins University. Professors Cook and Moos, both originally concerned with refuting Hans J. Morgenthau, are cautious and moderate. They offer us the most erudite and persuasive version to date of the uses of "moralism." They are too wise to fall into the usual traps, despite their ethnocentric conviction, which all of us share, that our way of life is the best way. Their argument, albeit subtly presented, is simple: "The dynamo which generates power is ethical appeal." Our ideas are exportable. Policy must rest on "principle." But in building our "moral empire" (shades of Henry Luce!) we must avoid coercion and rely on example, persuasion, and perhaps even "realism."

Yet the moral is muddy. For it appears that "the western world can properly accept an accommodation with the U. S. S. R. only if and when

---

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN holds the Woodrow Wilson Professorship of Government at Williams College and is the author of "The Commonwealth of Man," "Night Over Europe, The Diplomacy of Nemesis, 1939-1940," and other works on current world affairs.

the latter abandons and repents its fundamental heresy" (shades of Calvin Coolidge!) and that we must "make war *a outrance*, with no compromise, on the proud dictators who pervert all principle." It may be that this is not an appeal for a religious war of extermination, the usual terminus of the moralists and a fool-proof formula for the thermonuclear extinction of civilization. I am not persuaded. Others may be. But let the debate continue. Our decisive advantage over all tolitarians is that we believe that truth and wisdom are best achieved through free talk in a free market for ideas. Each of these books is a valuable contribution to the American experiment.

A Liberal on Canvas

JOHN SLOAN: A PAINTER'S LIFE. By Van Wyck Brooks. E. P. Dutton and Company. $5.

By S. Lane Faison, Jr.

"IT MAY be taken as an axiom," said John Sloan, "that the majority is always wrong in cultural matters. . . . Voting on matters of taste always results in selection of the mediocre or commonplace. . . . Politically I believe in democracy, but culturally not at all. . . . Whenever a cultural matter rolls up a majority I know it is wrong."

These sentiments, voiced by a man whose whole life was an expression of the liberal point of view and whose few but not inconsiderable ventures into politics were daringly left of center, mark him as an uncompromising individualist. As such, Sloan was deeply and admirably American, even in a sphere of activity where America is least generous in encouraging individualism. He was never doctrinaire. When his associates on the *Masses*, to which he contributed over fifty drawings (without any recompense), began to exert political pressure on him, he broke off the connection.

If I begin an estimate of Van Wyck Brooks's valuable record of Sloan with this statement of Sloan's point of view, it is to sharpen a paradox in liberal thought. Much as reformers would like to take over art as a vehicle of social action, no artist worth his salt will so limit himself. Even Sloan, whose art was basically illustrative and whose social attitudes could easily have led him down this path, abruptly refused all such blandishments.

Van Wyck Brooks was a lifelong friend and admirer of Sloan's. His account is written from the heart, but with simplicity and detachment. Its title is exactly right: this is not a book of art criticism but the record of a man. It has, therefore, distinct limitations, but on the whole it is the best kind of book on John Sloan. For it is possible to conclude that the man outstripped the artist in Sloan as a contributor to American culture. He was, I think, too narrowly committed to illustrating moments in the life of average Americans to set his sights on history's longer range. This is not to underestimate the value of what "The Eight," with Robert Henri's leadership and Sloan's illustrative power, did to demolish the vacant American art of the turn of our century. It is merely to attempt a more final judgment. Sloan had it in him to look beyond the American scene. He welcomed with enthusiasm the Armory show of 1913, and his reasons for not traveling abroad, far from being chauvinistic, were the same which kept Rembrandt in Amsterdam, Daumier in Paris, and Goya (until his final exile) in Spain. These figures were Sloan's deities; in fact, his knowledge of Daumier (he bought a large file of the Charivari) was far in advance of the public's appreciation of this great master. Furthermore, he profoundly respected Picasso—but not for his imitators. Yet as an artist he never managed to lift himself to extra-national heights.

The art of Sloan, being primarily illustrative, lends itself to appraisal by a man of letters. More important, the character and life of Sloan demands such an interpreter. As a biography this book fills a much-needed gap. It is an excellent and authoritative record of the artistic milieu of Philadelphia, where a ma-

---

S. LANE FAISON, Jr., is chairman of the Art Department at Williams College.

Will rekindle your faith in the American way

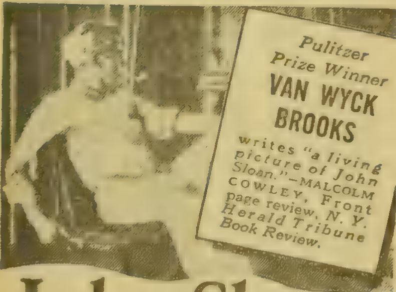
HOW WE DRAFTED ADLAI STEVENSON

by WALTER JOHNSON

This is a unique record of a unique Presidential convention. It is the exciting inside story of the 1952 Democratic National Convention, by the co-chairman of the Draft Stevenson Committee, and is a record of what occurred, how it occurred, and why.

$2.75 at your bookstore

ALFRED A. KNOPF
Publisher



Pulitzer Prize Winner VAN WYCK BROOKS writes "a living picture of John Sloan."—MALCOLM COWLEY, Front page review, N. Y. Herald Tribune Book Review.

John Sloan
A PAINTER'S LIFE
Illustrated with photographs
$5.00 at all bookstores
DUTTON

BOOK MANUSCRIPTS INVITED

If you are looking for a publisher, send for our free, illustrated booklet titled To the Author in Search of a Publisher. It tells how we can publish, promote and distribute your book, as we have done for hundreds of other writers. All subjects considered. New authors welcomed. Write today for Booklet 103. It's free.
VANTAGE PRESS, 120 West 31 St., New York 1
In Calif.: 6253 Hollywood Blvd., Hollywood 28

BUY
UNITED STATES
SAVINGS BONDS

jority of our best artists developed late in the nineteenth century, and of New York, which attracted most of them when the center of magazine publishing shifted there from Philadelphia. That Sloan became a painter at all is testimony to two things—the inspiration of Robert Henri and his own courage. He was forty-two years old when he sold his first oil—to Albert Barnes, who had been a schoolmate in Philadelphia; and he was fifty before a museum bought one of his paintings—the Phillips Memorial Gallery in Washington.

I discovered only one error: the caption for the painting of the Sixth Avenue "El" should read Thirteenth Street, not Thirtieth. John Sloan's New York centered in Union Square, not Pennsylvania Station.

Selected New Books

Fiction

THE SELF-BETRAYED. By Joseph Wechsberg. Knopf. $3.95. A moving and literate work when dealing with boyhood in pre-World War II Czechoslovakia, Mr. Wechsberg's book loses narrative effect when he attempts to recreate postwar political motivations. His narrator becomes little more than a catalyst for events, simply tagging people as "afraid," "ruthless," "sexless," or drugged by ideological rigidity.

THE SUN AT NOON. By Charles Angoff. Beechurst Press. $4.50. Third volume in Charles Angoff's triology of Jewish life in America, "The Sun at Noon" is a sensitive and occasionally sentimental novel. Mr. Angoff gives his people full dimension, but rambles rather loosely over the 572 pages of his narrative.

ASH ON A YOUNG MAN'S SLEEVE. By Dannie Abse. Criterion Books. $3. Dannie Abse, an accomplished poet, brings economy as well as richness to this slight but intense novel of childhood and youth in a Welsh town. There is no plot structure; the book is built on a series of effective vignettes and some delightful anecdotes.

THE EXPERTS. By Martin Mayer. Harper. $3.50. A tough, shallow first novel of hard-bitten politics, hard-bitten journalism, and hard-bitten sex, with just enough violence to qualify for the Really Real school of fiction. Not for readers who demand depth as well as action.

THE HARVARD TREE. By Alma Stone. Houphton Mifflin. $3.50. A charming novel of Southern family life, with effective social insight and warm human understanding. Miss Stone uses a variety of techniques, and the result is amusing and unpretentious.

THE INNOCENT SAILOR. By Anne de Tourville. Translated from the French by Mervyn Savill. Farrar, Straus and Young. $3.50. A pastel saga of a French seaman, told in lovely but fragile narrative. Although Mlle. de Tourville succeeds in capturing authentic folk texture, much of her book is over-prettified. The result is artifice, charming but self-conscious.

HIDDEN FIRE. By Sherman Baker. Little, Brown. $3.75. Sex, martinis, and the attempt-to-find-meaning in glossy surburban life. A well-mannered and well-meaning novel, oc-

Announcing

A Complete Summary of all Value Line Advices on

700 STOCKS

INVESTORS can now receive, without extra charge, a timely 12-page Summary of advices on 654 major stocks and 60 Special Situations, just released to subscribers of the Value Line Investment Survey.

This complete Summary brings you the vital information you need for profitable investing, in handy reference form:

Current Value Line appraisal of each of 700 supervised stocks, whether (I) Especially Underpriced, (II) Underpriced, (III) Fairly Priced, (IV) Fully Priced, or (V) Overpriced — Yield on 1955 estimated dividend — The exclusive Value Line Indexes of Growth and Stability — 3 to 5 year appreciation potentiality. You will have at your fingertips a Summary of the conclusions reached in the 894-page Value Line Survey.

This is the first time there has been made available to investors a systematic current guide to more than 700 stocks, kept up-to-date weekly. Value Line's five exclusive measurements will help you choose only the strongest stocks, whether you invest for income, safety, appreciation, or long-term growth.

SPECIAL INTRODUCTORY OFFER

You are invited to receive during the next four weeks the complete Value Line Survey, including:

1. **The 12-page Summary-Index giving current yields, advices and future price expectancies on 700 stocks.**
2. **Four issues of Value Line Ratings & Reports with full-page analyses of 200 stocks, including advance estimates of earnings, dividends and price expectancies in 1955 and 1958-60.**
3. **A new Special Situation recommended for extraordinary capital gain. (The remarkable record of the previous 180 monthly selections is included.)**
4. **A Report on the Value Line Supervised Account — plus two Fortnightly Commentaries.**

BONUS: In addition, you will receive at no extra charge the new 64-page issue with detailed analyses of the leading Electronic stocks, including GE, Westinghouse, RCA, Philco, IT&T, Sylvania, Minn-Honeywell, Square D, McGraw Electric, CBS, DuMont Labs, Zenith.

Send $5 to Dept. NA-5

Name..........

Address..........

City.......... *Zone*...... *State*..........

The Value Line Survey is now used by over 13,000 individual and institutional subscribers throughout the world, including banks, trust companies, insurance companies and universities.

The VALUE LINE

Investment Survey • 5 E. 44 St., N. Y., N. Y.

THE VALUE LINE SURVEY BUILDING

Published by Arnold Bernhard & Co.

casionally reaching into motivation but handicapped by frequent cliche.

THE CURLEW'S CRY. By Mildred Walker. Harcourt, Brace. $3.95. Often recalling the quiet sensitivity of Willa Cather, Mildred Walker's new novel is a story of frustrated love and vanishing tradition in a Western setting. A competent but unspectacular book without challenge, "The Curlew's Cry" is unlikely to hold the interest of a demanding reader.

A SUMMER NIGHT. By Alan Moorehead. Harper. $3. The deceptive simplicity of Alan Moorehead's prose gives added dimension to his new novel. Despite the high polish of his cast—"a beautiful Swiss pianist, a prosperous American publisher, and a successful London portrait painter"—Mr. Moorehead maintains tension and pace, blending subtle analysis with vivid recreation of social unrest in an Italian resort town.

ONE ARM AND OTHER STORIES. By Tennessee Williams. New Directions. $4.50. Written in luminous prose, several of these stories ring in the mind like struck crystal. A tough core of realistic observation often helps Williams to transcend his "exotic sensitivity." One tale—Desire and the Black Masseur—is a minor masterpiece of horror.

STANLEY COOPERMAN

Miscellaneous

THE BURNING FOUNTAIN. A Study in the Language of Symbolism. By Philip Wheelwright. Indiana. $6. Finding that the "positivist" semantics of I. A. Richards and his followers leave no room for poetic or religious truth, Professor Wheelwright sets out to achieve a "Copernican revolution" in semantics by detailing the emotive capacities of language and studying related phenomena in religious symbolism and Greek drama. A learned, absorbing, and challenging study.

HOWELLS AND THE AGE OF REALISM. By Everett Carter. Lippincott. $5. A vigorous examination of the development and influence of Howells's realism, and of Howells's relations with Mark Twain, James, Crane, De Forest, and other contemporaries.

THE RUNGLESS LADDER. Harriet Beecher Stowe and New England Puritanism. By Charles H. Foster. Duke. $4.50. After tracing the genesis of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" in detail, Professor Foster gives a scholarly account of Mrs. Stowe's literary career. His examination of her religious doubts and his review of the contemporary references of her novels are especially informative.

JAPANESE LITERATURE. An Introduction for Western Readers. By Donald Keene. Grove. $2.50. (Paperbound, $1). A highly successful clarification of link-verse, "cutting words," stylized drama, and other subtle concepts of a fascinating alien literary tradition.

THE VISIONARY NOVELS OF GEORGE MACDONALD. Edited by Anne Fremantle. Noonday. $5. These two weird narratives, the work of a prolific minor Victorian, are astonishingly rich and sustained exercises in fantasy.

LEWIS CARROLL. By Derek Hudson. Macmillan. $4.50. Fanatical Carroll addicts will find some interesting new facts here, but the book fails to give a living picture of the man or his work.

HIS VERY SELF AND VOICE. Collected Conversations of Lord Byron. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by Ernest J. Lovell, Jr. Macmillan. $7.50. The idea of this book, a collection of all known first-hand reports of Byron's actions and conversations, is original, and it makes interesting reading, but it repro-

Struggle For Social Justice:
JEHOVAH VERSUS BAAL

Hebrew history was convulsed by a long struggle for social justice which was identical with the warfare of Jehovah (or Yahweh) against Baal. "The baals of Canaan are set over against Yahweh; and the name Baal becomes the very signature of Heathenism." Prof. Moore of Harvard (Commentary on Judges, P. 195). The actual force that created the One-God religion was precisely the long-continued struggle for social justice (not socialism or communism). This is the essential truth about Hebrew history; and it is an appalling fact that for cnturies our churches and our religion have been so largely based upon a misinterpretation of Hebrw history. In other words, the Monotheism of Israel was not produced by a supernatural impulse, operating arbitrarily on a mountain-top in the desert of Arabia. It was, and is, a cultural achievement of the Hebrew people themselves.

Coming into view amidst the campaign of modern scientific scholarship as applied to Hebrew history, the foregoing considerations are securely enthroned in the faculties of our great institutions of learning, such as Yale, Harvard, Chicago, Duke, etc. Technical circumstances have prevented the religious public and the general public from assimilating the situation. But religion is on the eve of adjustment with a scientific chronology measured by millions of years instead of six thousand years. And the people are dimly aware that great changes are imminent. One of the circumstances retarding public opinion is the prevailing ideology of Individual Righteousness, or Salvation, which has been able to debar the proclamation of social justice from the pulpit for more than fifteen hundred years. You can help defeat Reaction!

Two circulars, entitled respectively (1) Bulletin of Bible and Hebrew History, and (2) Restoration of Social Justice to Belief in God, will be sent to you free, on condition that two three cent stamps are forwarded as partial coverage of mailing cost. — Write name and address very clearly on the outside and inside of your envelope. If no stamps are forwarded, no circulars will be sent. — L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, New York.

(Advertisement)

duces a great deal of well-known material and leaves serious gaps in the narrative of Byron's life. The surprising result of the experiment is that the informants make themselves quite vivid by their comments, while Byron himself is buried under conflicting and prejudiced opinions.

DYLAN THOMAS. By Derek Stanford. Citadel. $3.50. Many readers have been puzzled by Thomas's work without finding it necessary to proclaim the fact in a critical study, as the author of this book has done. His obsessions with sex and such matters as off rhymes and rhyme schemes lead Mr. Stanford to give an account of Thomas's poetry which makes it seem like something Henry Miller might write if he had the gifts of Edna St. Vincent Millay.

JACOB KORG.

Theater

Robert Hatch

IT IS the so-so play that makes work. Before the curtain has been up two minutes at "Bus Stop" (Music Box), a reviewer knows he can put his pencil away and lean back. The professionals have come to town.

This is William Inge's third Broadway play ("Come Back, Little Sheba" and "Picnic" preceded it) and his third Broadway success. He is probably not a great playwright (at least, I doubt that anything he has done thus far will be included in the archives of our century), but he is an acute, compassionate, and amused observer who has trained himself to write approximately perfect theater. Like all good craftsmen, he makes it look as easy as instinct.

The people who have brought "Bus Stop" to the stage—Harold Clurman, Boris Aronson, the actors Kim Stanley, Elaine Stritch, Anthony Ross, Albert Salmi, and the others—enjoy the same economical authority. This is probably the most easy-going show in town—it can afford to be casual.

"Bus Stop" is funny and witty and shrewd. It acknowledges uglier matters but, being in a holiday mood, it steers clear of them. A small party of travelers is stormbound for the night in a roadside restaurant thirty miles west of Kansas City (this antique device is for experts only; others will be crushed by the weight of precedent). The bus is carrying, in addition to its driver (Patrick McVey) and an unfrocked and tipsy professor (Anthony Ross), two cowboys heading home from a Kansas City rodeo, and a singer from a night spot near the stockyards. The younger of the cowboys (Albert Salmi) has, in fact, abducted the girl (Kim Stanley) because, being very young, he assumes that any girl who would bed with him must love him and the only way he knows to be masterful he learned from roping cows. The young lady is frightened and annoyed by this display of muscular gallantry and the older cowboy (Crahan Denton), an employee turned foster father, is embarrassed and worried for them both. The locals at the restaurant are its proprietor (Elaine Stritch), her child assistant (Phyllis Love), and the town sheriff (Lou Polan), who functions as both the guardian of order and the voice of experience.

With this assorted group, jailed together for the length of a snowstorm, Mr. Inge rings changes on the definition of love. The bus driver and the restaurant owner begin what will become a weekly seduction, as brief and efficient as the timetable that controls it; the professor makes a dead set for the child (he is that sort of professor); the young cowboy and his chick come to an understanding that may work out better than one would expect. That, in fact, is what Inge is saying about love: all sorts of unlikely solutions do work out. The bus driver and his Grace are not without tenderness; the professor does have a genuine instinct for beauty and, though his intentions are shocking, they do not shock the intended victim—even when she understands them; the cowboy and the singer are a pair of innocents, whatever the facts may be. Eros is a compassionate and accommodating god and the only man to be pitied is the older cowboy who has forsworn him altogether.

But the play should not be abstracted so. It is no treatise, but a captivating excursion into the joys and comedies of humanity. The

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF
ABERRATIONS
A PSYCHIATRIC HANDBOOK

Edited by Edward Podolsky, M.D. Kings County Hospital Psychiatric Staff

A vast mine of absorbing information compiled by authorities for intelligent people who wish to be well-informed on the subject of deviation from 'normal' human behavior.

Over 50 eminent specialists in psychiatry and psychology describe and discuss all types of sexual and other aberrations and their strange effects on men and women.

Abasia
Ablutomania
Abulia
Acalculia
Acataphasia
Aggression
Alcoholism
Amnesia
Anal eroticism
Anancasm
Anti-Semitic attitudes
Anxiety, Dental
Aphasia and linguistics
Autism, Infantile
Auto-punishment
Benzedrine, addiction
Bestiality
Body image disturbances
Boredom
Brontophobia
Cacodaemonomania
Cholar delirium
Choreomania
Clairvoyance
Claustrophobia
Cocaine addiction
Crime, neurotic
Criminality
Depression
Devil Worship
Dream murders
Dysprosody
Ecouteur
Ectasy artificial
Erotographomania
Exhibitionism
Family tension
Fellatio
Fetishism
Folie à deux
Frigidity
Frottage
Gambling
Gammacism
Gelasmus
Gelasmus
Gustatory sweating
Gynephobia
Hair plucking
Hallucinations
Haptodysphoria
Hashish, addiction
Head Banging
Heroin, addiction
Heterolalia
Homosexuality
Hysteria
Iconolagny
Illusions
Inferiority feelings
Intellectual malfunctioning
Kainotophobia
Kakorrhaphiophobia
Kleptomania
Language frustration
Laughter, fits of
Lesbianism
Logorrhea
Lying
Malingering
Masochism
Menstrual anomalies
Mescaline intoxication
Murderer, mind of
Mutism
Mysophobia
Narcolepsy
Necrophilia
Negativism
Nudism
Nymphomania
Ochlophobia
Onanism
Opium, addiction
Pavor Nocturnus
Pessimism
Pethidine, addiction
Phobias
Pornography
Psychosis
Puberty, aberrational
Sadism
Schizophrenia
Sommambulism
Sophomania
Suicide
Therioanthropy
Xenophobia
Zoophilism

"HIGHLY RECOMMENDED"

"This most fascinating volume is so wide in scope that it is of interest not only to physicians, psychiatrists, psychologists, lawyers, and sociologists but to the intelligent layman as well . . . Very highly recommended."

—*The New York Physician*

• Over Half A Million Words

PHILOSOPHICAL LIBRARY, Publishers
15 East 40th Street, Desk N, New York 16, N. Y.

Enclosed is $__________ for __________ copy(ies) of ENCYCLOPEDIA OF ABERRATIONS at $10.00 per copy.

Name ______________________________

Address ______________________________

(Expedite shipment by enclosing remittance)

script and the performance are so accurately pitched that, though these people are bizarre, they never become grotesque. It is delicate work: the night-club girl who is vulgar but not cheap; the cowboy who is absurd but not ridiculous; the professor who is pitiable but not maudlin; the restaurant owner who is tough but not callous. This is partly technique, of course, but even more it is the way Inge and Clurman see people. We hear so much brave talk these days about the dignity and importance of mankind; it is exhilarating to encounter men who take human virtue for granted.

THE SHAKESPEAREWRIGHTS, who took and gave so much delight with "Twelfth Night" a few months ago, are now offering "The Merchant of Venice" (Jan Hus House). It is not the play for them.

Whether or not it is the play for anyone these days remains to be seen, but this company of intelligent, serious "thespians" obviously has not yet the style or voice to carry out so difficult a Shakespearean assignment. The collegiate enthusiasm that was infectious in Illyria is coltish and a little embarrassing on the Rialto and at Belmont.

AFTER READING Wolcott Gibbs in the *New Yorker,* I see that my statement of Christopher Fry's intention in "The Dark Is Light Enough" was insufficient. It is not just that the countess will not yoke human charity to moral judgment; it is also, as Mr. Gibbs says, that she finds positive merit in the position of the renegade Gettner: he is an uncommitted realist in a world of romantic partisans, and she feels the world has suffered enough from partisanship of the purest motive. Having had this pointed out to me, however, I am even less satisfied by Tyrone Power in the Gettner role. He entirely fails to show a glimpse of integrity beneath the maudlin self-interest. Mr. Gibbs astutely discovered it for himself.

OSCAR HOMOLKA is a Viennese and the version of "The Master Builder" which he directed and in which he plays the lead at the Phoenix is a waltz version of Ibsen's bitter salute to age. His instinct may have been right: Ibsen's misanthropy has become so proverbial that we come to the play discounting the gloom. A "Master Builder" staged as another exercise in Scandinavian pessimism would be "Yes, just what we expected," and we should be armed against it. Stage it in sunshine, therefore, let the often sparkling dialogue shine, and the play may once more fell an audience with its sour but unevadable truth.

But Homolka has gone very far. The mood he creates is almost playful—a wry and gallic commentary on an old man's follies—and the stage seems given over to people so shallow that they cannot perceive the horror surrounding them. The tragedy has been thrown out with the trappings.

Homolka gives a sure performance at the level he has selected and, since he is at the center of action, he can make the role consistent. But the satellites around him go into strange orbits. Margaret Barker, as his wife, finds it almost impossible to make her near-mad sorrow real; Gene Saks, as the young architect of whom the master builder is jealous, appears shrill and very young indeed. The oddest impersonation is given by Joan Tetzel as Hilda Wangel. Hilda—"youth knocking at the door"—is certainly a symbol of the old man's fear, fascination, hate, and doom. But she is also a person in the play and I don't believe that Ibsen meant her to be entirely fey and to perch on things like Peter Pan. The Boris Aronson sets are brilliant—formidable but not heavy; strong, original, but as ideas unfinished: the kind of work, one can believe, by which Halvard Solness made his great reputation.

Music

B. H. Haggin

THE AUDIENCE'S yelling for Tebaldi at the Metropolitan Opera performance of "Otello" I attended was something one could understand; for at times one heard what was basically a very beautiful voice produce lovely sounds, even if at other times one heard it produce sounds that were tremulously shrill or sharp-edged, and at first not securely on pitch. But the yelling for Del Monaco was beyond comprehension: at a distance in the Metropolitan his voice was more bearable than at the close microphone-range of records, but even at a distance it was unpleasantly dry, tight, rasping, and gritty, except for some—not all—loud high notes in which it became momentarily clear. It wasn't as though the audience was unacquainted with anything better: as late as last year it heard Bjoerling, and it still hears Tucker, whose voice lacks warmth and luster but is otherwise agreeable and clear throughout its range and capable of high notes all of which ring out as powerfully and clearly as some of Del Monaco's. Nor was it another instance of the fanatical loyalty that causes some people to hear in Milanov's or Traubel's singing today the beautiful voice of years ago: Del Monaco's voice was unpleasant from the start. One doesn't expect musical taste of the public, and

Sightseeing plus Insight

STUDYTOUR 5
The Nation Seminar
June 24—Aug. 17

STUDYTOUR 2
Economy Tours
July 7—Aug. 10
July 7—Aug. 21

STUDYTOUR #4
Politics, Labor and Social Welfare
July 15—Aug. 22

STUDYTOUR #8
Literary Landmarks
June 15—Aug. 27

STUDYTOUR #9
Festivals of Music and Drama June 29—Aug. 31

Get the greatest benefits from your trip abroad.

Be completely free from the troublesome details of . . . reservations, excursions, luggage, transportation, etc.

Travel with congenial people, who share your interests, under the guidance of qualified leaders.

Do more than just see cathedrals, museums, etc. Meet interesting people in the countries you visit.

Send for complete descriptions of all tours.

WORLD STUDYTOURS

Write Dept. M
WORLD STUDYTOURS
Director, GOODWIN WATSON, PH.D.
A non-profit organization providing adult education through international travel
1175 AMSTERDAM AVENUE, NEW YORK 27, N. Y.

wouldn't be surprised by its enthusiasm for a new Gigli; but one is amazed by its loss of its former ability to perceive the objective fact of a pleasant or unpleasant vocal sound, and by the frenzies for a Del Monaco or a Harshaw. And not only the public: I don't see all the reviews, but I have yet to encounter one—even by one of the voice- and opera-cultists—that has discussed the voice of Del Monaco or Harshaw that I have heard.

Warren seems to have reached the point where he must use his voice with more discretion than in the past; in any case he did use it with more restraint, producing beautiful sounds with the subtle inflection and coloring that Iago's part calls for. The rest of the cast was good; the chorus sounded rough and coarse; and so did the orchestra under Stiedry's direction. In addition the performance he conducted was characteristically graceless and uncohesive; one in which Tebaldi was free to stretch out phrases for the deployment of her lovely pianissimos; one in which Warren and the orchestra were suddenly in complete confusion for several measures in *Era la notte,* until a pause in the music enabled conductor and singer to make a new start together.

TELEFUNKEN TM-68025 offers beautiful singing and phrasing by the soprano Margot Guilleaume in *Deh vieni non tardar* (sung in German as *O saume langer nicht*) from "The Marriage of Figaro" and *Ach ich fuhl's* from "The Magic Flute" with the Berlin Municipal Opera Orchestra under Lutze. On the reverse side are arias from "Martha" and "Mignon."

London LD-9168 offers three Verdi arias—the great *Ella giammai m'amo* from "Don Carlo" and the *Infelice! e tu credevi* from "Ernani" and *Tu sul labbro* from "Nabucco" —sung by Siepi with the Santa Cecelia Orchestra under Erede. On this record Siepi has a beautiful voice that I didn't hear at the Metropolitan this year.

Souzay is another singer with a more beautiful voice on records than the one I heard in Town Hall recently. I was able to hear only the last few songs of Schumann's "Dichterliebe" at the recital; and in these I heard the same fine musical intelligence and expressive power as in the performances on records, but not the same vocal beauty and ease and security: the voice that is richly resonant all the way up on the new London record of Schubert songs (LL-1148) was frayed on top in Town Hall, and a few sustained high notes were approached and achieved in a way that didn't allow me to sit back at ease and listen with confidence. On the record, as in Town Hall, Dalton Baldwin's playing of the piano parts reveals him as one of those with the special gift of creating continuous life around someone else's singing or playing. Most of the songs on the record are fine: "Du bist die Ruh'," "Geheimes," "Litanei," "Nachtviolen," "Abschied," "Der Musensohn," "Horch, horch, die Lerch'," and others.

Oiseau-Lyre DL-53004 offers Purcell's engaging ode, "Come Ye Sons of Art," sung by Margaret Ritchie, soprano, Alfred Deller and John Whitworth, counter-tenors, and Bruce Boyce, baritone, with chorus and orchestra under Anthony Lewis. Ritchie's voice has lost a little of its loveliness, but her sustained phrasing is still exciting; the other singers are adequate; the recorded sound is good except for the muffled reproduction of the chorus's repetition of *Come ye Sons of Art* near the end of side 1.

Bruckner's Mass in E minor, which has some of the beautiful writing that proceeded from his religious feeling, is on Telefunken LGX-66033, not well performed by the chorus and orchestra of the Hamburg Opera under Thurn, and poorly reproduced.

CORRECTION

Through faulty transmission, two errors crept into Fred Clarke's article from Geneva on the meeting of the International Labor Organization, published in our issue of March 5. The Yugoslav tripartite delegation voted for the seating of the Soviet-bloc employers delegation; the Soviet-bloc delegates, not those from the West, joined employers in opposition to the productivity resolution.

COMING NEXT WEEK
"Whitman's Democratic Vistas"
By Maxwell Geismar
An appraisal of the attitudes of America's great epic poet upon the centennial of Leaves of Grass.

The Record Joe McCarthy Never Made

Here is the sensational burlesque of Senator McCarthy presented by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation — now available to Nation readers in one LP record — over an hour of fascinating listening.

"No summary can begin to convey the fabulous detail, the subtlety and the light touches that are part of this record" writes Jack Gould, radio-television critic of the New York Times.

Here is by far the most hilarious, the most penetrating satire ever done on the controversial Senator from Wisconsin — and on investigating committees generally. Here is the story of what transpires when it becomes time for McCarthy to make an appearance Up There; of his success in taking over chairmanship of the Permanent Investigating Committee on Permanent Entry to Up There; of the subsequent witch-hunt under the auspices of his committee and of his eventual downfall.

The regular price of the record is $5.95. Nation readers can have it for the special price of $4.85 plus cost of postage and packing. (Note: This is the authorized edition of the record — not to be confused with the "bootleg" version).

THE NATION, 333 Sixth Ave. NYC 14

Send me ____ records of "The Investigator" at special **Nation** price of $4.85. (Add 40 cents for cost of packing and postage.)

NAME ________________
ADDRESS ________________
CITY ______________ Z ___
STATE ________________ 2

PUBLICATIONS

JUST RECEIVED FROM THE U.S.S.R.
(In English)

N. Nosov

SCHOOL BOYS

A delightful fast moving children's story depicting the Soviet children in school and at play. Most interesting reading for youngsters. Profusely illustrated, handsomely bound. 182 pp 65c

Victor Vitkovich

A TOUR OF SOVIET UZBEKISTAN

Vivid and illustrated description of the social and economic developments in the Lands of Central Asia. Reads like a novel. Beautifully bound. 246 pp $1.50

AGAIN IN STOCK

N. Ostrovsky

HOW THE STEEL WAS TEMPERED

Famous novel in 2 handy-size volumes. 662 pp $2 for set

Two widely known war novels by
E. Kazakevich

SPRING ON THE ODER

Depicting the period of the fall of Berlin. 350 pp $1.50

STAR

Depicting the Partisan struggles behind the enemy lines 158 pp 35c
(Both received the highest literary prize.)

• • •

On sale at both of our locations are the leading newspapers and magazines from the USSR and the Federated Soviet Republics, in Russian, English, Ukrainian, Belo-Russian, Armenian, Georgian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Esthonian, Moldavian and Finnish.

• • •

A large new shipment of Soviet Recordings. Wide choice of offerings in folk and classic compositions—LP and regular.
Ask for our complete catalog "E-55' and "Records".

FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.
55 W. 56th St. 822 Broadway
New York 19 GR 3-2018-9 (12 St.) N. Y. 3

SOCIALIST BOOKS. Catalog, literature, Free. New York Labor News Company, Dept. M, 61 Cliff Street, New York 38, New York.

UNUSUAL BOOKS you can't find elsewhere. All subjects. Bargain catalogues free. Transbooks, Box 22-N, Brooklyn 26, N. Y.

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE

Buy Your Books
through THE *Nation*

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular retail price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the retail price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to
Miss O. LePach
THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
333 Sixth Ave. New York 14, N. Y.

Letters

(Continued from Inside Front Cover)

formers? The dilemma is this: there just aren't any honorable men around these days who can be found to lie for money! Various types of Matusow simply have to be used in trials and hearings of subversives, or else there just couldn't be any trials and hearings. And then where would we be?

MRS. EDNA GARDNER
Mays Landing, N. J.

Labor and the Probes

Dear Sirs: Here's a sequal to your Janlary 8 article entitled Anti-Red or Anti-Labor? That Boston Labor Probe. After working five years for the Allis-Chalmers Manufacturing Company in Boston, I was called onto the office of the personnel manager and fired as an undesirable employee." I was then escorted out by three company officials who would not let me say so long to my fellow union members.

I have been active in the affairs of Local 239 United Electrical Workers as editor of the union paper and as a member of the bargaining committee. Last April I was subpoenaed by the State Commission Against Communism. In July I appeared before the McCarthy committee in Washington. Each time I made it clear that I was a loyal and devoted American; that I opposed espionage, sabotage, etc.; that I did not work in a defense plant or do any government work. I stated my opposition to McCarthyism and refused to cooperate with any probes that were after my union and my country's freedom.

One week before the 1955 elections in my union I was again subpoenaed. This time no chances were taken. I was also to appear before the Massachusetts commission on Friday of the same week. Once again I refused to be a party to the destruction of the Constitution. I became a "Fifth Amendment Communist."

Armed with newspaper clippings, anti-union and pro-company elements in the shop went after my scalp. On the last day for filing, two candidates entered the election campaign against me. This was the first time in two years that I had been opposed. This time the company succeeded in beating me by an eight-vote margin.

Two days after the election I was fired. Two days after that a leaflet attacking the U. E. as "commie" was issued in the shop by an I. U. E. group. Now after eighteen years of the same union, the workers are torn apart in an intra-union dispute—and only two months before the end of our present contract.

Is it any wonder that more and more people are accusing the probers of serving the employers by dividing and weakening unions during negotiations? Senator John E. Powers and the Massachusetts commission may scream denials, but all the facts prove that big business is finding these probes to their great advantage in dealing with militant workers and unions.

EDWIN GARFIELD
Allston, Mass.

Boulevards for Illiterates

Dear Sirs: When the food area of the Great Plains was taken over in 1787, President Jefferson set aside for school purposes 640 acres of land in each township. President Jackson used $36,000,000 to build schools, and started the "little red schoolhouse." Abraham Lincoln set aside over ten million acres of federal land to build land-grant colleges. These great Americans set their approval on federal aid to education.

The poor and the opulent do not live near each other; consequently, the duty of the one to the other cannot be effected except on a basis of federal aid.

, As Thomas Jefferson said, "Give your legislators no peace." The proposed use of billions of dollars for roads seems unbalanced in relation to the small federal aid to schools. Shall we have illiterates driving on boulevards?

HOWARD J. BOURNE
Portland, Ind.

MEETINGS

"The Work, My Friend, is Peace . . ."
Franklin D. Roosevelt 1945

Save The Peace Rally
at
Manhattan Center
34th Street & 8th Ave., N. Y. C.
Monday, March 21, 7:45 P.M.
Speakers: Frederick L. Schuman, Russ Nixon
Entertainment: Nadine Brewer, Hersh Bernardi
Admission: $1 (tax included)
Auspices: N. Y. State Committee
American Labor Party, 220 W. 80 St., N. Y. 24

HARVEY O'CONNOR speaks on "The Oil Trust: Biggest Cartel in the World," Tuesday, March 22, 133 W. 44 Street, 8:30 P.M. Admission $1 in advance, $1.25 at door. Write for tickets to Monthly Review Associates, 218 W. 10 St., N. Y. OR 5-6939.

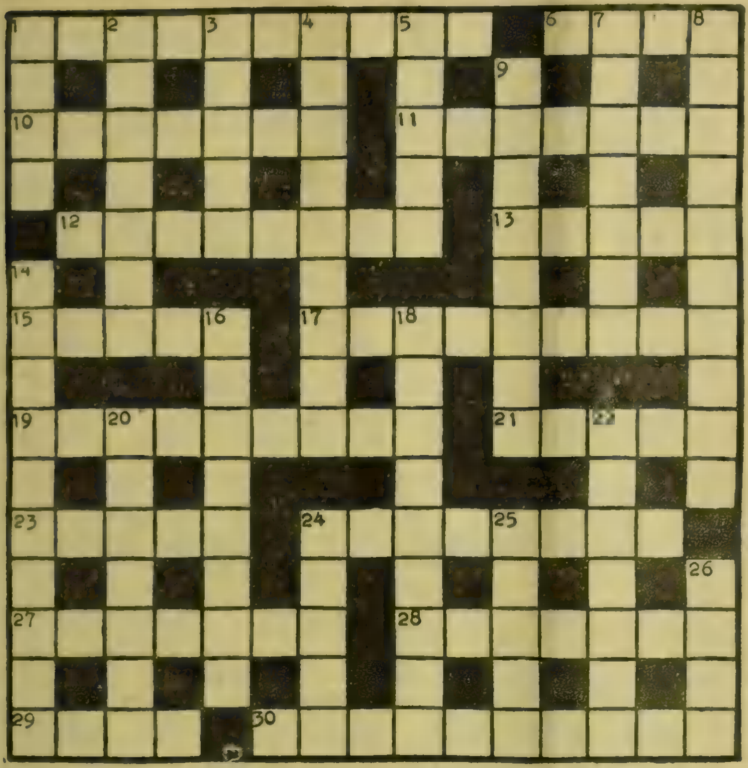
The Liberal Cause In A New Key: Coup De Conscience

"WHAT IS TO BE DONE?", "TOWARDS A DEPTH SEMANTICS", "THE OPERATION OF CULTURE", etc., in "Biologics: The Initial Perceptions", a 143 page brochure presenting a critique, and a working model of a reconstitution, of the scientific outlook now "objectively" compartmented and enfeebled in the social sciences, psychology, psychiatry, biophysics and quantum physics. $1.00

"Prologue" free on request. Participation Invited
BIOLOGICS, Box 12 New York 3, New York

Crossword Puzzle No. 611

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 See 22 down
6 See 15 across
10 Refuse to fall? (7)
11 and 12 Not exactly your business operation, associated with cornering? (1, 6, 2, 3, 3)
13 Not the Jack suggested by the above. (5)
15 and 6 Dead heats in Berkshire? (5, 4)
17 Gradual diminution of a sort of colored concrete? (9)
19 Bonds. (9)
21 This Indian power waned, obviously. (5)
23 Somewhat like 24 at poker. (5)
24 Somewhat like 23 at bridge. (8)
27 Great king, twice as little with a plant. (7)
28 Where you chicken feed might go, for one who apples? (7)
29 Unpleasantly moist. (4)
30 Headed for the ral, the ring, or the horn? (5-5)

DOWN

1 African arroyo? (4)
2 Short study in secular environment. (7)
3 Kipling said "there's loving and fighting" where there are. (5)
4 See 22 down
5 I and the humorist are generally combined. (5)
7 Tearing in pieces. (7)
8 Ophidian? (10)
9 It isn't really a dairy plant! (8)
14 See 22 down
16 See 22 down
18 Comic sets might be given on Valentine's Day. (9)
20 African, in the spirit of the beast. (7)
22 1 across, 14 down, 4 down, 16 down Invitation to the dinner? (4, 3, 4, 4, 2, 6, 4, 3, 6, 2, 3, 3)
24 Where one walks lightly, in broadcasting, (2, 3)
25 He spied on Canaan (5)
26 A clear dry combination (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 610

ACROSS: 1 POSTS; 4 TAILWINDS; 9 NEWSPRINT; 10 ANNIE; 11 SUNFLOWER; 12 PATTI; 13 CLEMENCEAU; 17 SKYLARKING; 21 AMASS; 22 LUCRATIVE; 23 LOSER; 24 YAMASHITA; 25 PARAMOURS; 26 MASSE. DOWN: 1 PUNISH; 2 SOWING; 3 SUPPLY; 4 THIS WILL KILL YOU; 5 INTERNMENT CAMPS; 6 WRAPPING; 7 NINETEEN; 8 SPECIOUS; 14 ESCALLOP; 15 BYPASSER; 16 BASS DRUM; 18 BALSAM; 19 PITIES; 20 DEFACE.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York

RESORTS

50 Miles to FOREST HOUSE
Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes. All sports.
FOREST HOUSE
Lake Mahopac, N. Y. ■ Tel. Mahopac 8-3449

THE PINES. Modern year-round retreat for adults in the Blue Mountains of Pennsylvania Dutch Country. Continental cuisine. Intimate group of congenial people. 95 miles from N. Y. C., 60 miles from Philadelphia. Write: Mrs. Ann Wunthal, Danielsville, R. D. 1. Tel.: Bath Te 7-6501.

RESTAURANT

BALALAIKA
157 West 56 Street
New York City
Gypsy Orchestra
Dining — Dancing
Two Shows Nightly
Banquet Department
For reservations call PLaza 7-2334

FARMS & ACREAGE

BERKSHIRES near Tanglewood, tiny farm house, barn, out buildings, tools, 8 acres, virgin trees, brook, near lake, $6,000. Berkshire Farm Agency, Lenox, Mass.

REAL ESTATE

TAX-EXEMPT INDUSTRIAL SITES
54 Acres — Jersey City
for lease to tenants who may
erect their own tax-exempt
buildings, or we will build
20.000 to One Million square feet
for lease to acceptable tenants.
L. N. ROSENBAUM & SON
565 Fifth Ave., New York 17

AUDIO

HI FIDELITY
RADIO-PHONOGRAPH
sales, installation and service
VECTOR LABS
217 3rd Ave. ● N. Y. C. 3 ● GR 3-7686

PERSONALS

WELL-EDUCATED WOMAN of progressive mind and cultural tastes, would welcome exchange of views with others, on topics of word interest. Write to: D. Lippmann, P. O. Box 443, Philadelphia 5, Pa.

STROLLER—Aluminum—Adjusts to [illegible] positions — Folds compactly — Removable and washable padded seat. Value $19.95 — SPECIAL $13.50. Standard Brand Dist., 143 Fourth Avenue, (13th & 14th Sts.), N. Y. C. GR 3-7819. 1 hour free parking or 2 tokens.

Advertising Rates

CLASSIFIED
74c a line (6 words)
Three-line minimum
●
CLASSIFIED DISPLAY
$7.42 per Inch (minimum)
Remittance must accompany all orders
●
The NATION
333 SIXTH AVENUE
New York 14, N. Y.
CHelsea 2-8400

Printed in the U. S. A. by Southern Farmer, Inc., P. O. Box 509, Montgomery, Ala.

WILLIAM A. REUBEN, former publicity director of the American Civil Liberties Union, achieved international fame for "breaking" the case of the Trenton Six. He was also the first journalist to question the Rosenberg verdict. His brilliant, pioneering articles in The National Guardian led to formation of the National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case (of which he was first chairman) . . . and started him on a three-year investigation of all the "atom spy" cases. His startling discoveries, many of them never before published, are revealed for the first time in THE ATOM SPY HOAX.

At Last! The TRUTH About
THE ATOM SPY HOAX!

Startling New Information about Klaus Fuchs, Allan Nunn May, Harry Gold, And The Greenglasses! The Suppressed Evidence In The Alger Hiss Case! New Proof of Perjury in the Rosenberg Case! Other Extraordinary Revelations!

THE story you are about to read is like a nightmare. Yet it is a true story. A story of false accusations, interrogations by terror, testimony by blackmail, trial by hysteria, and legislation by publicity. Case by case, you will discover how the FBI and the Un-American Committee created the myth of atomic espionage in newspaper headlines—then used that myth to shape Cold War policy abroad and repressive legislation at home. It is a story of the most gigantic publicity hoax in history, a story that would normally not be told for another 10 or 20 years (as the Sacco-Vanzetti story, and that of other classic frame-ups were not fully told until years after the fact.) Yet, thanks to the courage and persistence of a young newspaper reporter who would not be intimidated, it is a story that is yours to read NOW, before this gigantic publicity hoax succeeds in its next grim objective.

What The Newspapers Didn't Publish

Did you know that in the first big "atom spy" case . . . the Canadian "espionage network," 16 of the 26 accused "atom spies" were either acquitted or never even brought to trial? And that, of all the others, **not a single one was even chargd with, let alone convicted of espionage of any kind!** That Alfred Dean Slack, branded atom spy in banner headlines, was actually convicted only of revealing "secrets" published in a trade magazine as early as 1925! That the Government's entire case against Morton Sobell was admittedly based only and exclusively on the testimony of a self-confessed perjurer! And this perjurer . . . who had a five-year jail sentence hanging over his head . . . has never even been brought to trial!

Names Are Named!

In THE ATOM SPY HOAX by William A. Reuben, you will learn the real secret the Government has tried to suppress. You will learn how the FBI builds a case, gets its "confessions." You will discover the one startling fact even the Rosenberg attorneys didn't know at the time of the trial. You will learn why the Judith Copolon Case never will be reopened, why the mysterious "confessions" of Allan Nunn May and Dr. Klaus Fuchs have never been published. You will discover who were the "Matusows" in the atom spy trials, and the names of the man the Government wanted the Rosenbergs to "finger."

Over 500 Pages Of Documented Dynamite!

Make no mistake about it. This extraordinary book is unlike any expose you have ever read before. No wild speculatons, no unsubstantiated conclusions, no sensational puffery. Every page, every paragraph is documented. Nothing is left out. You get the **facts** . . . on Igor Gouzenko, Soviet Lt. Redin, on the Canadian Case, on Dr. Condon, Elizabeth Bentley, Whitaker Chambers, Harry Gold, the Brothman-Moskowitz Case and every other "atom spy" story. You see exactly how Government witnesses contradicted each other, over and over again. You learn how innocent victims can be framed, and how their very innocence acts against them! Case by case, you discover the entire pattern of the Cold War in the Courtroom.

The Most Important Books of its Kind Since Emile Zola Wrote J'accuse!

This book will go down in history as the first and only expose of all the atom spy frame-ups. It may even change the history of our time. It should be read by every thinking man and woman in America. But only a limited first edition has been printed, and it is not generally available in book stores. To get your copy, you are urged to send $3.75 . . . check, cash, or money order, to Action Books, Dept. 101, 165 Broadway, New York. Money-back guarantee.

SPECIAL OFFER TO READERS OF THE NATION!

Because of the important historical value of this book an AUTOGRAPHED First-Edition Copy will be mailed to you at no extra charge, if you so desire.

Did You Know . . .

- The American public has been led to believe that the documents which Igor Gouzenko stole from the Soviet Embassy led to the "discovery" of the Canadian "atom spies," that this investigation later led to Fuchs, that his "cooperation" implicated Gold, who led to the Greenglasses and that they implicated Ethel and Julius Rosenberg—but not one scrap of evidence to support any such claims has ever been presented inside a courtroom?
- The documents which Gouzenko stole from the Soviet Embassy were shown in the Canadian courts to have had no connection to those who were convicted?
- The FBI's press agentry led the American public to believe Fuchs' "cooperation" led to Gold and that Gold's "cooperation" led to Greenglass, but actually, in the "atom spy" investigation, the FBI questioned Gold before they ever saw Fuchs and questioned Greenglass three months before they ever talked to Gold?
- A 1945 New Mexico railroad timetable, never previously checked, proves that Gold and the Greenglasses were lying in their testimony at the Rosenberg-Sobell trial about their alleged meeting in Albuquerque? That this timetable proves that the meeting they described could never have taken place? And that this timetable proves that the Government's contention about how the Greenglasses and Gold gave the Russians the A-bomb "secret" was a fabricated story?
- That Elizabeth Bentley was a member of the Italian Fascist University Group? And that the foreman of the Grand Jury investigating espionage arranged to have her book published and shared in the royalties? And that the U.S. Attorney who prosecuted the "espionage" cases was her own lawyer?
- That the FBI had no other evidence in arresting Morton Sobell and proclaiming him an "atom spy" other than that he had known Julius Rosenberg?
- That Klaus Fuchs worked with Nazis in Germany? And that the FBI, which said Fuchs led them to Gold, actually had been talking with Gold for three days before they ever saw Fuchs?
- That the FBI and the headlines convicted Brothman and Moskowitz as "atom spies" before they were tried, but in court the prosecutor had to admit that they had nothing to do with espionage?

ACTION BOOKS Dept 101
165 Broadway, New York City

Please send me ___ copies of THE ATOM SPY HOAX by William A. Reuben at $3.75 each complete. I understand if I am not satisfied with this book for any reason whatsoever, I may return for full refund.

☐ *Check here if you would like your copy autographed by the author, at no extra cost.*

NAME ______________________
ADDRESS ______________________
CITY ZONE ____ STATE ____

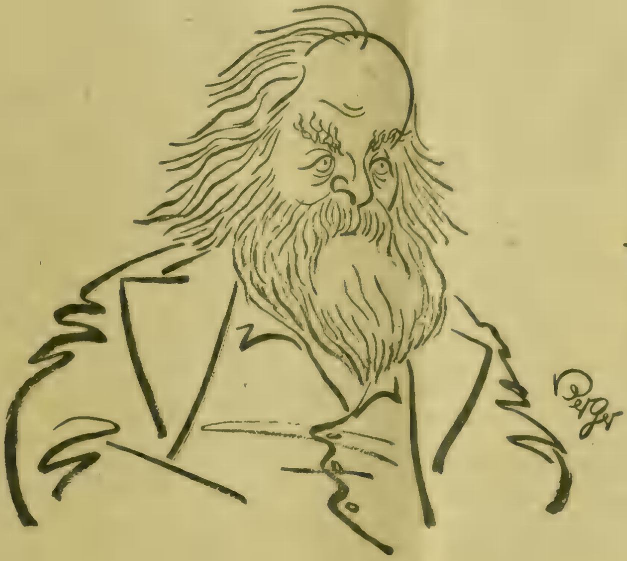
MR - 55

DEPORTATION DELIRIUMS: LAURENT B. FRANTZ

PUBLIC LI

THE *Nation*

March 26, 1955
20c

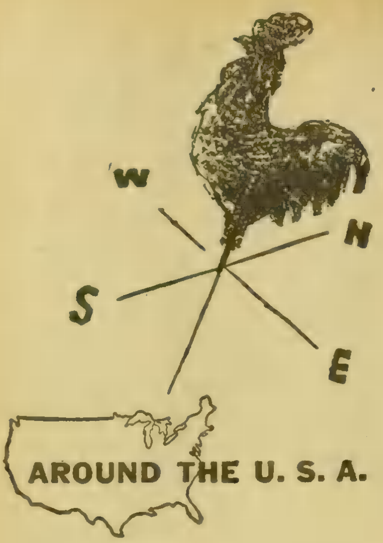


The World of Walt Whitman

by Maxwell Geismar

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

Haitian Volcano *Bernard D. Nossiter*
More Labor Unity *Harvey O'Connor*


W
N
S
E
AROUND THE U. S. A.

An Experiment In Militant Journalism

Littleton, Colorado

WHEREVER working newspapermen gather, the discussion turns sooner or later to the feasibility of starting a newspaper in a large city. Marshall Field was the last one to try it—that was thirteen years ago. Other publishers have added a morning or evening paper to one already established, but the Chicago *Sun* is the only major independent newspaper launched in recent years.

The news and editorial policies of most metropolitan newspapers are conservative. The enormous expense of publishing a large newspaper has made it impossible for anyone but a multimillionaire to enter the field. How, then, is the liberal viewpoint to get a hearing?

A decade ago Nelson Poynter of the St. Petersburg (Florida) *Times* suggested that small dailies in big cities might use syndicated offset pages, but the experiment was never tried. Another method was worked out for a metropolitan weekly by Gene Cervi of Denver, whose *Cervi's Journal* is now completing five successful years. "I got the idea for the *Journal* twenty-five years ago when I saw a legal publication at the courthouse," Cervi recalls. "I thought how ridiculous it was to go to all the trouble of publishing a newspaper and come up with something so dull."

Cervi mulled this over for twenty years, and on September 24, 1949, he converted *Cervi's News Letter* into a regular printed newspaper with a tabloid format and restrained headlines. "Our formula is very simple," he says. "Just take an ordinary reporting service and breathe some life into it."

His reporting service handles such things as building notes and permits, newcomers to Denver, prominent hotel guests, conventions, chattel mortgages, new Denver businesses, trust deeds, petitions in bankruptcy, local stock quotations, real-estate transfers, car sales, coming events, and brief reviews of books for business. It may sound dull, but Cervi makes it as bright as possible. He provides vital news to several thousand business men who like it packaged in one place—once a week.

"I think most people look first for the dynamic front-page story, the think piece on the editorial page, and the back page about people," Cervi will tell you. "I have fought against the gossip column, and I don't believe our back page is gossip. If we ever print trivia, we name it just that."

Cervi does not worry if the two big dailies get the news ahead of him. "We print spot news but we interpret it," he explains. "A paper like the *Journal* must be started by local working newsmen who know their territory. My twenty years as a reporter around Denver were invaluable to me."

WHILE most papers have given up personal journalism, Cervi has revived it. He attacks people, and he does it week after week. "But I seldom throw a brick through a man's greenhouse unless he has two million dollars," he once joked to fellow-newsmen. Since his page-one piece maybe full of opinions, he sometimes warns the reader with a small caption: "an *editorialized* news report."

The *Journal* has a circulation of 4,000 and costs $12 a year. "When a man pays $12 for a weekly," he says modestly, failing to credit his own flair for writing, "he is going to read it thoroughly, and that means results for the advertisers." "I believe our peak circulation will be 5,000," he has said. "If we go beyond that we shall probably begin to get cautious." Like all honest editors, Cervi strives to keep his independence. His biggest advertiser accounts for only 2 per cent of his gross, and so he has not had to do any pussyfooting so far.

Cervi prints twenty pages on extra-quality forty-pound newsprint and hopes to go to thirty-two pages this winter. His rates for his 125 advertisers per issue are almost as high as the Denver dailies charge—from 17 to 29 cents a line. He justifies these rates by the thoroughness with which well-to-do subscribers read his paper. His average reader probably has an income four or five times that of the metropolitan daily.

In order to devote his time to the editorial side of the *Journal,* Cervi has it printed by a commercial establishment. Thus he does not have to spend an hour or so a day discussing inks, paper, machinery, or the shortage of printers. His staff consists of three advertising men, a bookkeeper who runs the office, a circulation man with a girl assistant, an all-round Girl Friday, and an assistant to the editor. He is proud that they all get "Guild wages or better." Fifteen part-time people gather the statistics about bankruptcy and so forth.

"Ray Campbell of the Denver *Post* says our paper is an anomaly," Cervi once remarked to his friends. "He says we get our readers from the business world and then attack business. We believe in free enterprise, but we point out its weaknesses. We try to bridge the gap between the people and the dwindling dailies. There is a bright future in the next twenty years for young men to start weeklies in the Greeley tradition. I would recommend starting in the monopoly towns like Kansas City or Omaha, entering the field with ideas, integrity, and a burning passion. It is not enough to say you are going to fight so and so. You must *do it!*"

The heart of Cervi's formula for a metropolitan weekly is interpretation and opinion. The opinion is personal and the editor sees that his readers don't forget it. Often his main editorial will end with the slightly pugnacious words: "My name is Gene Cervi."

That is a principal reason why 20,000 persons in 4,000 offices rush to get the mail each Thursday morning.

HOUSTON WARING

HOUSTON WARING is editor of the Littleton Independent *of Littleton, Colorado.*

VOLUME 180, NUMBER 13
NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MARCH 26, 1955

THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

The Shape of Things

Perilous Victory

The thin, reluctant majority by which Clement R. Attlee and his "shadow cabinet" ousted Aneurin Bevan from the Parliamentary Labor group may, in effect, be the vote that ousts Attlee from the leaderhip of the Labor Party itself. Without going into the validity of the charge of which Bevan was found guilty—disloyalty to Mr. Attlee as party leader—his exclusion has been a moral defeat for Attlee, and one that cannot be expunged by the further step of expelling Bevan from the party. For what appears certain is that the rank and file of British Labor is both puzzled and shocked by the action of its leadership. Even among those who disapproved of Bevan's sharp, personal challenge to Attlee on the defense issue, many evidently disapprove even more of a leader who, on the eve of a general election, is willing to precipitate a civil war to establish his authority.

Drew Middleton in the New York *Times* of March 20 quotes a Labor M. P., Desmond Donnelly, as telling his constituents: "No surgeon in his right mind cuts his patient in half and solemnly expects him to live." Attlee's action shows how far out of touch he is with the feeling of the party—the unpardonable sin in a leader. A nation-wide poll of Labor votes showed only 24 per cent in favor of expelling Bevan.

Between now and the party conference in September Bevan plans to speak throughout the country in an effort to win enough support in the constituent Labor parties and the trade unions to oust the Attlee leadership. But whether he succeeds or fails, a broken, warring party will have to campaign for seats in an election which may be held in October. It looks very much as if Mr. Attlee had abandoned the idea of ousting the Tories in order to get rid of Aneurin Bevan.

A Thaw in Austria?

Mr. Molotov's recent statement that his government favored the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Austria on the signing of a treaty, has received much favorable attention in Vienna. The two conversations between the Soviet Foreign Minister and the Austrian Ambassador on February 25 and March 2, were marked, it seems, by uncommon cordiality. The details concerning the meetings and the publicity given them in the Soviet press would indicate that Moscow had suddenly developed a new interest in the Austrian aspect of the European problem.

Vienna had expected the Russians to seize upon this issue earlier. Any conciliatory move on Austria between the killing of E. D. C. and the acceptance of the Paris agreements would certainly have embarrassed the Western chancelleries. But the recent suggestion from Molotov is even more welcome, indicating that Moscow sees positive advantages for itself in following a course in regard to Austria which might prevent the damage to East-West relations that has developed in Germany.

Austrian papers close to the government point out that there has never been any opposition to the guarantees against Anschluss that Moscow demands, and that Austria has also been ready to affirm its military neutrality even if, politically and culturally, it feels identified with the West. The *Arbeiter Zeitung*, organ of the Austrian Socialist Party, underlines the fact that in the conversations with the Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr. Molotov had insisted that he nourished no suspicion in regard to the present Austrian government but that it was necessary to look ahead and provide against an eventual change in the Austrian attitude in regard to Anschluss.

In the West the Russian suggestions have been received with the usual mistrust. But if mistrust is always going to control policy, it is hard to see how any important difference between East and West can ever be solved.

A Slit in the Curtain

The Des Moines *Register* and Lawrence Soth, who is in charge of its editorial page, have redeemed our reputation for being a good-natured, hospitable, friendly people by suggesting that the Russians send a delegation of farmers to Iowa this summer to see how we raise corn and "high-quality cattle, hogs, sheep, and chickens." In proposing the visit in an editorial (February 10), Mr. Soth also suggested that it might be an "important adventure in human understanding." The President, his eyes "lighting up," promptly endorsed the suggestion but Senator Capehart had misgivings: the Soviets, by aping our methods, might learn how to raise more food which, mysteriously, would "strengthen" communism! In an interesting telephone conversation, Mr. Soth assured us that the reaction to his proposal has been "preponderantly favorable"; he has been inundated with communications from individuals and organizations promising assistance and cooperation. It is not true, he tells us,

In This Issue

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 249

Taxes and Unemployment 251

ARTICLES

Washington in Focus by Max Freedman 253

Cambodia's Dilemma: Between East and West by Muchi 254

Haitian Volcano: The Pressure for Revolt by Bernard D. Nossiter 255

More Labor Unity: Oil, Chemicals Merge by Harvey O'Connor 257

Deportation Deleriums: Xenophobia in Action by Laurent B. Frantz 258

BOOKS

Fox Without Guile by Joseph Wood Krutch 268

What Do Americans Want? by Douglas F. Dowd 268

Toward Better Thinking by Abraham Edel 270

Loyalty Oaths—Past and Present by Alexander E. Racolin 271

Roosevelt's Record by Charles A. Madison 272

Books in Brief 273

MUSIC by B. H. Haggin 274

LETTERS 275

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 612 by Frank W. Lewis opposite 276

AROUND THE U. S. A. Experiment in Militant Journalism by Houston Waring opposite 249

Cover Design by Oscar Berger

Editorial Board

Freda Kirchwey	Editor and Publisher
Carey McWilliams	Editorial Director
Lillie Shultz	Director, Nation Associates
Victor H. Bernstein	Managing Editor
J. Alvarez del Vayo	Foreign Editor
Martin Solow	Assistant to the Publisher
Harold Clurman	Theater
B. H. Haggin	Music
Robert Hatch	Films
Gladys Whiteside	Copy Editor
Caroline Whiting	Assistant Literary Editor
Alfred Maund	Editorial Assistant
Mary Simon	Advertising Manager

Contributing Editors: Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus, Keith Hutchison, H. H. Wilson, W. Macmahon Ball, Maxwell Geismar, Bruce Catton.

The Nation, March 26, 1955, Volume 180, No. 13

The Nation, published weekly and copyright 1955, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y. Entered [illegible] second-class matter, December 13, 1879 at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Reentered as second class matter at the Post Office Montgomery, Alabama. Printing Office 1003 Reuben Street

Subscription Prices Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12, Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1. Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

that the Russians should visit the Dakotas or some area to the north of Iowa; the Crimea and southern Ukraine have farming areas which are, in all important respects, similar to those in Iowa.

Two-Way Passage

Along with this slight slit in the Iron Curtain comes word that eleven editors of Soviet student publications will be permitted to visit certain restricted areas this summer. For this suggestion we are indebted to William Randolph Hearst, Jr., who proposed it in a talk to the National Press Club on February 28. Mr. Hearst's editorial writers, who are finding it difficult nowadays to adjust to the boss's new preference for a "more flexible and imaginative" method of "fighting the battle of competitive coexistence," have endorsed his suggestion (New York *Journal-American,* March 11) but are puzzled, as we are, by the fact that one of the student editors is 31, two are 28, three are 27, one 26, and one 24.

What is interesting about both invitations is that the initiative should have come from private citizens. Why hasn't—why doesn't—the Administration attempt to lift the Iron Curtain even further by proposing other visits? In talks with Mr. Hearst, Khrushchev seemed to be angling for an invitation; such a visit, he said, would be "useful both from an economic point of view and for better mutual understanding." The President, it is good to note, thinks it might be feasible, a little later, to invite Marshal Zhukov to come to this country. But what is more needed, as the *Wall Street Journal* observed, is "an exchange of visits of editors, farmers, doctors, and tourists." Such contacts will not only ease tensions. "There will be one less avenue to understanding," says the *Wall Street Journal,* "if we insist that Russia keep lowered the Iron Curtain that Moscow is willing to lift a little."

"The New Situation"

Just what are the elements of "the new situation" about which the right-wing press has had so much to say since Mr. Dulles returned from the Far East and Sir Winston Churchill addressed Parliament on the H-bomb? Is it merely that a "hardening" of American policy has been noted? There is general agreement that such a change has taken place but it is the reasons underlying it rather than the fact itself which has occasioned so much comment on the right. It is said, for example, that we are now in a state of full readiness; that the "position of strength" toward which we have been building has, at long last, been attained. An account in the March 18 issue of *U. S. News and World Report* is exultant and boastful: the Soviets are now ringed with "new United States retaliation bases, equipped, ready to use"; 1,000 big new jet-bombers are available, and an estimated 10,000 atomic weapons have been fashioned. "Result: United States suddenly finds it can deal from real strength, act without risking major war." *Business Week* of March 12, less jubilant, is equally sure that we now hold the trump cards. "The United States will give no more ground to communism in Asia. It will meet force with force, in Southeast Asia as in Formosa. Our defenses in Asia are all of one piece. A Communist attack anywhere along the line will be met with a war on three fronts—from Korea, from Formosa, from the south."

Large Global Assumptions

These and similar reports assume that Eden's "softness" and Dulles's "toughness" reflect domestic political concerns rather than basic disagreements. Implicit in this assumption is another—that the British Labor Party is today so disastrously divided that it has ceased to be a major deterrent to a policy aimed at forcing a showdown. Now that we have, by nearly unanimous assurance, attained the "position of strength" toward which American policy has been pointing since 1950, it will be interesting to see whether we will use the interval of two or three years in which, it is said, we will retain a superiority in nuclear warfare, to seek a general settlement by negotiation or, as *Business Week* suggests, "to enforce peaceful coexistence—whether or not the Communists want to live by their own slogan."

The present is a moment of grave danger not because these assumptions are well-founded—they may not be—but because they are so widely accepted and confidently voiced. Around the arc of the Right it is agreed that the knockout blow has been prepared and our major ally understands that, if necessary, it will be delivered.

Taxes and Unemployment

THERE is something fantastic about the fracas that has been raised over the $20 income-tax relief proposal. The President's charge of "irresponsibility," followed by Humphrey's cry of "silly," could conceivably be accepted as mere politics. But when the Democrats met the threat of veto by modifying the proposal and combining it with repeal of the Administration's tax reductions granted last year for dividends and corporation income, the package became a net revenue budget-balancing one. The opposition was then left in the position of contending that an additional tax saving of 38 cents per week for each taxpayer, plus 19 cents for each of his children, is an inflationary danger to the economy. If this is so, then all pending labor demands for increased wages, and any proposal to increase consumer purchasing power and living standards, is fraught with inflationary dangers to an economy with unused plant capacity in practically every sphere of production and with almost 3,500,000 full-time unemployed—even by the government's own conservative estimates. The absurdity of such a claim is obvious.

At one point in the effort to keep the $20 tax-relief rider alive before the Senate Finance Committee, some Democrats arranged for testimony by Leon Keyserling, head of the Council of Economic Advisers under President Truman, now chief of the Conference on Economic Progress, a private research organization. Keyserling told the committee that, far from causing inflation, the proposal fell short of providing the additional purchasing power needed for a full economy.

That week-end the Keyserling organization had released a pamphlet entitled A National Prosperity Program for 1955, which argues that even if the national economy did expand by 3 per cent this year, as optimistic supporters claim it will under the Administration program, the result would be $20 billion short of the "full-production level" and that unemployment would reach five million. The pamphlet expressed doubt that existing policies would yield a 3 per cent increase in output, and challenged as niggardly government policies in health, education, natural resource development, and other fields. On unemployment compensation, it pointed out that "protection is so weak that close to two million of those unemployed in 1954 exhausted their benefits." On minimum wages, equally important in supporting the incomes of the lowest-bracket group and in protecting others against the runaway of plants to cheap-labor areas, it said: "Proposals are not even in keeping with changes in living costs." On housing, it warned that "with about one-third of all American families living in substandard housing, there is practically no rebuilding of slums, and without this the housing 'boom' may be near the saturation point."

THE pamphlet proposed the expansion of consumer purchasing power through income-tax relief by increasing personal exemptions, the establishment of a $1.25-an-hour minimum wage, and greater government expenditures in the fields in which it criticized present policy as inadequate. It argued that with the prosperity thereby achieved, increased tax revenues would more than offset the increase in outlays and the federal budget would be balanced.

Not without good reason, official Washington professed to regard the pamphlet as Democratic political ammunition for the next campaign, and so informed the press. At his weekly news conference, the President told the reporters that Mr. Keyserling had a plan for spending a good many more billion dollars, for reducing taxes, and for balancing the budget—all at the same time. The President added that he doubted that it was a very good or a very practical proposition.

It was, of course, as obvious that the Administration would reject the pamphlet as that the Democrats could use it politically. The Administration's reasons for rejecting it, however, are disturbing. The Keyserling program is based on a breakdown of the Gross National Product—the total output of the economy—and an extension of the figures through 1955. This method was first popularized by government economists—called the "long-haired boys" by business men—in the Roosevelt Administration. Times have changed so much that the method is now used uncritically to obtain all those rosy long-range forecasts which sustain current business confidence. It is the method by which the Republican-controlled Joint Economic Committee found we could have a Gross National Product of $535 billion by 1965; it was the method used by McGraw-Hill to find that we could have an income of $562 billion in 1970.

THE RESULTS you get out of such analyses, of course, depend entirely upon what you put in it. But there is one fundamental difference between the use of the method by the "long-haired boys" and by their successors. The current optimistic forecasts are mechanical exercises in arithmetic; you punch an up-to-date figure into a calculating machine, punch a multiplier for the rate of increase, and wait for the answer. As used by the Keyserling group, however, this result is not the end product, but only an accepted "goal" for the achievement of which a program must be fashioned.

It is nevertheless true that Keyserling's results also reflect what he put into his analysis. The Administration, committed to shifting the economy to eliminate government and stimulate private activity, would certainly come up with an entirely different model. But no issue is drawn with Keyserling on this score for the reason that the government makes no pretense that its policy will or should aim to provide "the full economy" or degree of employment Keyserling postulates. The Employment Act of 1946 may still be law, but in official as well as in business circles it is regarded as an evil.

Officials in Washington are reported to have dismissed the Keyserling document as a "sophisticated version of a highly regimented economy," based on the assumption that "the economy could proceed upward as on a ramp." Yet however one may regard this economist's method of analysis or his program, one hard fact in his pamphlet cannot be ignored. Productivity is shown to have increased by less than 2 per cent annually before 1930, by something less than 3 per cent annually between 1930 and 1950, and 3.7 per cent annally between 1947 and 1953. Some of the recent acceleration reflects the influence of automation. The statistics explain why employment thus far this year has been the same or lower than in 1954, though industrial production is about 4 per cent higher. Since 600,000 to 800,000 new workers are added to the labor supply annually, unemployment has necessarily increased. In a few years the annual additions to the labor market will be much higher, because current additions reflect the low birth rate of the depression period, while the war-time and post-war birth rates were unusually high.

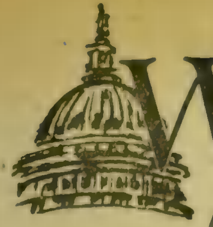
Callousness to large and increasing unemployment is cloaked by the specter of "creeping socialism." Government responsibility is turned on its head, with primacy given to the negative responsibility of avoiding the Scylla of inflation and the Charybdis of a regimented economy. Here is the seductive rationale for giving business free rein as long as there is no threat of dramatic collapse.

Supporters of this position who have themselves no direct political responsibilities are quite open about what they want. The Guaranty Trust Company's survey of December, 1954, after reveling in the promise of unlimited long-range economic growth, warned: "There will be unceasing demands for tax relief to those in lower-income brackets. . . Unless these demands are held in check . . . the promised march toward the new economic frontiers may be tragically retarded, or even stopped in its tracks."

The National City Bank's *Letter* for March is not disturbed by this year's rise in unemployment but only by the fact that others are. It protests that the unemployment figure for January, this year, is far from the "highest unemployment total registered since World War II." It explains that "the unemployment percentage for 1955 (5 per cent) was below the average of the 1900-1953 period, which works out to 7.2 per cent. . . . If ten war years (1917-1918, 1942-1945), and 1950-1953 are left out of account, the unemployed percentage for forty-four peace-time years comes to 8.4 per cent." In the bank's reckoning 1950-1953 are "war" years; indeed, one supposes that any year with less than average unemployment can be so called as long as the small unemployment is due to large military expenditures. Are the bankers telling us that we need war expenditures to keep unemployment down?

What is important today, continues the bank's *Letter,* is to avoid a "deep depression—the 10 to 25 per cent range of unemployment. *The present risk is that, in the effort to drive unemployment down, we will set in motion uncontrollable forces of inflation.*" [Italics ours.] Much better, says the *Letter,* for us to contemplate the Values of Leisure, under which title the following compelling conclusion is drawn: "If jobs for all and avoiding every wastage of labor were proper objectives of economic life, we would repeal the child-labor laws, forbid strikes, and stretch the eight-hour day to twelve or fourteen. Is not a man's time worth something to himself?" If any unemployed person should answer categorically, "no," he would surely be set down as uncouth.

The bank's picture is, of course, not the world in which most people live. But the bankers' economic premises are those to which our government is now devoted.



Washington in Focus

by Max Freedman

AMONG diplomats in Washington the publication of the Yalta Papers has been greeted with bewilderment tempered with indignation. They dismiss as quite unconvincing the suggestion that the American people have a right to know what happened at Yalta and therefore are entitled to see these papers. These documents do not concern the domestic issues of American politics; they are international in scope and touch the interests of many other nations. As leader of the coalition on which the peace of the world depends, the United States had an obligation to be reticent regarding them.

But the Administration has chosen to cast aside the protests of Sir Winston Churchill, and to compel his reluctant consent to an act of misguided policy which he anyway was powerless to prevent. The resentment of diplomats has been deepened by the knowledge that the State Department published these papers not as a contribution to any cause which sustains the decent hopes of mankind but as a weapon to be used in the scurrilities of American political controversy.

For the last two years the Democrats have been defending their passive role in foreign policy by claiming that they are exercising the restraints of a responsible opposition which has no desire to emulate the methods of the Republican Party. This abstention from Republican methods seems a rather pallid standard of virtue. There is another, and deeper, lesson to be learned from the Yalta Papers. They should teach the Democrats the limits within which a policy of bipartisanship should be allowed to operate.

When Senator Vandenberg was the symbol of bipartisanship, he defined the terms of cooperation to meet the convenience of the Republican Party. He simply stood up in the Senate one day and announced that bipartisanship would not extend to the Far East, the Middle East, and Germany. The State Department had to agree. It had no choice. What is happening today? The exact opposite. On every crucial test the initiative comes from the State Department. Mr. Dulles defines the conditions of cooperation and the Democratic leaders in Congress are required to be the Administration's agents in securing the passage of his legislation or in modifying criticisms which may stir trouble.

THE YALTA Papers serve to keep alive the memory of Republican criticism of Far Eastern policy and the myth that the G. O. P. could have altered events in China.. Today the Democrats are profoundly disturbed about the Formosa problem, the future of Japan, the weakness of Indochina, the failure to enlist the hopes of Asia in the creative adventure of economic partnership, and the numbing sense of Communist power which falls so alarmingly over these endangered areas; and yet not a single memorable protest has been made in the name of the Democratic Party against this drift. Instead, the Republicans have been able to point to the virtual unanimity of Congress in a number of test votes as proof that their policies are protecting the national interest. This facade is false, as everyone in Washington familiar with the doubts and perplexities of many Democrats will easily testify, but the legend of agreement has been allowed to spread until now it has been erected by Mr. Dulles into a virtual claim of immunity from party criticism.

As a result of the splendid enterprise of the New York *Times,* American readers have been able to study the Yalta Papers in detail. What does this new material prove? Does it show that the Democrats threw China into communism by their confused and erratic policies? Not at all. It proves that British military leaders agreed with American officials in believing that Japan would maintain a stubborn and protracted resistance and that therefore Russia's aid had to be secured, perhaps at a high price. This judgment was mistaken, but the error was made in London as well as in Washington. A careful study of these papers will help to destroy two evil legends which have darkened American politics for a decade: the legend that there was some betrayal in Washington that gave Russia these advantages, and the legend that these concessions helped the Communists to sweep Chiang Kai-shek into defeat and exile. There is nothing in the record to back this indictment; it will be self-inflicted folly if the Democratic Party, wincing at the occasional crudities of President Roosevelt, fails to focus public attention on these broad themes.

Where the Yalta Papers are most revealing, it must be confessed, are in the sections on Germany rather than on China. It is a painful study in the infirmities of human judgment to read the confident predictions about Germany so swiftly confounded by the event, and to realize that Britain and Russia and the United States, less than six months before the end of the European war, could have been talking so glibly about the dismemberment of Germany.

A wild surmise cannot be resisted, in reading these documents, that Stalin might have imposed his will on the German settlement and thus altered the destiny of Europe if he had not resorted so openly to the use of military force and the parade of aggressive policies. These papers will be read with cynical realism by Dr. Adenauer's Cabinet. They prove that the West was ready to degrade Germany into an embittered slum after the war and only made it the partner of the United States as a counterweight against Russia.

These lessons, and others like them, will be studied in coming months in various foreign offices and the results of this study will be more important than any momentary triumph which the publication of the Yalta Papers may have won for Mr. Dulles in the confused strategems of Washington's politics.

CAMBODIA'S DILEMMA

Between East and West . . *by Muchi*

Bangkok, Thailand

SO little news has come out of Cambodia since it threw off the last vestige of French control that I decided to go there and see for myself what was happening. This was before the abdication of King Norodom Sihanouk. Except for a trip to the mysterious ruins of Angkor Wat—to which only Osbert Sitwell's "Escape With Me" does anything like justice—I spent most of my time in Pnom-Penh, the capital. But Cambodia, like Thailand, which it closely resembles in other ways, is a city-state; so Pnom-Penh could tell me all I needed to know. Since I speak the three Oriental languages more or less widely used there, I was fairly well equipped for my trip.

The first thing to strike me was the general thankfulness that the French had at last departed. Whereas long-time enemies of the British Raj in India now speak with affection of the British, hardly anyone in Cambodia has a good word for the French. The only time I heard them praised was in connection with their admirable work in reclaiming Angkor from the jungle, and even then there were complaints that many of the treasures discovered had been taken to Europe and remain to this day in France or the Vatican.

CAMBODIANS might have been able to forget the past if independence had been granted sooner and with better grace. Less than four years ago King Norodom, in despair at seeing the high-sounding promises of "freedom within the French Union" invariably followed by surrenders of shadow rather than of substance, boldly announced to his people that he would either gain true independence within three years or abdicate. Patiently he set to work negotiating with his protectors but was finally convinced that France would only yield to physical power. Thereupon he crossed the Thai frontier in defiance of the French and went to Bangkok, where he announced he would remain until he had rallied world opinion to his cause. Unexpectedly, the Thais made their hospitality dependent on King Norodom's refraining from all political activity. This was a blow from which that energetic and patriotic young man soon recovered; undaunted, he flew to the United States.

There he was able to convince the United States government that the many dissident and anti-French elements in Cambodia would achieve independence by means of Communist arms if their King could not obtain it in a speedier and more satisfactory way. Alarmed by the obvious urgency of the matter, the United States exerted pressure on the French, and something very like true independence was shortly granted. Then came Dienbienphu and the Geneva conference. Cambodia emerged as an entirely free and independent nation except for the link between the piastre and the franc. The King had fulfilled his promise with six months to spare. Better still, his strategy proved almost entirely successful in uniting his country. Perhaps as many as 90 per cent of the dissident elements, all potentially Communist allies, were drawn by the magic of independence to the side of the King.

Immediately after these events King Norodom was caught in a monstrous dilemma. A keen democrat who accepted the responsibilities of leadership only because no one else seemed able to do so, a man dedicated to the speedy establishment of representative government, he found himself in the position of an absolute monarch—what used to be called an "Asiatic tyrant." So few of his countrymen had received higher education or traveled extensively, so few had been trained for the responsibilities of office, that he was forced to take upon himself almost as much authority as King Mongkhut of "Anna and the King of Siam." This was what prompted him to suggest certain constitutional reforms which—according to reports—were frowned upon by the International Armistice Control Commission. At any rate, he is said to have felt that he would be in a better position to fight for his reforms if he laid aside the crown—which he has done—in favor of his father, Norodom Suramarit.

IN SOME ways the future looks bright. The Cambodians are assured that education and representative government will be given them as swiftly as possible. Their country is one of the few possessing cultivatable land greatly in excess of its needs for several generations to come. Though the people are poverty-stricken, the country is potentially rich. Its jungles furnish valuable teak, resins, gums, and other exportable products; its waterways teem with fish in such quantities that dried fish is an important item of export; its arable land can ultimately produce a great rice surplus; beneath the surface lie quantities of precious stones and valuable minerals. Buddhism exerts an even stronger hold on the people than in Thailand, so that they despise wealth and luxury; hence a very moderate prosperity will bring them deep satisfaction. Left to themselves, the Cambodians could probably work out their destiny in a satisfactory way. Unhappily, they have only a remote chance of controlling their own destiny.

Cambodia has two paramount problems, one internal and the other external, but closely linked. The first arises from the great size of the Vietnamese community. The Vietnamese form one-fourth of the popu-

---

MUCHI is the pseudonym of a European resident of Bangkok.

lation of six million, and in addition many Cambodian citizens are wholly or largely of Vietnamese descent. In the towns the proportion of Vietnamese—counted by race rather than by nationality—is still higher. Any visitor to Pnom-Penh, the only large town, must be struck by its close resemblance to Saigon. Shopkeepers, clerks, restaurateurs, waiters, and skilled artisans seem all to be either Vietnamese or Chinese. The men of all races generally wear shirts and trousers or shorts of European cut, but the women cling to their national dress, and the Vietnamese tunics and baggy trousers far outnumber the Cambodian sarangs and old-fashioned pannungs. I did not have much contact with the official class, but judging from the surnames of the handful of officials I met, many are of Vietnamese or Chinese descent. This is inevitable in a country where educational opportunities have been so limited and where the truly indigenous inhabitants are mostly too poor to take advantage of such opportunities as exist.

So far, there has been no reason to doubt the loyalty of Cambodian subjects of alien descent; on the contrary, those who have taken to using Cambodian as their daily language speak of themselves as Cambodians with obvious pride. Yet conditions might arise in which that loyalty would be put to a severe test. This brings us to the second great national problem.

Since the Geneva conference neighboring Vietnam has been divided between the Communist-sympathizing Vietminh in the north and the French-sponsored Bao Dai government in the south. Free elections have been promised within what is now much less than two years, and the general opinion is that about 80 per cent of the southerners will vote Vietminh. In that case Cambodia will have a Communist or near-Communist state on its eastern frontier, and it is separated from Communist China on the north only by the weak and undeveloped state of Laos. On the other hand, Thailand to the west is an inveterate enemy of communism. Various considerations may make the Vietminh unwilling to use force against Cambodia, but if it is ensconced in South Vietnam it will surely expect the Cambodian government to act in a friendly manner and to protect Vietnamese interests in Cambodia. Thailand, a firm supporter of United States policy in Asia, will equally desire a friendly Cambodia. The more that unfortunate country seeks to please one of its neighbors, the more the other will try to pull it in the opposite direction. No one can foresee the outcome, but it is clear that King Norodom—father or son—will be called upon to perform miracles of statesmanship.

HAITIAN VOLCANO

The Pressure for Revolt . . *by Bernard D. Nossiter*

> His Excellency the President of the Republic happened to be speaking to "his" people that day. It appeared that he had just returned from a sensational swirg through the United States and Canada, and with childish vanity and the ridiculous delivery of a charlatan, he was telling of how he had been received. To hear him talk, it had been a real triumph, which in consequence redounded to the credit of the whole country. Laval University had awarded him the degree of Doctor of Laws, he had slept at the White House, Cardinal Spellman had greeted him with paternal affection, etc. . . . etc. . . .
>
> "The Pencil of God" by Pierre Marcelin and Philippe Thoby-Marcelin (trans. 1951).

HIS EXCELLENCY, General Paul E. Magloire, President of Haiti, returned to Port-au-Prince last month after a nineteen-day swing through the United States and Canada. In Carrefour, a few miles west of the capital, some of the townsfolk planned an unofficial surprise for him. They decided to burn one of the "welcome home" arches, hastily erected in Port-au-Prince by a servile treasury. But with characteristic Haitian recklessness they told a night-club owner of the scheme. He told the police and the plot had to be abandoned. The tragi-comedy ended with a typical flourish: the informer's home was burned, but the arsonists were so careless that fifty other houses were destroyed in the fire.

Any five Haitian dissidents, whose ranks spread into the Magloire administration itself, can produce six mutually incompatible theories for any given situation. They will agree, however, on one point: their land is a steaming kettle about to blow its top. The opposition is planless and anarchic but it exists and is growing.

A taxicab driver chuckles as he shoves into his trunk compartment the government-supplied pictures of Magloire intended for his windshield. The threadbare politician whose independence has kept him in jail for half his adult life says, "Human dignity has never been lower in Haiti than it is today." A distinguished scholar claims, "The yoke is too heavy. We are at the breaking point. I am only surprised that it has not yet happened."

As Herbert Gold (*The Nation*, February 5) noted, Haiti's crisis boils down to this: a small band of plunderers, not a real government, rules a country wracked by an awesome depression. The once prosperous community of Nan Mapou, for example, has been all but wiped out by a stagnant, mosquito-infested pond, one and one-half miles long, created by Hurricane Hazel's rains. The pond has remained undrained

---

BERNARD D. NOSSITER, on the staff of one of New York's dailies, has just returned from a trip to Haiti.

since the storm hit on October 12. About 80 per cent of the more than 1,000 inhabitants are now malaria-stricken. A public-health doctor makes brief weekly visits to the place; two or three people are dying each day. Not a word of Mapou's plight reached the capital until an English-language weekly picked up the story in mid-February.

AN OFFICIAL report speaks of "hidden unemployment"; actually, the ministries have stopped counting the jobless. Haiti's National Bank has not issued its monthly financial bulletin since July.

General Magloire told a group of New York bankers assembled for him on his $400,000-junket to the United States that his country's national income is $200,000,000. This works out to little more than fifty dollars a person, but gives no idea of the grinding poverty oppressing all but a few thousand of Haiti's 3,500,000 people. More than 9 out of 10 till an acre or two of soil that is being washed into the sea by rains pouring down from the mountains. The tourists gape at the Haitian peasant women who walk miles barefoot, arms akimbo balancing heavy bundles on their heads. At the markets, these burdens will bring less than a dollar. A roadside quarry is owned by a colonel and guarded by a soldier. The workers hack out rock under a broiling sun for fifty centimes or ten cents an hour.

To remedy this, the government draws up glorious paper plans. A $25,000,000 Six-Year Plan was announced before the $40,000,000 Five-Year Plan of 1951 had run its course. This is how the Five-Year Plan has operated in one southern district of 60,000 souls. The plan called for irrigating 600 acres, building twenty-five schools, and the erection of a series of clinics; its sole accomplishment has been the completion of a ten-bed dispensary begun before the plan was started. But the chief of police, who gets $350 a month, has erected a palatial mansion overlooking Port-au-Prince, complete with pool and tennis courts.

Irrigation is the key to Haiti's chief problem, agriculture; cheap power is essential to develop native industry. The much publicized Artibonite Valley project, financed by $14,000,000 from the United States Export-Import Bank and $8,000,000 from Haiti, will irrigate and provide flood control for 77,000 acres. It includes plans for hydroelectric generators that could supply the whole country with power. But sophisticated Haitians believe Magloire will never build the generators, which would compete with the United States-owned power company that supplies all the electricity to Port-au-Prince and the second city, Cap Haitien. This monopoly gets about thirteen cents a kilowatt hour from home users.

Crushed by poverty, mistrusting all government, Haiti's illiterate peasants play a dormant role in the country's political drama. But in Port-au-Prince politicians, professionals, a few intellectuals, some business men, and a few working-class leaders risk their lives to talk of a way out of their morass. They know Magloire has the guns; they remember that he publicly commended his police last year for killing two men who put up anti-government posters. Not even the most distinguished citizens are immune from the terror. A group of senators, deputies, judges, and professors formed a civil-liberties league last winter. They announced they would defend, by legal means only, the liberties provided in Haiti's constitution. Specifically, they cited freedom of person, freedom of assembly, freedom to form associations and political parties, and free thought and speech. After three meetings, they were arrested and imprisoned. A few months later they were freed, but a deputy and a former president of the senate are still in hiding.

Police terror, the absence of political tradition, and individual jealousies and ambitions prevent the dissidents from uniting. During a governmental turnover in the 1940's, for example, an ad hoc revolutionary committee tried to form a government. The committee numbered 300; they represented 103 separate parties! While they wrangled, an army junta took office instead. Despite the terror, underground leaflets circulate. One now making the rounds illustrates both the fierce independence and political immaturity of Haitians. It calls Magloire a "baboon in clothes" who robs the people, murders his opponents, and "does not know how to behave in a drawing room or at a table." It warns him, "We are 5,017 armed fanatics" (a convenient number since the army's strength is about 5,000) and claims to have in the provinces "4,138 as fanatic as we." No one believes such a band exists.

BUT IF the Haitians are short on fact, they are long on understanding. They know that Magloire's plunderbund is serving the wealthy Haitians, Americans, and other foreigners who export the country's coffee, sugar, and sisal. One of the most astute Haitian dissidents blames the national character for the failure to adopt a tactical plan to unseat Magloire. "With us," he said, "it must come spontaneously. And in twenty-four hours it must all be over or we will not hold together."

The oppositionists argue endlessly about what "it" will be. Some are convinced that worsening business will produce a commercial strike. "One day the shopkeepers will just close their doors as in 1946, go home, and the government will fall." Others think more advanced segments of the capital's working class will spontaneously strike and end the despotism. But opponents of this view note that the taxi drivers went out for a few days last September when the government sharply increased their license and registration taxes. The two strike leaders were arrested and disappeared. The tax was imposed and what was left of the driver's union was smashed. As early as 1952, the government boasted to American business men that there were fewer than 10,000 union members in all Haiti.

The dissidents agree that the army is the key to any revolution. They doubt that Magloire can count on more than 1,000 of the 5,000 when the shooting begins, but they lack a coherent, articulated plan to fill the vacuum that will develop. Most concede that Magloire's overthrow will likely set up another army dictator in his place. "It all depends on the army leaders," said one. "If only they follow an honest man, free from graft. . . ." Just as many of the most knowing dissidents place an unhealthy reliance on the "right man" suddenly appearing, so do most hold to a naive faith that the United States, the land of democracy, will come to their rescue. This in the face of the tender treatment accorded Magloire here and Vice President Nixon's return visit of March 3. "My people," said one Haitian leader, "often confuse the generous philanthropy of individual Americans with the policies of its government."

The tougher-minded oppositionists only pray that when Haiti's power keg goes off, the United States will stay out. They are afraid we will give more financial and perhaps military support to a Magloire shrewd enough to tell our Congress how he was eradicating Haiti's nonexistent Communists.

MORE LABOR UNITY

Oil, Chemicals Merge . . *by Harvey O'Connor*

Cleveland

THE OIL, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union formed early this month in Cleveland by a merger of the C. I. O. oil and chemical unions may well become one of the giants in the United States labor movement. Nearly a million workers are claimed in the jurisdiction staked out, and the atomic-energy field has been thrown in for good measure. With oil replacing coal as the nation's principal heat and energy source, with chemicals supplanting even cotton, wool, and soap and extending constantly into new consumer areas, and with atomic energy promising some day to replace both coal and oil, the new union is brimful of hope. C. I. O. President Reuther has placed the new union first on the C. I. O. organizing list, and three to four million dollars has been mentioned as the sum slated for this.

While no formal move has been made to include the A. F. of L. chemical union within the merged organization, the A. F. of L. group had an official observer at the Cleveland convention. Delicacy forbade mention of this further merger, but the approaching unification of the A. F. of L. and C. I. O. would seem to preclude two competing unions within the greater federation. All told, the membership of the three unions runs to nearly 300,000. The ultimate goal is one million members.

The Oil Workers, much the older and somewhat larger than the United Gas, Coke and Chemical Workers-C. I. O., will furnish the top officers of the merged union. O. A. (Jack) Knight, a one-time stillman in the Shell refinery in East Chicago, heads the new union. He was swept into the presidency of the oil union fifteen years ago on a wave of rank-and-file revolt, and is now a vice-president of the C. I. O. and a leading figure in labor's Latin American and world-petroleum affairs. T. M. McCormick, one-time California oil-field worker and later a top figure in helping to organize the key Gulf Coast refineries, will be secretary. One Oil Workers vice-president, B. J. Schafer of Hammond, Indiana, and three Chemical Workers officers, including President Elwood Swisher, Joseph Applebaum of St. Louis, and Jack Curran of New York, become vice-presidents.

It was a testimonial to the rank-and-file traditions of both unions that no fewer than 900 delegates and an entire week were required to work out final constitutional details; a quarter the number could have done the job better, perhaps, and saved a hundred thousand dollars or more for the organizing kitty. But then democracy is not distinguished for its efficiency. The new union will follow the unique example of the Oil Workers in having an executive board made up of workers on the job who are forbidden to accept even temporary paid assignments from the international union. They assemble four times a year to check on the union's affairs and have the right to discipline, reverse, and even to suspend officers. On the other hand, district directors, of whom there will be sixteen, being regarded as staff rather than policy officials, are appointed by the president with the consent of the executive board. In most unions it is these directors, elected at the conventions or by referendum, who together with the officers constitute the executive board.

The passing of the Oil Workers as a separate entity evoked a good bit of sentiment around the lobby of the Hollenden Hotel. Only one man who attended the founding convention of the union in El Paso, Texas, in 1918, was on hand in Cleveland—Jim Coulter of Long Beach, California, now a United States Department of Labor official. The first two resolutions passed at El Paso called for the freeing of Tom Mooney and for the nationalization of oil and other basic industries. Nowadays unions are more business-like and waste little time on such subjects.

The older hands in the Oil Work-

HARVEY O'CONNOR is the author of "History of the Oil Workers International Union," among other books. His "The Empire of Oil" will be published this fall.

ers are veterans not of 1918 but of the 1930's, when they wrested the right to be union men from the powerful and intensely rugged oil companies. They are a tough, leather-necked lot from towns in Oklahoma and Texas where twenty years ago unionism was unknown. Hardly a local was able to nail its charter to the wall without a knockdown battle with "the company"; in those days there were no labor-board elections or Marquis of Queensberry rules. The union's membership was mainly west of the Mississippi; for years it was the only international with headquarters in the South. Its present headquarters in Denver will serve for the merged union as well.

The oil union's relatively modest salary schedule will serve for the new union, too; $12,000 for the president, $9,500 for the secretary and vice-president; $7,500 for the district directors, and $6,500 for the international representatives. On the other hand, the rank and file is among the best paid in the country with wages averaging around two dollars an hour, and many a seasoned hand disdained a representative's job because of the financial handicap involved.

THE OIL union's outstanding achievement since 1934 is the elimination both of north-south and white-Negro wage differentials. As C. I. O. standard-bearer in the Southwest, it has courageously pioneered a no-discrimination policy; unfortunately the strong rank-and-file tradition has slowed down the international union's ability to wipe out job discrimination which still curses the industry. But in Port Arthur, Texas, the nation's biggest refinery center, the international is pressing hard to lift barriers that confine Negroes to the "labor gang" and to the dirty work, and if it wins, this will be one of the biggest victories racked up in years for the right of Negroes to have access to better jobs. A Negro represented the Great Lakes district on the Oil Workers' executive council; now, with the addition of representatives from the Chemical Workers, whose members are concentrated along the Great Lakes and in the mid-Atlantic states, more rapid progress can be made in desegregating jobs.

DEPORTATION DELIRIUMS

Xenophobia in Action . . *by Laurent B. Frantz*

TWO YEARS AGO a group of distinguished citizens headed by a former United States Solicitor General reexamined our immigration and naturalization law. They reported that "it rests upon an attitude of distrust and hostility against all aliens." This is a challenging statement, if only because the attitude specified is generally characteristic not of the most advanced societies, but of the most primitive. "The savage," according to the "Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics," "as a general rule . . . fears and hates the stranger, and looks upon him, certainly as an enemy, and, it may be, as being brutish, monstrous, or devilish."

Representative Francis E. Walter, coauthor of the Walter-McCarran Act, one of the latest and most extreme legislative expressions of American xenophobia, replied to criticism of it by calling the critics "professional Jews" who were "shedding crocodile tears for no reason whatsoever." He also asserted that as a result of "loopholes" in previous deportation laws "thousands of criminals and subversive aliens are roaming our streets, a continuing threat to the safety of our people."

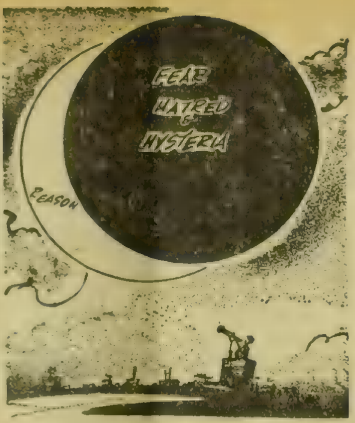
Such an attitude toward the foreigner is of course not without precedent in this country. We have had the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798, the abortive but momentarily powerful "Know-Nothing" movement of the 1850's, and the notorious "Palmer raids" of 1919-20. These, however, were brief "seizures" followed by quick recoveries. Our basic tradition runs in a contrary direction. Its most poetic expression is to be found in the famous lines of Emma Lazarus carved in the base of the Statue of Liberty. It is interesting that in 1891—only five years after the statue was dedicated—Congress passed an act which provided that no person should be excluded from this country because of a conviction for a political offense "notwithstanding said political offense may be designated as a 'felony, crime, infamous crime, or misdemeanor, involving moral turpitude' by the laws of the land whence he came or by the court convicting."

Our most recent departure from this tradition has been unusually prolonged. It can be traced back at least as far as 1939, a year in which statesmen were rediscovering that there is political pay-dirt to be found in the "alien peril." In that year Representative Martin Dies, achieving a particularly skillful blend of pocket-book appeal and comic-book melodrama, charged that there were 7,000,000 "aliens" in American industry while Americans were going without jobs, and added that "documentary evidence supported by affidavits revealed espionage, sabotage, murder, and mysterious disappearances of men and women resulting from communistic, fascist, and 'alienistic' rings involving the movie industry, C. I. O., strikes, and federal and state agencies on the West Coast." Congressional reaction was violent. The following year the Alien Registration Act was passed, and in conformity with the historical fact that "alien" and "sedition" legislation go together, Congress attached to the bill a rider, known as the Smith Act, which subjected citizen and non-citizen alike to criminal prosecution on purely ideological charges.

LAURENT B. FRANTZ is a frequent contributor to The Nation.

The atmosphere in which the measure was enacted caused a legislator to remark ruefully that Congress would repeal the Ten Commandments if the proposal were presented as a rider to an "alien bill."

Except for anti-Japanese measures on the West Coast the war years brought a lull in anti-alien developments. The cold war, on the other hand, rendered xenophobia respectable if not actually compulsory. Schemes to protect the American mind from the dangerous and contagious ideas to which it might be subjected by contact with unscreened foreigners became a favorite concern of legislation, culminating in 1952 in the passage of the Walter-McCarran Act.



Walt Partymiller in York Gazette and Daily

Eclipse?

SOME notion of how far we have departed in recent years from our old tradition of the open door to foreigners may be gleaned from the case of Alice Orans. A former social worker, Mrs. Orans is a fifty-year-old housewife who has lived in Los Angeles for more than thirty-two years. Her husband is sales manager of a large manufacturing concern. Her twenty-five-year-old son is married, has a family, and is working for a Ph.D. in anthropology at a Midwestern university. Her eighteen-year-old daughter is a freshman in college.

For most of a lifetime, Mrs. Orans believed herself to be an American citizen and was accepted as such by all. Then she was transferred overnight into an "alien" and a suitable subject for political-deportation proceedings. The transformation was accomplished by the discovery that thirty years ago, in the proceedings which were intended to accomplish her naturalization, a technical mistake had been made. When Mrs. Orans's parents came here from Canada in the early 1920's, her father filed a petition for the naturalization of himself and nine minor children. Unfortunately Alice, the oldest, although a minor when the petition was filed, passed her twenty-first birthday before her father was sworn in. The discrepancy in dates, discovered a generation later, invalidated the proceedings as to her, although they were still effective as to her father, brother, and sisters. One may legitimately wonder, however, whether the mistake would ever have been discovered, or anything done about it if discovered, but for the fact that, in the 1930's, Mrs. Orans was an active Roosevelt Democrat and a prominent state-relief official at the height of the New Deal period.

The charge on which the government seeks to tear Mrs. Orans away from her American-born children and grandchildren and to compel her to begin life anew, alone and in an unfamiliar country, is that for a time in the 1930's she was a member of the Communist Party. Her ordeal, now well into its seventh year, began on May 14, 1948, when in response to a telephone call she went voluntarily and without counsel to the office of the Immigration and Naturalization Service to answer "a few questions." She was informed that her citizenship status was in question. She inquired what she could do to straighten the matter out. At this point the doors were locked, two interrogators and a stenographer went to work, and she was subjected to a three-hour grilling on her life history and her political associations. She was refused permission to call an attorney but was assured that she was legally free to leave the room. At the same time she was warned that it would be better for her to stay if she ever hoped to "straighten matters out." She was also reminded that, if she did leave, she could be brought back on a deportation warrant.

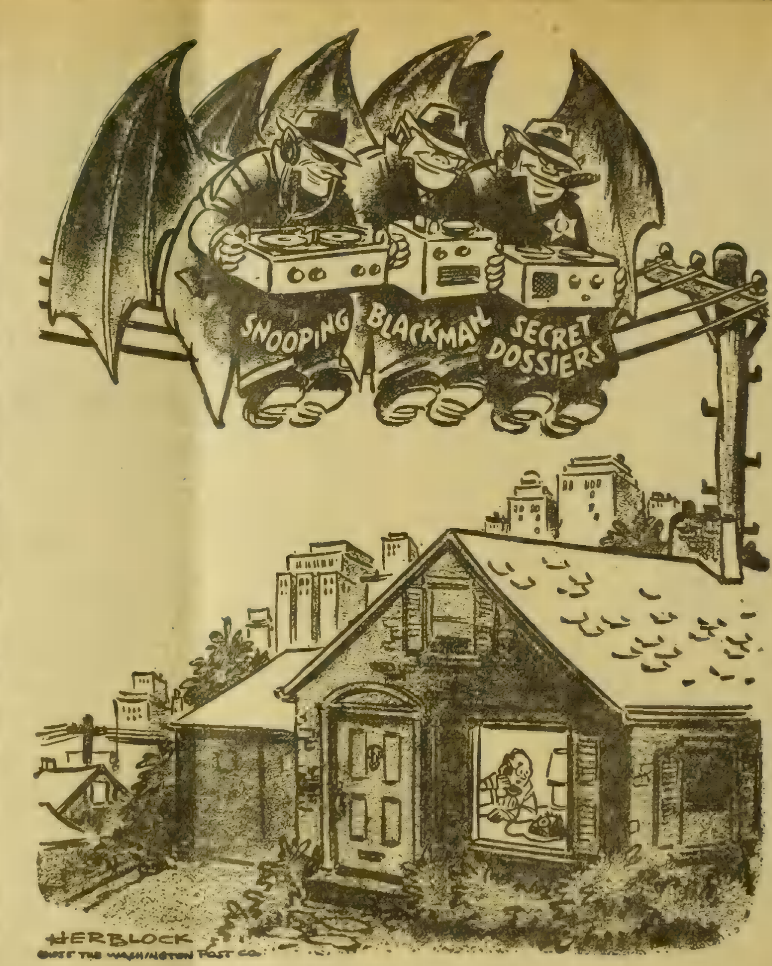
Attempting to be cooperative, Mrs. Orans permitted herself to be sworn and answered fully all questions put to her about herself and her own activities. She refused to answer a few questions which she felt went illegitimately far into the affairs of others. She was required, without reading, to sign the stenographic notes of the interview. She was then bluntly informed that her answers were unsatisfactory. She was reminded that the welfare of her children might depend on her "cooperation." "How would you account for it," she was asked, "if we told you we had your Communist Party card in Washington?" She replied that, if they had any such thing, *they* would have to account for it, not she, as it would be "a lie and a forgery." (No such card has ever been produced.) Finally she was offered an opportunity to tear up her "unsatisfactory" statement, start all over again, and "tell the truth." She declined to recant and was permitted to leave.

Ten months later Mrs. Orans was arrested at her home, without prior notice, on a political-deportation warrant. She was taken to the offices of the immigration service, "processed," fingerprinted, and released on $4,000 bail. Then the hearings began.

AT ONE point the government formally closed its case against Mrs. Orans and so many months passed without further action that it seemed the matter had been dropped. Interest appears to have been revived by a twist in local politics. Norris Poulson, a candidate for mayor of Los Angeles, had, while a member of Congress, introduced a special bill to stay any action to take Mrs. Orans into custody pending the outcome of her hearings. Mr. Poulson's opponents subjected Los Angeles voters to full-page newspaper advertisements on the mysterious connection between candidate Poulson and a person accused of being a "red alien." Mr. Poulson was elected anyway, but the publicity did Mrs. Orans no good. The government, which had closed its case eighteen months previously, insisted on an immediate reopening in the midst of the mayoralty campaign despite the plea of Mrs. Orans's counsel for a delay to allow for a calmer atmosphere.

To make out its case against Mrs. Orans, the government relied wholly on three ex-Communist witnesses, all of whom had appeared frequently in other proceedings and acquired at least a semi-professional status. Among them was John Leech.

Mr. Leech's credibility as a witness may be deduced from some of his performances prior to his appearance in the Orans case. He was a star witness for the government in its spectacularly unsuccessful effort to deport Harry Bridges. In that proceeding his testimony was rejected by the government's own hearing officer, who remarked that "in evasion, qualification, and contradiction it is almost unique." In 1940, Leech denounced a number of prominent individuals as Communists to a secret subcommittee session of the Dies committee held in Beaumont, Texas. In 1945, after the Beaumont testimony had been made public, Representative Franck R. Havenner of California, one of the individuals named, declared on the floor of the House that "the sworn testimony of Leech . . . was false in its entirety and constitutes perjury of the most vicious and malicious type." A few months later Representative McCormick announced that Congress had ordered the evidence expunged from the records of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.



The Recording Angels

GIVEN the circumstances, Mrs. Orans's lawyers advised her not to attempt to testify in her own defense but to stand on the Fifth Amendment. They reasoned that the government's case was insufficient as a matter of law and did not have to be answered. They also felt that Mrs. Orans, as a relief official, had been in contact with thousands of relief recipients, some of whom had since become professional informers. She would thus, they thought, run a grave danger of a Lattimore-type perjury indictment if forced to swear to all the details of her political and personal history fifteen or more years before. The danger was underlined by the fact that the government had been willing to seek her deportation on the basis of precisely such informer-witnesses in the face of her previous sworn denials during her original interview with the immigration service. The attorneys were aware that the political atmosphere in the country was unfavorable to witnesses who pleaded the Fifth Amendment. Nevertheless, they felt that they could rely on the well-established legal principle that "the privilege exists for the sake of the innocent" and that "no inference can be drawn against the person claiming it."

The Board of Immigration Appeals, however, did not see it that way. Although the members conceded that the privilege was properly claimed, they decided that the election to claim it was sufficient confirmation of the testimony which had been given and made unnecessary any consideration of either the credibility of the government witnesses or the contradictory nature of their evidence. The board's decision, if allowed to stand, will further weaken this already sadly battered clause of the Bill of Rights. A final order for Mrs. Orans's deportation has been issued. She is under "supervisory parole," as no country has been found willing to accept her. She may now proceed to challenge the decision in the courts.

THE ORANS case departs from the typical only in that Mrs. Orans was in a better position socially and financially to defend herself than are most persons who find themselves in a similar plight. The most casual examination of the standard proceedings used in current deportation cases reveals their inhumanity and offensiveness to the American legal tradition.

The non-citizen involved in a deportation case is not permitted to get in touch with friends or family, or call his lawyer, until he has been "processed." The processing includes fingerprinting and interrogation.

The deportee-elect is usually informed that he has a legal right to refuse to answer, but the value of this right is largely nullified by oblique indications that a "non-cooperative" attitude will be held against him.

At the hearing before immigration officials, the government is not held to its original charges. On the contrary, it may introduce evidence on any conceivable ground of deportation and then, after the evidence is in, may readjust its charges to conform to whatever it has been able to prove. The defense is given no forewarning on government witwitnesses, but is usually obliged to tip its own hand by requesting subpoenas for its own witnesses and explaining why their evidence is needed.

The hearing officer has discretion which he frequently exercises, to refuse to summon persons requested by the defense. He is free to accept hearsay and other types of evidence which courts have eliminated as unreliable. Because he also exercises prosecuting functions, he may have access to "confidential" material which neither the defendant nor his attorney is permitted to see. Theoretically he must make his decision on the record, but there is no effective guarantee that he will not be influenced by accusations which the defendant may know nothing about or has had no opportunity to answer.

The hearing officer lacks the independence expected of a judge. He is an employee of the very agency which is prosecuting. Sharing the prosecutor's function, he often finds himself in a position where he must decide, as a judge, whether he has prosecuted successfully. The Supreme Court held in 1950 that this practice was a violation of the Administrative Procedure Act. The court said:

> When the Constitution requires a hearing, it requires a fair one, one before a tribunal which meets at least currently prevailing standards of impartiality. A deportation hearing involves issues basic to human liberty and, in the present upheavals in lands to which aliens might be returned, perhaps to life itself. It might be difficult to justify as measuring up to Constitutional standards of impartiality a hearing tribunal the like of which has been condemned by Congress as unfair even where less vital matters of property rights are at stake.

Congress responded to this decision by passing a rider to an appropriation bill removing deportation proceedings from the protection of the Administrative Procedure Act. In effect it ruled that procedures considered unfair when property rights are at stake are good enough for an "alien." Much of the statutory law on deportation has been built up by this contrapuntal method. A rule which tends to give the non-citizen some modicum of protection is developed in the courts. Then Congress changes the law to offset the judicial rule and, in doing so, usually leaves the non-citizen in a slightly more unprotected position than he was before the court victory. The President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization has reported: "The present hearing procedure in deportation cases fails to conform to the now generally accepted standards of fair hearings."

Since few deportees have the resources for a prolonged legal battle, their need for funds and for legal aid is acute. Their financial situation is often made still more difficult by loss of a job because of prolonged absence from work necessitated by their hearings or because of an employer who is frightened by the "subversive" connotations of arrest on a political-deportation warrant.

APPEAL from a deportation order may be taken to the Board of Immigration Appeals, but the United States Attorney General has the right to set aside the board's decisions. The President's commission said of the board that it "continues to function at the pleasure of the Attorney General and for his convenience." Thomas G. Finucane, the board's chairman, was a member of the President's commission which made the comment.

The usefulness of an appeal to the courts is very limited. The step involves enormous expense, especially if the case must be taken to the Supreme Court. In any event the non-citizen generally cannot get the courts to review a deportation order unless and until he is actually imprisoned under it. This is a substantial drawback; a court review may take many months or even years. Furthermore, even when a review is obtained, the courts can neither reexamine the merits of the decision to deport nor question the hearing officer's findings of fact as long as there is any evidence in the record to sustain them. Generally speaking, the courts can inquire only whether legal procedures were followed and whether the deportee was denied Constitutional rights.

The judicial power to protect even the Constitutional rights of the non-citizen is constantly growing bler under the influence of the "privilege" theory. This is the notion that although a non-citizen may have spent his whole adult life in this country and in fact may have no other homeland, he is still here only on sufferance and can be expelled for any reason, however trivial, which Congress sees fit to direct. There may be formalistic legal logic in treating all aliens alike, whether they have been here two days or two-score years. But certainly this accords neither with humanity nor common sense. The logic is maintained at frightful cost, for if the non-citizen can be compelled by Congress to surrender all his rights in order to win permission to remain, then he has, in practical effect, no rights at all.

The consequences of the "privilege" theory are well expressed in Justice Frankfurter's statement that "the place to resist unwise or cruel legislation touching aliens is the Congress, not this court." But to tell *voteless* persons they have only such rights as they can persuade a political body to grant is to tell them they have lived subject to the Constitution for a lifetime without gaining its protection. One is reminded of

what the "Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics" says about primitive societies:

> The stranger is regarded as a being without rights; for he is outside of the sphere within which alone they are recognized and enforced. This view prevails among many peoples. It is held, for example, by the Wakopomo, the Wanyamwezi, the Barea and Kunama, the Bogos, the Pelew Islanders, and certain Papuan tribes—the Yabim on the north coast of New Guinea, and the Tami Islanders.

One of the results of the current policy is the systematic disruption of American families. A committee of the National Lawyers Guild recently made a statistical study of 219 political-deportation cases. The study showed that half of the individuals involved were married, more than one-fourth to American citizens. About half had citizen children; twenty-four had sons who fought in World War II or who were currently in the armed services. Several were grandparents, or even great-grandparents, of American citizens. Of the thirty-four women in the group, sixteen had citizen husbands and seventeen had citizen children.

The case of Werner Grondahl and his wife, Emma, is typical. Mr. Grondahl, who is sixty-seven, came to this country at the age of eighteen. One William Ward Kimple, who says he joined the Communist Party as an undercover agent for the Los Angeles Police Department, testified that the Grondahls were members in 1938, so Grondahl has been ordered deported to Finland and his wife, who is sixty-two, has been ordered deported to Sweden. Their son, who was with the United States invasion forces in Europe, presumably remains here.

ANOTHER characteristic result of our policy is that the victim is ordered deported to a land which, although the place of his birth, is totally strange to him. The Lawyers Guild study showed that of 198 deportees for whom figures were available, 96 per cent had been in the United States more than twenty years and 63 per cent had been here more than thirty years. These persons were aliens by legal definition, but they are not alien in fact; they are not rootless here, nor strangers to our language, customs, and institutions. They would, in a far more realistic sense, be aliens in the lands to which the government proposes that they be sent.

William Heikkila, for example, is forty-eight years old and has been in this country for as many years. His parents were permanent legal residents of the United States but William made the mistake of being born while they were on a temporary visit to their native Finland. In immigration jargon, the infant committed an "entry" at the age of two-and-a-half months when his parents brought him back to their home in Minnesota. Many years later, Heikkila voluntarily admitted that he had been a member of the Communist Party for a period ending in 1939. Solely on the basis of his admission, he has been ordered deported to a land of which he can have no recollection.

Judge Learned Hand said of a non-political but otherwise similar case some years ago:

> We think it not improper to say that deportation under the circumstances would be deplorable Whether the relator came here in arms or at the age of ten, he is as much our product as though his mother had borne him on American soil. He knows no other language, no other habits than ours. He will be as much a stranger in Poland as anyone born of ancestors who immigrated in the seventeenth century. However heinous his crimes, deportation is to him exile, a dreadful punishment abandoned by the common consent of civilized peoples.

Exile is obviously worse for older persons than for those still young and malleable. The Lawyers Guild study showed that 80 per cent of the potential deportees were more than forty-six years old.

If so many of these persons are fully integrated into American life, why did they fail to become citizens? There is no single answer. A check of about a hundred cases in the Los Angeles area showed some of the commoner reasons. Many, as in the case of Mrs. Orans, failed to take the necessary steps because they thought they were already citizens. Some received brusque and unfair treatment at one time or another from a public official and responded by shunning all avoidable contact with officialdom (a reason advanced by many Mexicans). Some saw that their friends' or relatives' applications for naturalization were almost immediately followed by deportation proceedings; they concluded the whole subject was best let alone. Many who were born in Russia or Eastern Europe feared the possible consequences of revealing "unpopular" birthplaces, particularly if they once claimed a more "popular" birthplace on employment applications. Some, especially the less literate, feared the red tape and the civics test involved in an application for citizenship.

Loss of papers and other difficulties in obtaining evidence to support the application is another common problem. In recent years, many non-citizens have been automatically stymied by the provisions of the 1950 law which forbid a grant of citizenship to any person against whom a deportation order is outstanding. In many instances, deportation orders are outstanding for twenty years or more and cannot even be reviewed in the courts, since the non-citizen is not under arrest.

The majority of deportees, however, are persons who, despite these difficulties, did try to become citizens. Of 350 persons arrested for deportation, 125 had applications for citizenship pending at the time of their arrest and another 170 had made an unsuccessful application at some time in the past.

How dangerous are the deportees? Of the 219 political cases studied by the Lawyers Guild, not one defendant was charged with using violence. Only one had a known record of non-political crime (other than violations of the immigration laws) and

he had stayed out of trouble for twenty-five years. Nor are the deportees charged with personally advocating the violent overthrow of the government. In the one instance where the immigration service did attempt to prove personal advocacy, the Board of Immigration Appeals held the charge unproven. About two-thirds of the current cases are based on alleged past membership in the Communist Party; 82 per cent of these involve persons whose alleged membership terminated before 1940. To understand the importance of this date, one must recall that the legal implications of party membership were quite different before World War II than they are today. In 1937, the Supreme Court held that Angelo Herndon could not be charged with "inciting insurrection" because he recruited members into the Communist Party, nor could Dirk De Jonge be convicted of criminal syndicalism for his part in a peaceful Communist meeting. In 1942, the Supreme Court of California held that the legislature could not bar the Communist Party from the ballot. In 1943, the Supreme Court of the United States held that William Schneiderman's career as a Communist Party leader and his professed agreement with the writings of Lenin and others did not show that he had falsely professed attachment to the principles of the Constitution when he became a citizen. These decisions were widely discussed at the time. Justifiably or not, they were generally understood as meaning that persons who desired to become or to remain members of the Communist Party had a Constitutional right to do so. Thus, the majority of today's political deportees are being subjected to "a dreadful punishment abandoned by the common consent of civilized peoples" for the offense of having failed to anticipate, by ten or fifteen years, the official afterthoughts of the cold-war period.

THE PROFESSED aim of our anti-alien legislation is to rid the country of "undesirable" residents. There are good reasons for suspecting, however, that the ostensible goal is not the real one. There is a curious disproportion between the publicity given the deportation program and the number of persons who actually depart our borders. Mr. Brownell, shortly after he took office as Attorney General in 1952, announced that he was contemplating action against 12,000 non-citizens and 10,000 naturalized Americans. The report of the immigration service for the fiscal year ending in 1953 states that 11,683 investigations were completed in denaturalization and deportation cases based on alleged subversion. Yet the same report lists only thirty-seven deportations and nine "voluntary" departures based on such grounds.

No doubt the harvest of wrecked lives and split families is considerably more substantial than these figures indicate, since a large proportion of cases which were political in their inception ultimately wind up as "illegal entry" cases. The service lists 16,111 deportations under headings of this character and it is impossible to determine how many of them began as political investigations. A considerable number of non-citizens, especially those who have been here for many years, are unable because of lapse of time, loss of papers, death of witnesses, or similar difficulties, to prove that their original entry was "legal." In many other cases, a search through the records turns up some small error or technicality which can be used, perhaps after twenty or thirty years, to convert the original entry, although innocent, into an "illegal" one.

YET whatever allowance is made for this factor, there is still something wrong with the picture. Deportation involves two countries, one to expel and one to receive. Since 1935, the Soviet Union has refused to cooperate with our political deportation policy; the Eastern European countries have taken the same position. Even Italy, protesting that it is not a "penal colony for America," has refused to take deportees whom we have denaturalized. But lack of any place to which the non-citizen can be sent does not seem to dampen the immigration service's ardor to proceed against him.

To be sure, two efforts have recently been made to throw the burden of this situation on the non-citizen. The Walter-McCarran Act provides that the deportee may be sent to any country which will accept him, even if it is one in which he never previously set foot. So far, however, no country has been willing to accept political deportees who were born in Russia or Eastern Europe. The same act also provides that a person under final order of deportation may be sentenced to ten years' imprisonment for failing to deport himself, or at least to make efforts in good faith to do so. So far three persons have been prosecuted under this measure. Of these, Martin Karasek is a native of Czechoslovakia and Frank Specter of Russia; it seems evident that the efforts they failed to make would have been unavailing. The third, Knut Heikkinen, who was born in Finland, applied for travel papers after his arrest. But when he received them, the government continued to prosecute him. He has been given a five-year prison sentence, which the government insists that he serve. In his case the act did not hasten his departure; it postponed it for five years.

But even the fantastic business of requiring the non-citizen to become an active combatant on the government's side against himself has not broken the log-jam, which is not due, as the immigration service charges, to "wily aliens who select impossible countries" but to the conditions pointed out by the late Justice Jackson:

> A deportation policy can be successful only to the extent that some other country is willing to receive those we expel. But, except selected individuals who can do us more harm abroad than here, what Communist power will cooperate with our deportation policy by receiving our expelled Communist aliens? And what non-Communist power feels such confidence in its own domestic security that it can risk

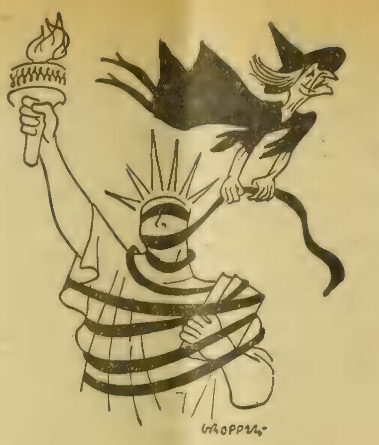
> taking in persons this stable and powerful Republic finds dangerous to its security? World conditions seem to frustrate the policy of deportation of subversives. Once they gain admission here, they are our problem and one that cannot be shipped to some other part of the world.

About 60 per cent of all political deportation cases are brought against persons whom the immigration service must know, at least as well as Justice Jackson knew, that it has no substantial prospects of deporting. It follows, then, that the real motive for the deportation proceedings is not the ostensible one of ridding the country of "undesirables." It seems rather to be to subject the non-citizen to the utmost possible harassment as a lesson to others, citizens included, to stay away from "imprudent" activities and associations.

SEVERAL aspects of our procedures tend to confirm this hypothesis. For example, most deportees are exceptionally good bail risks. The whole point of their fight is to be able to stay where they are. In any event they have no place to run except across the border, in which case the ostensible purpose of the proceedings against them has been accomplished more quickly and cheaply than by deportation. Yet under the new law the Attorney General claims unlimited discretion to hold the deportee without bail. This discretion is openly used not to guard against defendants running away, but to incarcerate persons who, although not charged with crime, are regarded as too dangerous to remain at large.

Of similar significance is the device of placing those who are under deportation order, but have no place to go, on "supervisory parole." This means that they are required to report at frequent intervals for questioning and to submit their personal lives and associations to intensive supervision by immigration officials. Such a procedure serves no rational function in relation to getting "undesirables" out of the country, but makes very good sense in terms of intimidating our three million non-citizens and eleven million naturalized citizens and their families.

Also tending to confirm the "intimidation" theory is the fact that the last Congress, at the suggestion of President Eisenhower, passed an act providing that native-born Americans may be deprived of their citizenship for political offenses. Its constitutionality has yet to be determined. But even in the doubtful event that the law is upheld, it is hardly likely that the Administration expects to find any foreign country on which its denationalized native-born radicals—obviously "undesirables"—can be dumped. Plainly the purpose of the new law is intimidation, and its enactment shows clearly that repressive measures against non-citizens, if not effectively combated, are ultimately extended to everyone. Here is a striking confirmation of the political wisdom of Jefferson, who wrote of the Alien Act of 1798:



> The . . . alien has indeed been selected as the safest subject of a first experiment; but the citizen will soon follow, or rather, has already followed, for already has a sedition act marked him as its prey.

Jefferson merely applied an older wisdom. It was more than nine centuries ago that the Laws of King Cnut, Danish ruler of England, declared:

> Verily he who dooms a worse doom to the friendless and the comer from afar than to his fellows injures himself.

Louis F. Post, as Assistant Secretary of Labor in 1920, saw the Palmer raids and their aftermath from the inside. He wrote of the experience that "nearly all the 'conspirators' were wage earners, useful in industry, good-natured in their dispositions, unconscious of having given offense"; that "the whole 'red' crusade seems to have been saturated with labor-spy interests . . . which were engaged in generating and intensifying industrial suspicions and hatreds"; and that "the 'red' crusade began to look like a gigantic and cruel hoax, and that is what it finally proved to be."

Today, as then, the foreign-born population is concentrated in the most heavily industralized areas. Historically, strains and suspicions between native and foreign-born workers have had a powerful effect in keeping labor divided and enabling large corporate employers to dictate terms to both. The current phenomenon, however, undoubtedly has a broader significance. It creates tensions which may be manipulated for ulterior purposes. It focuses against a convenient scapegoat grievances and frustrations which might otherwise find more constructive channels of expression. It provides a favorable climate for attacks on freedom of opinion, rationalized as an effort to preserve the "domestic" ideology against contamination by "foreign" ideas.

THE xenophobia of 1798 was combated by the Jeffersonians with such vigor and success that the Federalist Party which sponsored it was driven from power and went into permanent decline. That of 1920 was determinedly fought by such men as Assistant Secretary of Labor Post. Post's stand, though courageous, was not an isolated instance. A committee of twelve very eminent lawyers, including Felix Frankfurter, Roscoe Pound, Ernest Freund, Zechariah Chafee, Jr., and Francis Fisher Kane, issued a blistering indictment of the Department of Justice which Senator Thomas J. Walsh of Montana brought before the Senate. This document helped to reawaken the national conscience.

Where are the Posts, the Frankfurters, and the Walshes of today to combat this new hysteria in the spirit of Thomas Jefferson? The sage wrote:

> As members . . . of the universal society of mankind, and standing high in responsible relation with them, it is our sacred duty to suppress passion among ourselves, and not to blast the confidence we have inspired of proof that a government of reason is better than a government of force.

BOOKS

The World of Walt Whitman

By Maxwell Geismar

LEAVES OF GRASS is the first, and perhaps still the only true epic poem in our literature; upon the date of its hundreth anniversary, the fact is clear. Yet it is quite typical of Whitman that among his early lines we should come upon

> Me imperturbe, standing at ease in Nature,
> Master of all, or mistress of all, aplomb in the midst of irrational things

and that the master, aplomb and imperturbed, should then wish to confront all forms of adversity—night, storms, hunger, ridicule, accidents, rebuffs—as the trees and animals do. For he was a great primitive poet, a founder of modern verse, a fountainhead of ideas, attitudes, techniques in twentieth-century prose and poetry alike. And part of his charm lies directly in an odd mixture of the baroque and the gothic, as it were, until finally we come to enjoy just that part of the poet which is so outrageous to mere sophistication.

He viewed himself as a national bard—of a nation that, dilating from a liberated colony, had little use for poets or for him. And he was not averse to using the rhetoric of the Independence Day celebrations. One notices the "red-flushed cheeks" of lovers in "Proud Music of the Storm." He addressed the earth as "O, vast rondure"; the sun as "thou orb aloft full-dazzling"; and the Lord Himself as "thou moral, spiritual fountain . . . thou reservoir." He delighted in describing the scientific discoveries and commercial achievements which Emerson suggested were not the songs of a nation, but its inventories.

MAXWELL GEISMAR, noted literary critic, is a contributing editor of The Nation. *This article is condensed from Mr. Geismar's introduction to the Pocket Book edition of "The Whitman Reader," just published.*

His style was a strange mixture of the turgid, the banal, the *outre,* and of brilliant, piercing phrases. (There is also the quiet line, the orphic utterance, the homely twist and salty tang of common speech.) Like Beethoven, who missed so many chances to end his symphonies, Whitman usually has a series of inscriptions and invocations to his beautiful vistas; a long row of conclusions, summaries, and farewells, to his great verses. He is a poet who tries to say over again what he has already said beyond compare. His best things may be hidden away in an exasperating verbiage, from which they shine suddenly to dazzle and enchant us, like hidden pools of sunlight in the forest.

As in the case of any major literary figure, there are as many interpretations of Whitman as there are interpreters. The cultural historian Vernon Parrington viewed him as the Child of the Enlightenment and the poet of democratic aspirations. The philosopher Santayana saw him, in contrast, as the poet of lost causes—of a primitive and amorphous state of democracy before it took on a mature and fatal shape. One of Whitman's recent editors, Malcolm Cowley, stresses the public mask of the poet, a combination, roughly, of Barnum and the Bowery tough. A second editor, Mark Van Doren, describes the morbid undertones in Whitman the stranger, the alienated individual who lurked behind the apostle of the masses.

If these impressions sometimes contradict each other, so did the poet, as he was proud to admit. Nature contained multitudes. A third recent editor of Whitman's work, Louis Untermeyer, has brought together an excellent compendium of Whitman criticism, and these diverse interpretations have extended from the original publication of "Leaves of Grass," in 1855. The book was "a great primitive poem, an alarum or trumpet note ringing through the American camp," as Thoreau correctly said. And Emerson in turn, with his genuine impulses and inhibited responses, was at first all enthusiasm and then suddenly abashed. Whitman was also a touchstone for his critics. Henry James found his work to be "an offense against art" that slighted the intellect and outraged the taste, or at least his taste.

But Whitman in his own time was also under attack from the common quarter, just where he felt he had addressed the whole weight of his literary work. And the capacity for invective on the part of those defending the status quo appears to be as limited in our literary as it has been in our societal battles. Perhaps the technique of the "big lie" itself was developed from an infantile human dependence upon repetition and incantation, instead of reason and imagination. Anyhow, we meet such phrases as "the slop-bucket of Walt Whitman" in the popular journalism of his time. His verse was called "entirely bestial," or an example of "gross materialism," on the part of this most idealistic and maybe even too ethereal of poets. He was accused of "indecent exposure"—of the human heart no doubt.

THE point is, of course, that Whitman had broken a primary sexual taboo. In another essay, D. H. Lawrence has pointed out the tragic sequence between the poet's outspoken hymns to "virile love" and his swift elegies to "death, death, death." The Whitman of the "Adam" and "Calamus" poems was indeed quite suddenly converted from an innocent and rosy vision of the universe—and a sort of intolerable euphoria in the early "Songs"—to a dark and suicidal despair.

The personal love poems are of greater value as history than as poetry. They are too close to the poet, and are at best only a form of confessional. One notices soon enough the notes of anguish which are the price of passion; and are always recorded by the writers who have elected to follow their temperaments. If Whitman, in his forty-first year, was determined to tell the secrets of his nights and days, he recorded also that the "blossoms of his blood" were not pure happiness. "You are often more bitter than I can bear, you burn and sting me." Yet he had long enough stifled and choked, and he was resolved to bare his breast. In "Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking," still contemplating the fire, the sweet hell within, "the unknown want, the destiny of me," he could nevertheless cry: "O if I am to have so much, let me have more!"

It was by means of this syndrome of sexual feeling that Whitman achieved his breakthrough as a poet. His determination to be faithful to his instincts—an act of boldness and perhaps ruthlessness which marks the psychic release of the major artist—urged him forward to his solitary, rebellious, and germinal verses. The opening stanzas in "Song of Myself" record also the mystic moments of Whitman's emotional liberation: moments of ecstasy and rapture which are transposed into a great paean to love and life.

> Earth of the vitreous pour of the
> full moon just tinged with blue!
> Earth of shine and dark mottling
> the tide of the river!
> Earth of the limpid gray of clouds
> brighter and clearer for my sake!
> Far-swooping elbow'd earth—rich
> apple-blossom'd earth!
> Smile, for your lover comes.

"Prodigal, you have given me love," Whitman added—"Therefore I to you give love! / O unspeakable passionate love." On all sides he felt those "prurient provokers," stiffening his limbs through means of that villain touch. The sentries had deserted every other part of him, and left him helpless. Given up by traitors, he could only cry: "I talk wildly, I have lost my wits, I and nobody else am the greater traitor."

Nothing could be clearer, or more magnificent, than his apostrophe to the sexual rapture which pervades Nature. And if the note of personal loss, of dark despair, and of death followed so soon after the moment of ecstasy, that, too, was the inexorable law of the White Goddess. The result was that through this central experience Whitman had already liberated himself from the empty conventions and customs of his time. (It is never really a question of "sublimation" but of the *conversion* of experience into art.) Having experienced his own passion, Whitman could then write of those who, "smartly attired, countenance smiling, form upright," had suffered a different form of death under the breast-bone:

> Under the broadcloth and gloves,
> under the ribbons and artificial
> flowers,
> Keeping fair with the customs,
> speaking not a syllable of itself,
> Speaking of anything else but never
> of itself.

This particular mode of speech was to be picked up later by T. S. Eliot among the modern poets. But we must understand that it was first expressed here within a quite different frame of reference. Instead of the later emphasis on resignation and compliance, or on salvation through ceremonial, Whitman still demanded that every human soul express its own needs, whatever and however. "My call is the call of battle. I nourish active rebellion." In "Song of the Open Road," it was this Whitman who could say

> Listen! I will be honest with you,
> I do not offer the old smooth prizes,
> but offer rough new prizes.

—who demanded freedom from the formulas of the "bat-eyed and materialistic priests"; and who pictured the universe itself as a road, "as many roads, as roads for traveling souls."

It was excellent advice, if mainly ignored by an America barely released from Calvin's purgatory and about to plunge into the inferno of finance. It was a mode of prophecy that still applies, in our own day, to a society which is outwardly more comfortable, perhaps, but inwardly no less cramped.

ON THE personal side, there was no doubt an element of guilt behind the images of love and death in Whitman's verse. The Civil War was in part a perfect resolution for the poet's dilemma. Ministering to the wounded and dying young American soldiers as a male nurse, he could freely loose his feeling and find in the scene around him everywhere the necessary retribution. More important, however, the war was another turning point for his art. Whitman was fortunate; or to put it more accurately, he felt and sought out, in whatever peculiar guise, his point of realization. Earlier, knowing very little about the "divine average" which he apotheosized, he had been curiously abstract as spokesman for the masses. He had even envisioned a working democracy of manly kisses and rough embraces: an "adhesive proletariat," as it were, or a sort of affectional Marxism which was surely among the oddest of all the odd utopias.

The war poetry in "Drum-Taps" was chauvinistic and rhetorical at the start. But not for long—

> (Arous'd and angry, I'd thought to
> beat the alarum, and urge re-
> lentless war,
> But soon my fingers fail'd me, my
> face droop'd and I resign'd my-
> self,
> To sit by the wounded and soothe
> them, or silently watch the dead;)

And not in the great Civil War poetry. Instead, as Whitman brooded over the underlying issues of the conflict, the masses of men involved on both sides of the battle, the individual cases of suffering and of fortitude which he had known, came the haunting and beautiful elegies in memory of President Lincoln.

The war had indeed ended the epoch of Emerson, Thoreau, and Longfellow, among the sages, and opened the epoch of the Vanderbilts and Rockefellers among the titans. Whitman found himself in a familiar posture of suspense, but this time between a past he had found incomplete, and a future he distrusted. Now he was hovering over the chasm of his hopes. In Parrington's phrase he became "the poet and prophet of a democracy that the America of the Gilded Age was daily betraying." What the historian called "the exalted abandon of egoistic experience" had been in reality, in Whitman's true inner development, the universal and immemorial cult of the savage love-goddess. But there was no doubt, at least, that the most deeply religious soul of the post-war epoch was flung into outer darkness by the rude arbiters of a money society.

The distinction was of course between Whitman's "materialism of the flesh"—of individual experience and self-fulfillment—and the new materialism of wealth, power, and worldly success. And now what acrid, disheartened, and prophetic intimations issued from the erstwhile apostle of euphoria! The present age in America, he said, was an age tyrannically regulated with reference to the manufacturer, the financier, the politician. The democratic masses included "our materialistic, self-assertive, money-worshipping Anglo-Saxon race."

In the notes of "Collect" he had been even more specific about the "limitless aperture" of mere show, luxury, and money-making towards which the American nation was rushing *en masse*. What had happened here to his earlier concept of a glorious new race of mechanics, farmers, and tradesmen who would bulk so large in a divine commonalty? In "Who Gets the Plunder?" he noted the "glittering delusions of great money" which were actually based on the exploitation of the poor. The profits went altogether to a few score select persons—"who by favors of Congress, state legislatures, the banks, and other special advantages, are forming a vulgar aristocracy full as bad as anything in the British or European castes, of blood, or the dynasties there of the past."

Now this was striking at Whitman's central vision of democracy supplanting the whole idea of dynasties, castes, and privileged social classes. In "Democratic Vistas" he had lamented the glamour which surrounded the crimes of the feudal and dynastic world of the past. "But the People are ungrammatical, untidy, and their sins gaunt and ill-bred." Yet to this Whitman a man was still a summons and a challenge. And time was ample. "Let the victors come after us."

It was in this exultant mood that he had demanded new races of orbic bards with uncompromising sway. "Come forth, sweet democratic despots of the west!" But now he commented on the armies of tramps who swarmed through the states toward the end of the nineteenth century. He wrote about strikes and labor wars and all the other manifestations of a savage new industrial system. And he took a more limited view of things. "I can conceive of no better service in the United States henceforth by democrats of thorough and heartfelt faith, than boldly exposing the weaknesses, liabilities, and infinite corruptions of democracy."

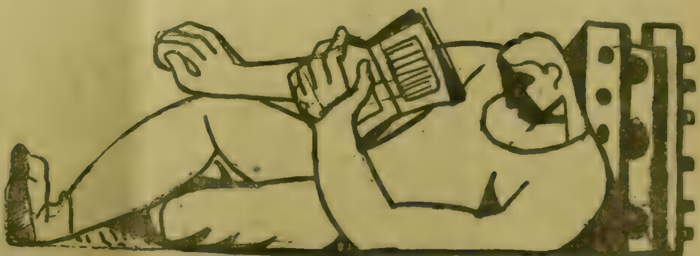
In the years before the Civil War he had suggested, in the same vein, that the reformers descend from the stands where they were forever bawling; that the judges and criminals be transposed; that those who distrusted birth and death should lead the rest.

IN HIS own voice, of course, the aging Whitman was still a summons and a challenge to his readers. This outwardly vague, misty, musing spirit came to represent, rather like Tolstoy in Russia, the true conscience of his country. The outraged, eloquent, and radical Whitman was the recording angel of the Gilded Age. Just as he had been the chief link between Herman Melville and Theodore Dreiser in the subterranean biological revolution against a proscriptive Puritanism, so, after the deaths of the New England sages, he carried forward their spiritual heritage to the opening years of the twentieth century. Having defied the etherealism of the Transcendentalists, belonging to the modern world in his stress on the flesh and the passions in art, he still represented the earlier ages in his belief that existence must have a moral center.

But meanwhile he stood in the void—a neglected solitary rebellious figure—between the old agrarian republic and the new economic empire which, having firmly established itself at home by the 1900's, began to look abroad and to sniff at being a world power. During these years, Whitman described himself as being much like "some hard-cased dilapidated grim ancient shell-fish or time-bang'd conch." Without the use of his legs, utterly "non-locomotive," there was nothing left, as he said, but to behave himself quiet, and to discover what still could be salvaged from those primal buoyant center-pulses down there deep within his gray-blurred old shell. There was also the more famous description of "Me, old, alone, sick, weak-down, melted-worn with sweat."

Few American writers have known how to grow old. The trick, said Whitman in "Specimen Days," was to tone down your wants and tastes low enough, "and make much of negatives." And this poet could still look up at the skies which he had once delighted in, to add: "Old, poor, and paralyzed, I thank Thee!" He had turned back in age to the Quaker customs and beliefs of his youth (as F. O. Matthiessen has noticed), and something of an older faith and loving-kindness shines through these final passages. "I have the most devoted and ardent of friends . . . and of enemies I really make no account."

Today, too, when we perceive only evil around us, in nature's schemes and the systems of society alike, it is useful to recall that Whitman's grand innocence was not, in the final analysis, a refusal to see the bad but a wish to transcend it. Like the Quaker saints whom he came to resemble; like the Thoreau who after witnessing the tortures of natural selection could still cry that no wounds were fatal; like Melville in the final note of "Moby Dick," Whitman presents a view of life which accommodates and combines our two perhaps merely provincial poles of good and evil. He participated in a universe whose intentions went beyond the cognizance of animals and men; but where the animals had learned to bear their trials with fortitude, and where men should not willingly increase their own.



Fox Without Guile

THE VAGABOND. By Colette. Translated by Enid McLeod. Farrar, Strauss and Young. $3.

By Joseph Wood Krutch

ACCORDING to the jacket, this short novel was Colette's favorite. As was so often the case it is obviously autobiographical. Like the author the heroine is a writer who has divorced a playboy husband and taken to the cafe-concert as a way of making a living. The ex-husband, who is always present though he never actually appears, and the whole shabby-bohemian world of the minor theaters which furnishes the background are also obviously part of Colette's own experience. So, probably enough, are the theme and the story, which have to do with a woman who is determined not to be burned again, who presently finds herself in love with a decent well-to-do fellow first encountered in the guise of a stage-door johnny, and who then gives him up because she cannot imagine how she could end except as an unhappy wife once more. In more subtle ways also this heroine is Colette herself—essentially simple and innocent despite a life which is neither.

If Colette has recently been the subject of a flourishing revival in France that can only be in part because she seems so remote from contemporary preoccupations, because her complete absorption in a private world refreshes a generation almost obsessed with global affairs and esoteric philosophies, because even what was once thought the naughtiness of her occasional frank sensuality seems centuries away from a generation to whom "love" means neither sentiment nor normal sensuality but violence, hatred, and, often, some form of perversity.

Few writers have ever been less engaged. This does not mean merely that she has no political or social ideas and no ethical convictions beyond those which an unthinking generosity and kindliness suggest. It means also an introversion so complete that she is a prisoner of herself and unaware of things outside herself except in so far as she can make them part of that self. As blind as a child to everything not part of her own experience she is also childishly alert to and absorbed in everything which is. Few have ever described more vividly an inner landscape of which the most prominent features are usually what can be seen or touched or tasted or smelled with childish freshness. Just less prominent than what the senses can perceive are memories, emotions, and sentiments. The realest thing is the present, the next realest is the past, and the future exists only just vividly enough to warn her not to make certain mistakes twice. She is so intelligent and so shrewd while remaining so completely unintellectual that inevitably she suggests the gamin—one would even be tempted to say the guttersnipe if the connotations were not so unfavorable and, what is more important, if her passionate interest in country life did not carry a constant reminder that an important part of the child she remained was the child who had grown up in a provincial garden.

Of her appearance the author-heroine says: "Mine is a face that depends on the expression which animates it, the color of my eyes, and the defiant smile that plays over it—what Marinetti calls my *gaiezza volpina*. But if I look like a fox, it's a fox without guile, which a hen could catch. A fox without rapacity, one that remembers only the trap and the cage." Of the faith by which she lives: "Chance, my master and my friend. . . All my trust is now in him—and in myself. . . . There is no doubt that, if ever my heart were to call my master Chance by another name, I should make an excellent Catholic." Of her art: "To write is to pour one's innermost self passionately upon the tempting paper, at such frantic speed that sometimes one's hand struggles and rebels, overridden by the impatient god who guides it—and to find next day, in place of the golden bough that bloomed miraculously in that dazzling hour, a withered bramble and a stunted flower."

By confession, then, there is no literary art as that term is now usually defined. By the evidence of the writing itself here is presented a world where there are no politics, no philosophy, no religion, and no morality—though cruelty and kindness, indifference and compassion, ugliness and beauty, are vivid realities. The sum total makes something more vivid, more intense, and more solidly founded than one would have expected.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH is a well-known critic and writer.

What Do Americans Want?

MAN, MOTIVES AND MONEY. By Albert Lauterbach. Cornell University Press. $5.

By Douglas F. Dowd

EXCEPT that it might be awkward to inscribe on the tail of our coins, let alone translate into Latin, "Each for himself and God for all," might well replace "E Pluribus Unum" as our national motto. If Americans have a "social" philosophy, this would seem to be it. And this fact makes things difficult for the serious social scientist. Presumably, a particular theoretical apparatus in the social sciences takes on meaning to the degree that it comes to grips with a social problem—a problem which *is* a problem because of some felt gap between ideal and reality. Now in America the social scientist's articulate public has consisted mainly of those whose explicit or tacit assumption has been either that things are just dandy as they are, or that they would be if only the eggheads would leave them alone. Our great depression saw some lapse from that attitude, and many believe it to have been a permanent change. Be that as it may, it is still true that social science is something to be disdained or used for narrow—individual or group—purposes. Whether this is "good" or "bad," avoidable or not, will not be judged here, but the point is rele-

---

DOUGLAS F. DOWD is assistant professor of economics at Cornell University.

SECRECY, SECURITY, AND LOYALTY

The **BULLETIN OF THE ATOMIC SCIENTISTS** announces its special issue for April, 1955

Contents include the following:

- Edward Shils: Security and Science Sacrificed for Loyalty
- Raymond Aron: Realism and Common Sense in Security Policy
- Harold Green: The Unsystematic Security System
- Ralph S. Brown, Jr.: Loyalty-Security Measures and Employment Opportunity
- James G. Beckerley: The Impact of Government Information and Security Controls on Private Competitive Industry
- Herbert S. Marks and George F. Trowbridge: Control of Information and Free Enterprise—The Implications of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954
- John G. Palfrey: The AEC Security Program, Past and Present
- Father Dubarle: The State and the Changing Nature of Science
- Hans J. Morgenthau: Disruption in the State Department
- Samuel Goudsmit: The Task of the Security Officer
- Alastair Hetherington: A British View of American Security

ALSO The SCIENTISTS' COMMITTEE ON LOYALTY AND SECURITY reports on "Creeping Security in the U. S. Public Health Service," "Fort Monmouth One Year Later," and "The Peters Case."

A SPECIAL OFFER

if you subscribe now to the

Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists

Your regular subscription will begin with the May issue and you will receive this special April issue FREE.

Special Offer Expires May 15

One Year subscription	$5.00
Single copy of April issue	$1.00

BULLETIN OF THE ATOMIC SCIENTISTS,
5750 Ellis Ave., Chicago 37, Illinois

( ) Please enter my subscription at $5.00 for one year to the BULLETIN OF THE ATOMIC SCIENTISTS. I understand my subscription will begin in May and that I will be sent a free copy of the April issue, "Secrecy, Security, and Loyalty."

( ) I do not wish to subscribe now, but please send me ________ copies of "Secrecy, Security, and Loyalty," at $1.00 per copy.

I enclose my check for $________ to cover the above.

Name ____________________

Address ____________________

City __________ Zone _____ State __________ vant to Professor Lauterbach's attempt to work within a broader framework.

FOR THIS book amounts to an involved critique of the state of social theory, with the emphasis on economics and psychology (it is subtitled "Psychological Frontiers of Economics"). The author probes into the nature, extent, and motivations of business activity and the myths surrounding it and into the nature, origins, and implications of socio-economic instability and personal insecurity; in doing so he provides an enlightened discussion of the relationships between personality, social institutions, and the reformist (or revolutionary) outlook. In his summary chapter Professor Lauterbach presents a program of needed reforms which few if any readers of *The Nation* would dissent from but which most of us might interpret, today, as Erewhon Revisited.

Anyone familiar with either economics or psychology would find it difficult to disagree with Lauterbach's constructive attack. In economics, for example, any intelligent undergraduate can tear broad holes in the basic assumptions underlying price and distribution theories—and the theories are no better than their assumptions. Although there is at least some meat on the bones of employment theory, it is still true that at its present stage the theory is infirm beyond the most primitive, albeit useful, level of analysis. To understand more we need to have, as the author points out, a wedding of psychology and economics. But we also need a birthing. I shall not attempt to speak for psychology—although I am struck by its present inutility for the purposes of interested economists—but in economics at least two crucial theoretical gaps exist: a theory which goes beyond the very short-run present and one which relates "economic behavior" not only to individual motives but to the general political and social context—in terms of power, pressures, and possibilities—within which economic behavior takes place.

But in addition, and beforehand, we must know what we are trying to achieve; we must have some idea of the *summum bonum.* Problems are susceptible of solution to the degree that their existence is recognized. What problems are generally recognized in America today? Well, that depends to a large extent upon what Americans want out of life. Do they really want, seriously and consciously, the things Lauterbach hopes they will try to achieve? (I need only point out that he conceives of a beautiful society *for all.*) Or are Americans hypnotized by visions of a bigger and faster car, a magenta-tiled bathroom, and, of course, color TV? If it is the latter, and it seems to be, then Americans are unconcerned about Professor Lauterbach's careful and thoughtful questions and uninterested in his broad range of policy recommendations. All that is needed is the sort of society we already have, only more so: more expenditures for armaments will do the trick, and other tricks, too. Social theory is a tool, but it is a tool which can only be developed and used in the context of a social philosophy, in a society congenial to the use of social intelligence. Professor Lauterbach has such a social philosophy, and none of the foregoing strictures can or should be applied to him or his praiseworthy book. But his colleagues in the social sciences, like their lay brethren, are rarely equipped in such fashion. This book, then, meant to be a starting-point for the further development of an integrated social theory, is more likely to rest undisturbed as another collection of thoughtful, penetrating, interesting, but not-to-be-answered questions.

Toward Better Thinking

THE ART OF MAKING SENSE. A Guide to Logical Thinking. By Lionel Ruby. J. B. Lippincott Company. $3.75.

By Abraham Edel

WHILE logic has made giant strides in the past half century, developing the age-old syllogism into large formal systems, opening new vistas of analysis in relation to mathematics and the sciences, the popular presentation of its gains has been unusually slow. Much of the formal material of modern logic will inevitably remain technical, but many of its lessons offer a field for resourceful presentation which even the better works of the recent past have only begun to tap. "The Art of Making Sense" is a welcome addition to this needed enterprise. Professor Ruby, a professional philosopher and author of a college text in logic, was encouraged to write a book for a wider audience by the success of his radio series on thinking logically. This showed that responsible treatment of the subject, with serious intent and without cutting capers, could arouse popular interest when presented clearly and with apt illustration.

Professor Ruby has drawn freely from his predecessors and from the materials in the common domain of logic teaching; in this sense his book is a kind of synthesis of established lessons. But he has selected discriminatingly and persisted in fuller coverage, where his predecessors have more often followed partial interests or been content with teaching the avoidance of a few fallacies. And so we are carried through the use of words and the problems of definition, shown how to stick to the point and to sharpen our critical abilities, until finally by a gentle transition we find ourselves in the midst of formal logical patterns. Here, in areas that tempt to technicality in exposition, Professor Ruby shows special skill. For example, the formal fallacy of the "undistributed middle" is explained first quite simply by showing that things having a shared characteristic cannot be assumed to be identical, and then by comparing it to guilt by association. Probability is introduced through the logic of gambling, and the logic of science through Sherlock Holmes and medical discoveries.

Professor Ruby uses many humorous examples. But the tone of the book is far from the debunking or Menckenesque attitude that has

---

ABRAHAM EDEL is a member of the Department of Philosophy at the City College of New York. He is the author of "The Theory and Practice of Philosophy" and the forthcoming "Ethical Judgments: The Use of Science in Ethics."

characterized many popular treatments of linguistic fallacies. Thus when a disagreement is found to be verbal—for example, whether to call the United States a democracy or a republic—it is not dismissed with the implication that men are fools to disagree. Professor Ruby points out instead that the very existence of so much heat over an apparently trivial matter indicates that other issues may be involved—in this case, the conflict of liberalism and conservatism about the ideal of equality. Occasionally, however, Professor Ruby rests content with showing the propagandist character of linguistic usage. A still further emancipation from the debunking attitude would involve pressing on to discover the opposing theories about man and his world underlying the different usages. The sharpest conflicts in the modern world are prone to generate an atmosphere in which one side sees the other as simply making propaganda. If we recognize that our definitions in a large measure express what we assume as established knowledge in a particular field, logical probing can help bring opposing viewpoints to actual test.

One of the most appealing strands in Professor Ruby's approach is the persistence with which he presents the ideals of rationality and truth and maintains that the art of making sense is not the art of using emotions for good purposes as against using them for bad purposes.

Loyalty Tests — Present and Past

THE 5TH AMENDMENT TODAY. By Erwin N. Griswold. Harvard University Press. $2, cloth; 50 cents, paper.

ERA OF THE OATH: Northern Loyalty Tests During the Civil War and Reconstruction. By Harold Melvin Hyman. University of Pennsylvania Press. $5.

By Alexander E. Racolin

ADDRESSING himself to "the sober second thought of the community, which is the firm base on which all new law must ultimately rest," Dean Griswold of the Harvard Law School reexamines some of the stereotype thinking about two of the provisions of the Fifth Amendment. Two papers are devoted to the provision that no person shall be compelled to testify against himself and one to the due-process clause.

Is it necessarily true that one who claims the privilege against self-incrimination is automatically guilty? Can an innocent person do so? Are there situations where the inference of guilt is not warranted? Calmly and dispassionately, Dean Griswold analyzes these questions and concludes that taking refuge in the Fifth Amendment is not equivalent to an admission of criminal conduct.

By the process of empathy, whereby the reader becomes the witness under interrogation, several hypothetical cases are examined. One is the case of a former member of the Communist Party, who joined in the thirties because he felt that he could thus more effectively resist evil political forces. He "never engaged in espionage or sabotage or anything like that, and never saw or heard of any such activities by any member of his group." Although ultimately he turned away, "he didn't doubt that many of the people who had been associated with him in the venture were just as innocent of wrongdoing as he was sure he was." In another case, though the witness had never joined the Communist Party, he had been interested in causes supported by Communists, had contributed to them, and had lent his name. Any inference of guilt because of the claim of privilege against self-incrimination by either witness—any demagogic label like "Fifth Amendment Communist"—Dean Griswold points out, would not be warranted.

And what of the witness wholly innocent but lost in the fear and confusion of television, radio microphone, movie cameras, flashing flash bulbs? What of the witness confronted with no clearly formulated charges, informed of no evidence to support the charges, given no opportunity to cross-examine other witnesses? What of the witness who may want to answer some questions yet cannot lest he lose the right to claim the Fifth Amendment on other questions? So long as the Supreme

---

ALEXANDER E. RACOLIN is a member of the New York Bar.

What are the Russians writing?

Many words have flowed from the Russian pen since the Revolution in 1917, and much controversy has raged in the West as to the influences that surround the Soviet writer.

Do authors in the Soviet Union have to "toe the line"? Is criticism stifled? Are novelists allowed a free hand to develop their own ideas, their own theme and style?

Soviet Literature, monthly magazine of writing and the arts from the Soviet Union, contains all that is relevant to this discussion. New writing, full-length novels, poetry, drama, art and literary criticism, articles by leading authors and, over the next few issues, the reports and discussions that took place at the Second Congress of Soviet Writers, recently held in Moscow.

It costs only 30 cents a month for an issue of approximately 200 pages. A year's subscription costs $1.80 (Post Free, from England.)

Send this coupon TODAY.

To COLLET'S BOOKSHOPS

44 & 45 Museum Street,

London, W.C.1.

I enclose
30c / $1.80 for sample copy of / a year's sub. to SOVIET LITERATURE

NAME ______________________

ADDRESS ______________________

R ______________________

Court's decision in Rogers v. United States is on the books, the only safe course, the Dean concedes, may be to claim the privilege at the earliest possible moment. In England a witness may claim the privilege at any stage of the proceedings.

Another important factor he considers is the nature of the tribunal. Though careful to point out that he is not referring to any specific legislative committee, it is Dean Griswold's conclusion "that a congressional committee is not a place where the highest standards and the protection of the individual can always be found." The conceded propriety and usefulness of legislative investigations cannot be permitted to condone improperly conducted hearings, or the absence of adequate safeguards.

Mr. Hyman's book, though excellent in its treatment of a vital problem, the use of the loyalty oath between 1861 and 1884, is written in so dry and academic a manner that the general reader may have difficulty in plowing through it. However, the first third is the hardest, and the reader who perseveres will be rewarded. Mr. Hyman's conclusion may well be pondered today. Loyalty tests and oaths failed to separate the loyal from the disloyal, "for the oath was never a test of conscience but of political partisanship and acceptability. . . . It is difficult to substantiate the worth of the test oath even as a war-time measure. . . ."

Publish Your Book

We will publish, promote, advertise and distribute your book. We are rated officially among the largest leading publishers in the U. S. Our successful plan insures prompt publication. Manuscript reports in one week. No obligation.

Send for free Brochure [illegible] for details.

Pageant Press, Inc., 130 W. 42nd St., N. Y.

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE

Buy Your Books

through THE *Nation*

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular retail price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the retail price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to
Miss O. LePach
THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
333 Sixth Ave. New York 14, N. Y.

Roosevelt's Record

THE ROOSEVELT LEADERSHIP, 1933-1945. By Edgar Eugene Robinson. J. B. Lippincott Company. $6.

By Charles A. Madison

IN compliance with a businessman's posthumous grant of $25,000 for a "contemporary appraisal' of President Roosevelt "without fear, favor, or prejudice of any kind whatsoever," Professor Robinson was selected by the trustees to write this book. He has accomplished the assignment with academic competence. He scrupulously surveys the entire record and traces Roosevelt's political career with painstaking historical accuracy. In Part II he provides an analytical listing of the vast documentary and interpretative literature on which he based his evaluation of Roosevelt as a political leader.

For all his effort at objectivity Professor Robinson sometimes writes like a Hoover Republican. In appraising Roosevelt's record he concludes that his leadership "was injurious to the slow working of democracy as Americans know it"—meaning, of course, the kind of Americans he represents. Roosevelt, he maintains, had "supreme self-confidence," was "opportunistic and experimental," and did not hesitate to violate established governmental precepts and practices. "His entire approach," he comments critically, "was based upon the proposition that the government, that is, the people, was strong enough to do anything necessary." As a consequence of such leadership Roosevelt (1) invested the Executive with a tremendous concentration of power, (2) created a vast system of bureaucratic control of private business, and (3) shifted the government's role of umpire in conflicting economic interests, thereby committing us "to attributes of a collective state." Professor Robinson frowns on these changes and writes approvingly of Herbert Hoover's views on these matters—as if this country were still in the 1920's and not in the midst of an industrial mass-production and automation revolution that makes changes in government unavoidable.

As an admirer of Hoover, Professor Robinson logically assumes that Roosevelt's liberalism encouraged Communist infiltration in his Administration. He refers to the New Deal's "socialistic objectives" and states, "There was much in the conduct of the American Administration from 1933 to 1941 that suggested radical advance along the lines familiar in Communist propaganda." And in a bolstering footnote he quotes this irresponsible statement from Hoover's unpublished *Memoirs on Foreign Affairs:* "A dangerous number among the policy-making officials in the Administration were actual members of the Communist Party who were active traitors to the United States."

Roosevelt's Russian policy is of course treated critically. Professor Robinson deplores our recognition of the Soviet Union in 1933 as "opening the way to the long train of mistaken moves." One of these mistakes, he claims, was not to accept Hoover's advice in 1941 to let Russia and Germany destroy each other on the battlefield; suggesting that our aid to the Red Army helped to create the post-war Communist menace. He also argues that Roosevelt's effort to win Stalin's friendship was obvious "folly." Likewise, the concessions at Yalta were his "crowning mistake" and served later to communize Asia. In making these charges and criticisms Professor Robinson ignores such salient facts as the imminent menace of Hitlerism in 1941, the confident view of our military leaders that the Nazis would crush the Red Army in short order, the number of American lives saved as a result of the Russian front, the presumed need of the Red Army to help defeat Japan, and the basic factors that favored communism in China.

"The Roosevelt Leadership" is a work of thoroughgoing research but it is hardly without the "prejudice" stipulated in the donor's grant.

CHARLES A. MADISON, author of "Critics and Crusaders" and "American Labor Leaders," is completing a book on twentieth-century liberalism to be entitled "Dynamic Democracy."

Books in Brief

Perilous Assignment

DUEL OF WITS. By Peter Churchill. Putnam's. $4.50.

What do stockbrokers think about? Captain Peter Churchill, who has been working on the London Stock Exchange since the war, must have had his mind filled while writing this book with the fantastic adventures of British secret agents and his own four missions to France, two by submarine and two by parachute jumps from planes.

His job was to allocate British arms and funds to resistance groups in southeastern France and to direct their activities. The rigorous training for this work with its intensive drilling in sabotage, disguises, parachuting, explosives, codes, field craft, and map-reading, as described in the first chapters, makes the most intriguing part of the book. Churchill recounts in minute detail the elaborate preparations for each single move in operations which are only incidental to the whole strategy. What may appear unduly, even tiresomely, cautious to the impatient reader in his safe arm-chair strikes him with shattering impact when he comes to the terse Biographical Index at the end of the book which lists the names of the seventy-two men and women who were Churchill's coworkers in France. After more than half of them stand the grim words Captured, Killed in Action, or Executed.

Churchill himself, together with a remarkable woman who served as his courier, were betrayed by one of their associates and spent two years in prison. Subsequently they were married to give the suitably romantic ending to an amazing true-adventure story.

Philosopher-at-Large

AMERICAN THOUGHT: A CRITICAL SKETCH. By Morris R. Cohen. Edited and with a Foreword by Felix S. Cohen. Free Press. $5.

This synopsis of currents of thought in the twentieth century will arouse mixed emotions in its readers—admiration for the breadth and depth of one who takes all knowledge as his province and the discouragement of the specialist who realizes that he hasn't seen the interrelatedness of things, as Morris R. Cohen preeminently does.

The scope of the volume is impressive. After an introductory outline of the forces which shaped American tradition, successive chapters deal with historical, scientific, economic, political, religious, and aesthetic writings. A final section covers general philosophy, from Fiske to Royce, James, Santayana, Dewey, and Whitehead. There are deft and lucid summaries and appraisals of the theories of no fewer than fifty-one men.

It is a hazardous task to select the foremost contentions of Dr. Cohen. Right or wrong, one is his insistence that the most fruitful approach to philosophical problems is through logic—not the Aristotelian kind, but the modern one based upon mathematics and the actual procedures of scientists. Distinctive of his outlook is his preference for the concept of the philosopher which derives from Plato and Spinoza—that he is above all a lover of ideas for their own intrinsic value.

Lest the impression be left that

Struggle For Social Justice:
JEHOVAH VERSUS BAAL

Hebrew history was convulsed by a long struggle for social justice which was identical with the warfare of Jehovah (or Yahweh) against Baal. "The baals of Canaan are set over against Yahweh; and the name Baal becomes the very signature of Heathenism." Prof. Moore of Harvard (Commentary on Judges, P. 195). The actual force that created the One-God religion was precisely the long-continued struggle for social justice (not socialism or communism). This is the essential truth about Hebrew history; and it is an appalling fact that for centuries our churches and our religion have been so largely based upon a misinterpretation of Hebrw history. In other words, the Monotheism of Israel was not produced by a supernatural impulse, operating arbitrarily on a mountain-top in the desert of Arabia. It was, and is, a cultural achievement of the Hebrew people themselves.

Coming into view amidst the campaign of modern scientific scholarship as applied to Hebrew history, the foregoing considerations are securely enthroned in the faculties of our great institutions of learning, such as Yale, Harvard, Chicago, Duke, etc Technical circumstances have prevented the religious public and the general public from assimilating the situation. But religion is on the eve of adjustment with a scientific chronology measured by millions of years instead of six thousand years. And the people are dimly aware that great changes are imminent. One of the circumstances retarding public opinion is the prevailing ideology of Individual Righteousness, or Salvation, which has been able to debar the proclamation of social justice from the pulpit for more than fifteen hundred years. You can help defeat Reaction!

Two circulars, entitled respectively (1) Bulletin of Bible and Hebrew History, and (2) Restoration of Social Justice to Belief in God, will be sent to you free, on condition that two three cent stamps are forwarded as partial coverage of mailing cost. — Write name and address very clearly on the outside and inside of your envelope. If no stamps are forwarded, no circulars will be sent. — L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, New York.

(Advertisement)

Morris R. Cohen was altogether a recluse, it is well to recall his entrances into the arena of practical affairs, among them his participation in adult education and his fostering of the scientific exploration of conflicts in racial and international matters.

A full understanding of the sketch meets an obstacle. No section offers a rounded exposition of the philosophical position which this severe critic of other theorists had reached, after years of reflection. Academic philosophers familiar with the author's previous publications may not be concerned, but readers innocent of such technical knowledge are required to figure out the underlying assumptions.

Brief Flowering

THE CHICAGO RENAISSANCE IN AMERICAN LETTERS. A Critical History. By Bernard Duffey. Michigan State. $6.50.

There was a time—about 1916—when it appeared happily that the intense literary activity centered in Chicago might be the dawn of the really significant national literature prophesied by Whitman. That the great promise of Chicago's renaissance failed to materialize and that it was completely overshadowed by the sturdier achievements on the New York scene, we now understand. But what we may not understand so clearly—and this is where Duffey's history proves most helpful—is the background of the Midwestern flowering and the limitations within it from the first which ultimately brought about its demise.

In its first phase, from about 1890 to 1907, the Chicago renaissance flourished largely under the aegis of the genteel tradition. That old, maiming blight curbed what might otherwise have been free, spontaneous, American. The second and more promising phase, and for us today the most interesting by far, was marked by the protest of "the assertively liberated intellectual bohemians of the rising school," which, after 1910, gradually superseded the earlier "upward movement." Between 1912 and 1917 the literary frenzy of Chicago was at its most intense. After that peak, the major writers and journalists tended to depart for New York. Margaret Anderson had migrated there with her *Little Review* in 1916. Sherwood Anderson found more congenial spirits, like Waldo Frank and Paul Rosenfeld, among the New York intelligentsia than he knew in the West. Those who didn't escape to the East simply ceased to produce important work after 1920.

A single chapter devoted to Sherwood Anderson, Carl Sandburg, and Vachel Lindsay is perhaps the brightest spot in a book that is weighted down by a doggedly academic style.

Music

B. H. Haggin

EACH new work of Balanchine exhibits an extended and enriched vocabulary and new groupings and formations that are amazing evidence of his continuing creative power. One line of development is seen in the powerful modern-style movements and distortions of "Opus 34" and "Ivesiana"; another in the delicate intricacy that is one of the enchanting features of his new piece, "Roma." Enchanting too is a new counterpoint of slow against fast: the music, at one point in the first movement, continuing fast while two groups of boys and one of girls suddenly drop into a slow saunter as they look each other over; the boys continuing slow while the girls become increasingly animated; LeClercq, in the final tarentella, performing intricate fast steps while the boys' arms make an enormous slow circling movement; and other things of the sort. Bizet's unfamiliar and charming music adds to the effectiveness of the piece; Eugene Berman's costumes, unattractive in design and color, diminish it: LeClercq's movements are contrived to make exquisite use of her long silhouette, which the costume chops in two, with the result that the loveliness of her dancing isn't fully revealed. Eglevsky is luckier in having nothing to obscure his brilliant performance of the delicate intricacies that keep him too busy to get in more than an occasional Eglevskyism.

It is in these delicate intricacies, as well as the usual spectacular feats, that Eglevsky and his two partners—chosen from Wilde, Hayden, LeClercq, and Adams—exhibit their virtuosity in the new "Pas de trois II." Another unusual feature that contributes to making this Balanchine's finest piece of its kind is the continuity in the progression of movement employing now one dancer, now the other, now these two, now those, and now all three. And the piece gains from being danced to charming music by Glinka.

Last fall's "Ivesiana" was given this time with the "Hallowe'en" episode replaced by one called "Arguments," in which—to the music of a quartet movement by Ives in which the four string voices scream at each other—a couple of youngsters who alternate between quarreling and making love are disturbed by three female busybodies with whom they get into a wrangle in the amusingly visible form of a Balanchine labyrinth of intertwining bodies violently stepping over and under the locked arms. Also, last fall's "Western Symphony," which was effective and funny without costumes, was made twice as effective and funny with marvelous costumes by Karinska which pointed up the movements and jokes. LeClercq's hat—to say nothing of the way she wore it—was alone worth the price of admission.

In addition Balanchine restored the original Tchaikowsky music for the conclusion of the pas de deux in "Swan Lake"—engaging music in fast tempo, for which he devised a brilliant conclusion employing the corps. I saw one performance of "Swan Lake" with Adams, who danced with a touching personal sweetness and warmth, but without the strength and stamina required by some of the brilliant passages, and also without the clear outlining of her moving body that LeClercq achieved. Nor was this all that LeClercq achieved: the increased continuity in slow movement that showed itself in the Andante of "Concert Barocco" in the way her arm and hand carried through the turn of her body, showed itself also in the new way her slow movements filled out time in the pas de deux of "Swan Lake."

I turned on the radio for the Metropolitan's broadcast of "Otello" the first time just as Del Monaco was about to begin the first-act duet; and I was surprised to hear a clear, resonant vocal timbre instead of the dry, rasping, toneless sound of previous occasions; but this more agreeable voice was kept, in that quiet opening passage, at an unvarying forte unmitigated by the slightest trace of lyricism. Then Tebaldi answered; and I was shocked even more than I had been in the Metropolitan a week earlier by the extreme self-indulgence of her performance: there was not one sung musical phrase, but only a constant manipulation of the voice in expansions and contractions of tone that were lingered over in phrases that lost their continuity. In the great *Dio! mi potevi scagliar* of the third act too Del Monaco's voice had a clear vocal timbre, as against the rasping, husky tonelessness in the London recorded performance; but though clear it had nothing like the luster and beauty of Vinay's voice in that passage in Toscanini's recorded performance; and in the climactic pianissimo on the words *volere del ciel* it became unpleasantly dry. And in the *Ave Maria* Tebaldi exhibited the same self-indulgence as in the first-act duet.

In this she had the indulgence of Stiedry, who waited while she lingered over her expansions and contractions of tone, and who thus allowed the music to be robbed of continuity. But what happened here was only an exaggeration of what happened elsewhere in the slack, uncohesive performance that Stiedry produced. The effect of *Dio! mi potevi scagliar* in the Toscanini performance comes not merely from Vinay's beautiful singing but from the orchestral context—with its continuous tension that begins in the first chromatic descent of the low strings and continues in the development of the repeated violin figure to that wonderful climactic pianissimo on *volere del ciel.* And there was nothing of this sort in the passage as it came over the air from the Metropolitan.

Letters

'Damned With Faint Praise'

Dear Sirs: Those of us who have studied Puerto Rico's effort at self-betterment were taken aback at seeing it damned with faint praise by John V. Murra in reviewing Earl Parker Hanson's book, "Transformation: The Story of Modern Puerto Rico" (The Nation, February 26). . . .

Mr. Murra has a way of annihilating information with semantically charged phrases like "myth." As one example, Dr. Hanson's book-length evidence favoring Governor Luis Munoz Marin is annihilated by Murra in two ironical references to the Governor as "Mr. Hanson's hero."

The principal device throughout the review, however, consists of transposing the problems after the solutions, to give to the negative side an appearance of crushing finality. Let Dr. Hanson point out that Puerto Rican living standards, although not yet high enough, have risen phenomenally, and Mr. Murra simply says instead that although they have risen phenomenally, they are not high enough.

In addition to arguments that are not arguments (and leave nothing to answer), Mr. Murra annexes darkly hinted information that is no information. Thus we are told the United States holds that Puerto Rico is no longer a colony, whereas India questioned this, with no opportunity given us to learn and judge the United States answer to such an all-important question.

Mr. Murra's more tangible offerings of information are nothing short of incredible. To imply colonial status, his main political point is that "Congress still has veto power over insular legislation" (this is certainly not in the federal compact with Puerto Rico); his main economic one is that "Puerto Rico is not allowed to refine even enough (sugar) for its own needs" and must reimport its own sugar from mainland refineries (a fantastic misrepresentation of Dr. Hanson's statements).

Or we are told that Puerto Rico's factories "with few exceptions are small units" (so are New York's or Chicago's, if this is by purely numerical count) and these are "fly-by-night enterprises." Just a couple of oil refineries, obscure names like Beaunit and Textron in textile mills, Seagram and Schenley distilleries, the makers of such ephemeral items as Remington electric shavers, Dutch Masters cigars, Paper Mate pens, Univis optical lenses, Sylvania electronic equipment, Van Raalte gloves, A. S. Beck shoes, U. S. Rubber, almost every big brand name in brassieres, and a long list of equally known products I shall be happy to supply.

The review does not mention these any more than it even hints at the schools, low-cost housing projects, hospital services, highways—indeed one is left to wonder at how Puerto Rico achieved the higher literacy, health, and living standards (a per capita income that has, incidentally, quadrupled since 1940) which Mr. Murra airily admits with a to-be-sure.

FRANCES R. GRANT
Secretary General, Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom.
New York, N. Y.

NEXT WEEK

The story of Pierre Poujade, the man who called a tax strike against the government of France.

By J. Alvarez del Vayo

Mr. Murra's Reply

Dear Sirs: I share Miss Grant's affection for Puerto Rico and her admiration for the efforts they are mak-

A Man's Best Friend — Sends Him a Free Copy of The Nation

HERE's an easy way to introduce *The Nation*—the magazine you read and respect—to your friends. Simply fill out the coupon below and we will send a sample copy to each one of your friends—with your compliments.

The **NATION**
333 Sixth Avenue
New York City 14, N. Y.

Please send a free copy of *The Nation* with my compliments to the persons listed below:

Your Name ....
Address ....
City ....Z . State ....

To ....
Address ....
City ....Z . State ....

3-26-55

FORUM

Friday, April 1, 8:30 P.M.
WAR OVER FORMOSA?
'China & U. S. Policy'
Which Road for America?
A Clash of Views:
Prof. Derk Bodde
Author "Peking Diary"; 10 yrs. in China
Miss Tseng Pao-Swen
UN Delegate, Chinese Nationalist Gov.
Julian Schuman
Newspaperman, 6 yrs. in China
Robert W. Gilmore
Head. Amer. Friends Service Comm. (N.Y.)
Questions ● Refreshments
YORKVILLE COMPASS FORUM
Yorkville Temple, 157 E. [illegible] St., N. Y.
Contrib: 85c

LITERARY SERVICES

There's Nothing Quite Like
MONEY!

Look around you and you will see that writing brings money and prestige! Here is your chance to write short and long stories, movie and TV plays; travel, expose, how-to-do-it and scientific articles; true story, juvenile, pulp and slick pieces. Books on your own life, and the lives of other people you know!
If you are interested in writing as a career, part or full time, send today for FREE literature! No obligation, no agent will call. Simply send your request and FREE literature will reach you by return of mail. Write today!

MEAD LITERARY AGENCY
419 Fourth Avenue, Dept. N-2,
New York 16, N. Y.

FARMS & ACREAGE

LENOX, MASS. Mansion, charm, excellent condition. 11 bedrooms; 5 baths; fireplaces; new oil heat; furnished. Convertible outbuildings. 15 acres. Emergency sale, $25,750. Berkshire Farm Agency, East Chatham, New York.

WEAR
IT
PROUDLY...
It shows you
helped
Join Your Red Cross

ing to solve their many problems. I had not realized that such devotion implied commitment to any particular solution.

Miss Grant's letter states that per capita income has quadrupled since 1940; Dr. Rafael Pico, head of the insular planning board, writing in The Town Planning Review for 1953, tells us that net per capita income shows a 74 per cent gain; the difference between the two figures is, of course, due to inflation. Need one claim a 300 per cent gain when 74 per cent is really a remarkable achievement?

If we consult the several income studies published by the University of Puerto Rico, we discover that "the most important cause in raising insular income was the increase in wages and salaries paid by the insular and federal governments," which included army pay and GI benefits, as indicated in my review. The sources of capital for new houses in the villages our research team studied in 1947 indicates that army benefits and remittances from New York are the two main sources of village expansion. We welcome such contributions to Puerto Rican welfare, but they are not a part of Operation Bootstrap.

Miss Grant is right in stating that the federal compact with Puerto Rico includes no veto provision. And yet, if we consider the compact in its wider setting, if we remember how Congress struck out Section 20 of the new Puerto Rican Bill of Rights dealing with social and economic matters, if we notice the many sections of the Organic Act of 1947 which are continued in the Federal Relations Statute, we can see why Dean Pedro Munoz Amato of the University of Puerto Rico, writing in the January, 1953, Annals, felt that past Congressional behavior "reveals how precarious is the understanding of Congress as to the right of the Puerto Rican people to govern themselves democratically" and why "it is not yet clear whether the Federal Relations Statute will be amended exclusively by Congress or bilaterally in consultation with the Puerto Rican people." Dr. Peter J. Fliess, writing in the Western Political Quarterly for December, 1952, goes farther: the debate in Congress over Public Law 600 shows that its unilateral repeal is a real possibility. My review indicated that considerable advance in local self-government had been gained; one need only check these two articles by competent political scientists to verify my assertion that the new constitution represents very little change.

If one may venture a prediction, in years to come the chief accomplishment of the Munoz regime will be recognized as the reintroduction of Spanish as the language of instruction, the land reform, the end of foreclosures and vote-selling, the optimism and hope I mentioned in my review. The main changes in Puerto Rican social organization, the emergence of an active and new middle class, will be recognized as financed by GI benefits, New York remittances, and fifteen years of war-time and post-war prosperity. Operation Bootstrap, stripped of its public relations aspect will then be seen in its proper perspective.

JOHN MURRA

Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

PUBLICATIONS

JUST RECEIVED FROM THE USSR
(In English)
ALEXEI MUSATOV
STOZHARI VILLAGE
Very interesting novel for young people. This work received the highest literary prize. Illustrated. 232 pp. 75c

JOSEPH STALIN WORKS
in 16 vol. Vol. 11 398 pp. $1.00
Available all first 11 vols.

Again In Stock
ALEXEI KOZHEVNIKOV
LIVING WATER
An intensely absorbing novel. A realistic and poetic portrayal of the Khakass people and their splendid efforts to turn the dry Siberian steppes into a land of plenty. Literary prize winner. Profusely illustrated. 605 pp. $1.50

A. S. MAKARENKO
A BOOK FOR PARENTS
The best seller in Soviet Literature in English in this country. A must reading for all interested in child psychology. 410 pp. $1.25

● ● ●

On sale at both of our locations are the leading newspapers and magazines from the USSR and the Federated Soviet Republics in Russian, English, Ukrainian, Byelo-Russian, Armenian, Georgian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Estonian, Moldavian and Finnish

● ● ●

A large new shipment of Soviet Recordings. Wide choice of offerings, folk and classic compositions—LP and regular.
Ask for our complete catalog "E-55" and "Records".

FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.
55 W. 56th St. New York 19 GR 3-2019-19
822 Broadway N. Y. 3 (12 St.)

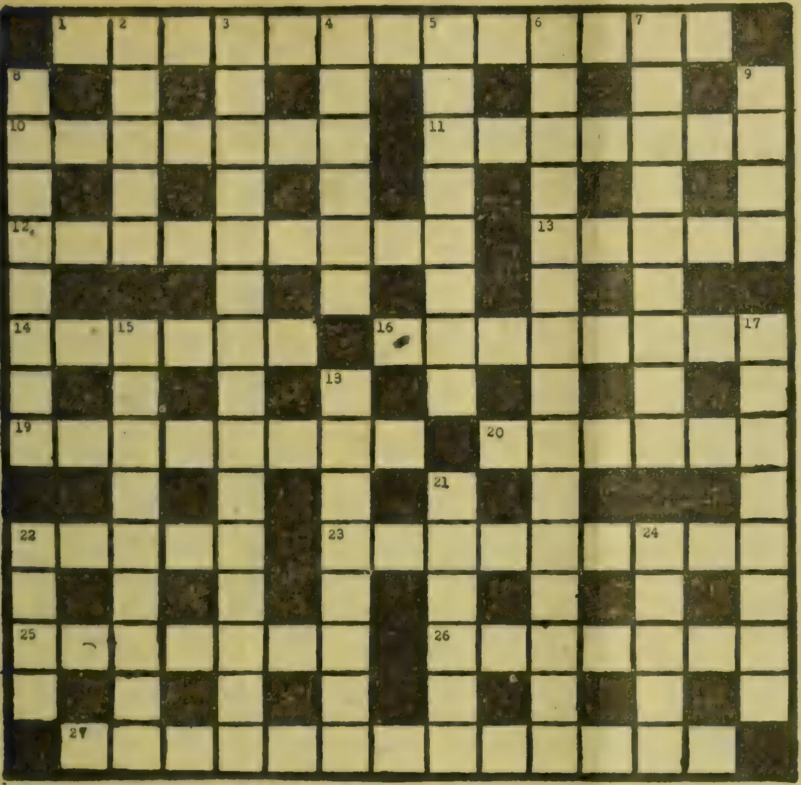
OUR HERITAGE: NEWSPAPERS
By: "JIM" CORBETT
Ran in "Expose" as 4 page ad.
All deletions restored from mss.
$2.00 postpaid
"JIM" CORBETT
1616 Bagley, Detroit 16, Mich.

SOCIALIST BOOKS. Catalog, literature, Free. New York Labor News Company, Dept. M, 61 Cliff Street, New York 38, New York.

UNUSUAL BOOKS you can't find elsewhere. All subjects. Bargain catalogues free. Transbooks, Box 22-N, Brooklyn 26, N. Y.

"HOW TO GROW A PEACE GARDEN"—The story of a flower and an idea that reached around the world. 50c postpaid. Mary Phillips, R. F. D. 1, Lemont, Illinois.

Crossword Puzzle No. 612
BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 See 22 down.

10 Antony said Casca was, in referring to the rent. (7)

11 One way of being firm. (7)

12 Such particles remain suspended indefinitely. (9)

13 Sound the charge, or make it up? (5)

14 This has a real existence. (6)

16 Deeply affected. (8)

19 You'll find more lost in the orchestra! (8)

20 The Bride of Lammermoor's last name is a lot to refuse! (6)

22 A model of disappointment? (5)

23 Flay. (9)

25 Certainly doesn't typify the "Big Sleep." (7)

26 Dissolves, perhaps, in size 0. (7)

27 Centers can end this superior state. (13)

DOWN

2 Not the right inclination! (5)

3 The height of battle? (7,8)

4 Not the exterior of the Gunther series. (6)

5 Perfect degree like an instrument. (8)

6 One would hardly be well paid with this. (6, 9)

7 Sound familiar to those from Massachusetts. (9)

[illegible] Agnostic. (8)

9 See 22 down

15 Rid mother of this from July 19 to Aug. 17. (9)

17 Associated with stuff. (8)

18 Having a purpose, since changed in debate. (8)

21 One of the three unities. (6)

22 1 across, and 9 down Damaging, as one who might raise the price of tea? (4, 1, 4, 2, 1, 5, 4)

24 He fights from down under. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 611

ACROSS: 10 DECLINE; 11 and 12 A FINGER IN THE PIE; 13 KNAVE; 15 and 6 ASCOT TIES; 17 DECREMENT; 19 LIGATURES; 21 DEWAN; 23 RAISE; 24 OVERCALL; 27 ALFALFA; 28 INLAYER; 29 DANK; 30 BRASS-BOUND. DOWN: 1 WADI; 2 LACONIC; 3 IRISH; 5 MEADE; 7 INGRATE; [illegible] SERPENTINE; 9 MILKWEED; 18 COSMETICS; 20 GRIFFIN; 22, 1 across, 14, 4. and 16 WILL YOU WALK INTO MY PARLOR SAID THE SPIDER TO THE FLY; 24 ON AIR; 25 CALEB; 26 ARID.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York

RESORTS

50 Miles to FOREST HOUSE

Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes. All sports.

FOREST HOUSE

Lake Mahopac, N. Y. • Tel. Mahopac 8-3449

FOR THE FAMILY'S EASTER VACATION

April 7-17

CARAN LODGE

Sylvan Lake • Hopewell Junction • New York

60 miles from New York on Taconic Parkway

Tennis, Folk Dancing with Bernie and Esther, 4 cozy fireplaces, James Baird and Hopewell Golf Courses nearby. Children's Day Camp [illegible] A.M. [illegible] 8 P.M. Children's Dining Room.

Accommodations limited to 10 families

RESERVE NOW

New York HI 6-7506 Hopewell Junction 6-2632

RESTAURANT

BALALAIKA

157 West 56 Street
New York City
Gypsy Orchestra
Dining — Dancing
Two Shows Nightly
Banquet Department
For reservations call PLaza 7-2334

REAL ESTATE

TAX-EXEMPT INDUSTRIAL SITES
54 Acres — Jersey City
for lease to tenants who may
erect their own tax-exempt
buildings, or we will build
20,000 to One Million square feet
for lease to acceptable tenants.
L. N. ROSENBAUM & SON
565 Fifth Ave., New York 17

CAMERAS ETC.

GERMAN CAMERAS & BINOCULARS. Import your own. Savings up to 35% on new Zeiss, Rolleiflex, Exakta, and all other makes. Experienced, intelligent, (and objective) advisory service for the technician or hobbyist. Please specify interests and requirements. Immediate airmail reply. Worldpost, Tangier International Zone, Morocco.

AUDIO

HI FIDELITY
RADIO-PHONOGRAPH
sales, installation and service
VECTOR LABS
217 3rd Ave. • N. Y. C. 3 • GR 3-7686

PERSONALS

3-WAY PORTABLE RADIO. Super-fine reception, powerful. Regularly $34.95, plus $4.95 for batteries. SPECIAL $27.69, including batteries. Standard Brand Dist., 143-4th Avenue (13th & 14th Sts.), N. Y. C. GR 3-7819. 1 hour free parking or 2 tokens.

MATURE COUPLE to supervise Day Camp at small Parent-Child resort. Phone: New York—Hi 6-7506. Hopewell Junction 6-2632.

Advertising Rates

CLASSIFIED

74c a line (6 words)
Three-line minimum

•

CLASSIFIED DISPLAY

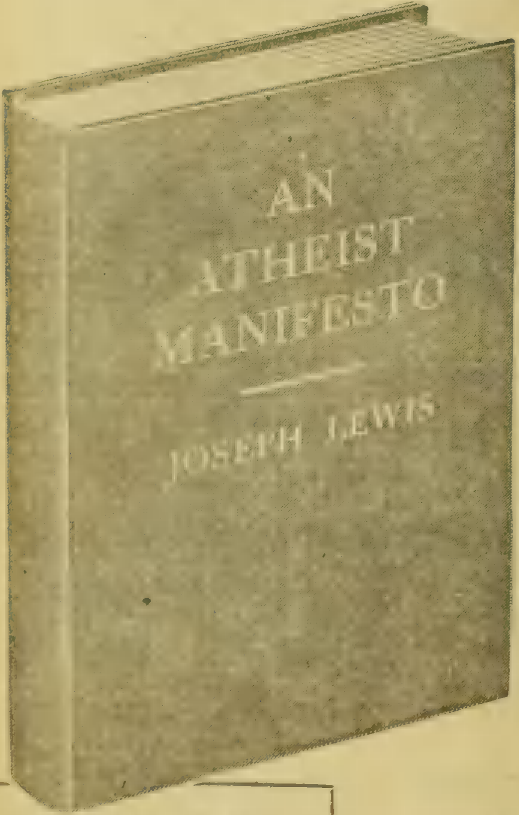
$7.42 per Inch (minimum)
Remittance must accompany all orders

•

The NATION
333 SIXTH AVENUE
New York 14, N. Y.
CHelsea 2-8400

Printed in the U. S. A. by Southern Farmer, Inc., P. O. Box 509, Montgomery, Ala.

A Declaration Of Intellectual Independence



Fear and Anxiety characterize our generation. We are being driven far from the Truth. How does Religion promote this condition? *How does Atheism work to make all men free?*

JOSEPH LEWIS—long-time foe of bigotry in America . . . friend of men like Thomas A. Edison and Luther Burbank and with them heir to the philosophy of men like Robert G. Ingersoll. His works have sold in the hundreds of thousands.

It is no easy thing to live as an independent human being in this age of fear and the suppression of ideas. It is becoming increasingly difficult to even think for ourselves — and thinking must come before action. And to be free, man must act.

To men who want to think, Joseph Lewis' new book will be a revelation, a treasure-house of ideas, a continuing source of inspiration. It throws down the gauntlet to the fear-spreaders, the oppressive Religionists, the do-gooders who hate ideas. It is a challenge to world thinking itself — and specifically to our cautious educators, our political leaders, our philosophers of "security."

"An Atheist Manifesto" is a magnificent presentation of the principles of the Philosophy of Atheism. It is a brilliant call for courage in an age of caution; it is a profound argument for intellectual integrity in a time of moral cowardice. It points the way others took to true Freethought — that company of giants that includes Socrates, Spinoza, Thomas Paine, Voltaire. It is a book to be read and re-read. Send for your copy **today.**

SOME QUESTIONS

What is the punishment for "flying in the face of God?"

Is man's destiny oblivion? Can man live believing his destiny is oblivion?

What happens to a man when he at last gets up off his knees?

How does non-thinking actually destroy the capacity to act?

Would a true believer in God have sought and discovered the secrets of medical anesthesia?

Can a true believer know what justice is? Can one of the "faithful" know what goodness is?

64 pages; printed on quality paper and handsomely bound.

only

$1.00

FREETHOUGHT PRESS ASSOCIATION, Dept. N-3
370 West 35th Street, New York 1, N.Y.

FREETHOUGHT PRESS ASSOCIATION, Dept. N-3
370 West 35th Street, New York 1, N. Y.

☐ Please send me, postpaid ______ copies of AN ATHEIST MANIFESTO by Joseph Lewis at only $1.00 each.

☐ A limited edition of only 250 copies, of which 195 are for sale, have been bound in genuine flexible leather, printed on specially laid paper; each copy is numbered and autographed by the author $3.00 per copy.

Also send me the following books by Joseph Lewis:

☐ The Bible Unmasked (over 250,000 sold)	$1.00
☐ The Tyranny of God (over 35,000 sold)	$1.00
☐ The Ten Commandments (over 10,000 sold)	$5.00
☐ In the Name of Humanity	$1.00
☐ Spain—A Land Blighted by Religion	$1.00

Name ______________________________
(Please Print)
Address ______________________________
City ______________ Zone ____ State ______________

THE FUSE OF WORLD WAR III: AN EDITORIAL

BURLINGAME
PUBLIC LIBRARY
Burlingame, Calif.

THE *Nation*

April 2, 1955
20c

Afro-Asian Conference

by K. M. Pannikar and C. P. Fitzgerald

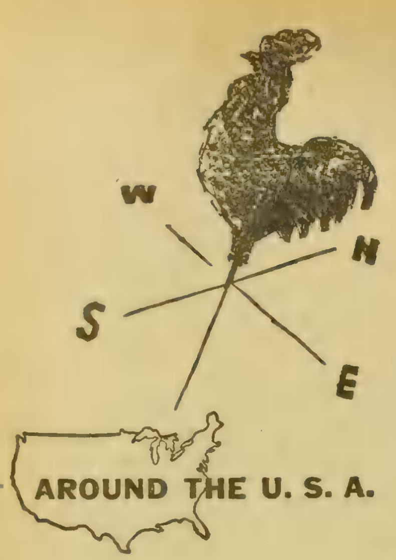
L'Affaire Poujade

by J. Alvarez del Vayo

EVERY
WEEK
SINCE
1865

Skids Under Labor *Eleanor G. Astor*

Chicago's Hectic Race *Elmer Gertz*


W
N
S
E
AROUND THE U. S. A.

A Significant Victory For Civil Liberties

Los Angeles

THE ISSUE was not new: whether lawyers who rely on the Fifth Amendment should be disbarred. What was new was the breadth of opposition. Self-confessed Republicans and alleged Communists, corporation lawyers, and experts on the repossession of TV sets—they arose one after the other to address the board of governors of the state bar of California and to plead that the disbarment proposals be rejected.

The place was the assembly hall the State Building in Los Angeles. A committee of the state bar had recommended that the business and professional code be amended. The board of governors wished to hear an expression of opinion from members of the bar before deciding whether to endorse the amendments for adoption by the state legislature.

The amendments would make it possible to disbar any lawyer who refuses on any grounds to tell any Congressional or legislative committee, or even a committee of the bar: 1) whether he has himself been a member of "any Communist organization;" 2) what he knows about others (excepting only his own clients) suspected of membership in any Communist organization."

A scant hundred people were in the assembly room, scene of many hearings of the state Un-American Activities Committee. Of these, fourteen were board members, twenty-six were to speak. Five, including Homer D. Crotty, chairman of the committee which had recommended the amendment, spoke in the affirmative. Twenty-one spoke in opposition.

Mr. Crotty led off, looking somewhat like Robert Taft with a toupee. The Fifth Amendment, he granted, was an important privilege. But the practice of law was also a privilege. Suppose, he said, "the Chief of Staff of the United States military forces invoked the Fifth Amendment. What a frightening chill there would be in the hearts of the American people!" School teachers and policemen lose *their* jobs if they claim the Fifth—why not lawyers?

John J. ("Jack") Irwin, then deputy mayor of Los Angeles (he has since resigned), felt the amendments would regain for the legal profession the high regard of the public. An ex-aide of Richard Nixon, Irwin was sharp and earnest. "Who among us has not cringed with shame," he asked, "at those few admitted to our ranks who have reviled and defied our legislative bodies?"

Of the twenty-one lawyers who spoke in opposition, five had themselves been Fifth Amendment witnesses before Congressional committees and three had represented such witnesses. These two themes were repeated in twenty-one variations:

1. Although an officer of the court, the lawyer is *not* a servant of the government. He is the servant of his client, however unpopular, often against the government.
2. The privilege against self-incrimination is for the innocent as well as the guilty. In its origin and in its use today, it is a fundamental defense against inquisition into thought and opinion.

Two of those who spoke, Hugh R. Manes and Clore Warne, represented the American Civil Liberties Union. Four represented a non-partisan group which had polled other lawyers on the issue with the following results: Fifteen signatures for the disbarment proposals, 420 against. Among the opponents were a superior court judge, an assistant United States attorney, a state assemblyman, and Chief Judge William Denman of the United States Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals.

Other noted lawyers had signed a letter circulated by Charles A. Beardsley, a former president of the state bar. His list would be longer, Beardsley told the board, if so many lawyers who agreed with him were not afraid to say so publicly.

Paul Ziffren, California's Democratic National Committeeman, called the proposals "a very large step backward from freedom . . . conditioning the bar toward conformity."

Robert W. Kenny, former attorney general of California, pointed out that similar political-test oaths had been proposed and defeated before. And now, "just as we seem to find a better understanding, a decrease of hysteria . . . over the fence from my good friend Homer Crotty's backyard, this old dead cat comes sailing."

A good deal of attention was focused on Ben Margolis, whose testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities ("I have nothing but contempt for this committee!") had been cited as *the* horrible example of unlawyerlike conduct. Margolis reminded the board that in the William Schneiderman case the Supreme Court had agreed, five to four, that Marxist literature did not advocate the forceful overthrow of the United States government. The proposed amendments, said Margolis, would make it illegal to agree with this decision, or even to argue about it.

THE most effective speaker, in many ways, was a slim young Republican named Rayfield Lundy, a member of the local executive board of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He spoke of the fight that he and other Negro lawyers were waging against "police brutality, discrimination in civil service and education, and other forms of segregation. When we inquire into these things, we are called Communist." The charge was false, he said. "But the history of the use of the label is not reassuring."

One could not help but feel at the end of the day, as Dewitt A. Higgs, president of the state bar, expressed his pride in all who had spoken, that the board would *not* endorse the proposals. And on March 19, scoring a significant victory for civil liberties, the board turned them down.

PAUL JARRICO

PAUL JARRICO is a free-lance writer.

VOLUME 180, NUMBER 14
NEW YORK, SATURDAY, APRIL 2, 1955

THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

The Fuse of World War III

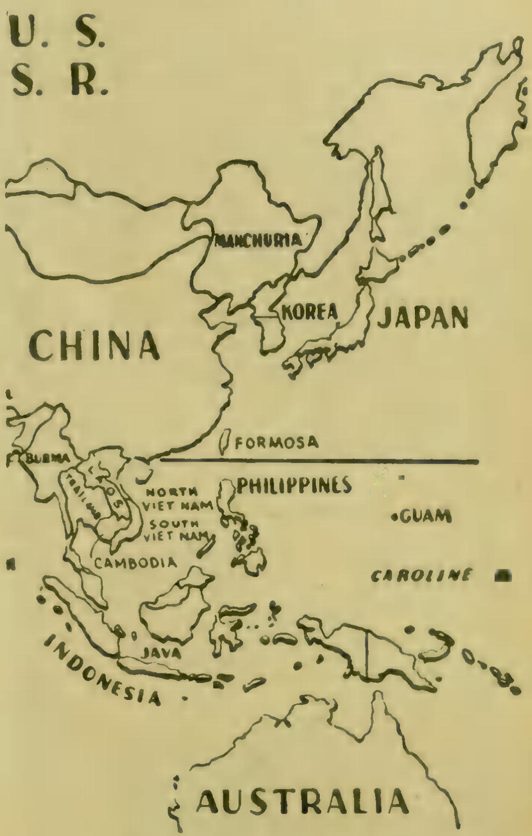
THE SPUTTERING fuse of World War II has shifted half-way around the world from the Elbe to Southeast Asia, according to Secretary Dulles. Last week he told members of the Advertising Club of New York that Chinese Communist tactics "may prove more dangerous and provocative of war" in the near future than those of the Soviet Union. The Secretary has been sounding this lugubrious note since his return from the SEATO conference at Bangkok. But if his trip seems to have clarified in his mind the dangers we face, it has apparently done nothing to clarify the meaning of the steps he has chosen to take to meet them.

C. L. Sulzberger wrote in the New York *Times:*

> . . . . Mr. Dulles likes to compare our Asian security arrangements with the palm and fingers of a hand. The United States is militarily muscled to each geographical finger: South Korea, Japan, Formosa, and the SEATO area. The separate treaties binding us to defend these distant regions are not interlocking. But Dulles considers their interaction in case of war implicit.

What the Secretary regards as implicit, however, our allies may regard as nothing of the kind. How will Great Britain, a member of SEATO, react to an attack on Quemoy or Matsu, which are outside the SEATO area? Judging by Mr. Eden and British public opinion, the American index finger may point in alarm but the British trigger finger will not budge. If anything is implicit in the palm-and-fingers defense theory, it is the presence therein of contradictions of far-reaching import which Washington has been unable to resolve.

SEATO is built on the fiction that the northern and southern parts of Southeast Asia can be treated separately, with the dividing line at 21' 30" north latitude. Northward lie Red China, Formosa, the offshore islands, and Japan; to the south is the treaty area—the bulk of Indo-China, Malaya, Thailand, the Philippines, Indonesia, and Australia. Militarily the demarcation seems quite unreal. If China were to attack a SEATO area, is it suggested that they should be resisted only by local operations south of the line? China could attack Malaya, for instance, only through Laos, Cambodia, or Thailand. These are the only areas to which SEATO is immediately relevant. Yet local land resistance here could hardly be more successful than it was in Indo-China. The military case for striking at China nearer home, north of the SEATO area, would be unanswerable and that would make the line at 21' 30" meaningless. As Secretary Dulles admits, the whole of East Asia would be one front.



Horizontal line between Formosa and Philippines indicates approximate position of 21' 30" north latitude.

It is equally foolish politically to imagine that you can follow one policy inside the treaty area and a different one north of it. Already the SEATO objectives have been compromised, if not corrupted, by Western attitudes toward Formosa. At Bangkok the SEATO delegates found it necessary to assert and reassert that all their plans were purely defensive. Meanwhile the United States, SEATO'S most powerful member, was enabling Chiang Kai-shek to make daily air assaults on Chinese Communist areas across the straits, and to reiterate his unbreakable resolve to

In This Issue

EDITORIALS

The Fuse of World War III 277

ARTICLES

Washington in Focus
by Max Freedman 279

Chicago's Hectic Race:
Straw in the '56 Wind
by Elmer Gertz 281

L'Affaire Poujade:
France's Aspiring Fuehrer
by J. A. del Vayo 283

Skids Under Labor:
The Right-to-Work Laws
by Eleanor G. Astor 285

Afro-Asian Conference
Symbol of Independence
by K. M. Pannikar 287

The Issues at Stake
by C. P. Fitzgerald 288

BOOKS

Studs Lonigan Forever
by John Aldridge 290

Salisbury in Russia
by Mark Gayn 291

Books in Brief 292

THEATER and FILMS
by Robert Hatch 293

RECORDS by B. H. Haggin 295

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 613
by Frank W. Lewis opposite 296

AROUND THE U. S. A.
Significant Victory for Civil Liberties
by Paul Jarrico opposite 277

Editorial Board

Freda Kirchwey — Editor and Publisher
Carey McWilliams — Editorial Director
Lillie Shultz — Director, Nation Associates
Victor H. Bernstein — Managing Editor
J. Alvarez del Vayo — Foreign Editor

Martin Solow — Assistant to the Publisher

Harold Clurman — Theater
B. H. Haggin — Music
Robert Hatch — Films
Gladys Whiteside — Copy Editor
Caroline Whiting — Assistant Literary Editor
Alfred Maund — Editorial Assistant
Mary Simon — Advertising Manager

Contributing Editors: Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus, Keith Hutchison, H. H. Wilson, W. Macmahon Ball, Maxwell Geismar, Bruce Catton.

The Nation, April 2, 1955, Volume 180, No. 14

The Nation, published weekly by The Nation Company and copyright, 1955, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879 at the Post Office of New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879. Reentered as second class matter at the Post Office, Montgomery, Alabama. Printing Office 1803 Reuben Street.

Subscription Prices Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12, Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.
Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs, Information Service, Dramatic Index.

return to the mainland. What do we expect independent-minded Asians to make of all this? That the SEATO powers will sponsor only defensive actions south of the treaty line, but must have freedom of movement north of it? If it is defensive for Chiang to drop bombs on the mainland, would it likewise be defensive for the Communists to start dropping bombs on Formosa? We make it hard for Asians to understand English.

It is hardly possible for China or other Asian countries to separate our commitments in SEATO from our bilateral treaty with the Nationalists, or to escape the fear that the SEATO nations will in some way be brought in to support Washington's Formosa policy. Indeed, the Philippines, Australia, and New Zealand are already indirectly linked with this policy. At Bangkok Dulles is reported to have said he would welcome the support of the SEATO members for America's policies above the line.

IT HAS been argued recently that the United States has no intention of supporting any major Nationalist operation on the mainland, but that it is necessary to let Chiang go on threatening and raiding to sustain morale in Formosa. This question of morale seems to need a more careful examination than it has yet received in official circles. Today no sensible person seriously imagines that the Nationalists could reestablish themselves as rulers of China, even through war. To support them in such a reckless venture suggests a criminal insensibility not only to their own fate but to the fate of world peace. To help them cling to the delusion that they can do it, when everyone outside Formosa knows it is a delusion, does not seem the best way to win the confidence of other allies. It is bad if you can only keep an ally as long as he is deluded about his own prospects and your intentions.

It is again argued that any show of "appeasement" in the Formosa Straits would weaken or destroy anti-Communist morale in the rest of East Asia. There is some truth in the general proposition that any marked increase in China's power is likely to make its neighbors more responsive to its wishes. But in practice there are two qualifications, more significant than the proposition itself. The first is that the surrender of Quemoy and neighboring coastal islands would not substantially increase China's power. The second—and more important—is that most people in East Asia fear war more than communism. There is a crucial difference between opposing communism in peace and fighting it in war.

It is impossible to assess the strength of anti-Communist morale in any of the Asian regimes which have depended heavily on American economic aid since the war. So far a militant anti-Communist posture has brought great material rewards. But the posture might not withstand the shock of war. No nation in East Asia—however bold its declamations against communism today—is likely to put much spirit into fighting any war that is not an overt attack on its own territory.

The people of East Asia do not believe that Mao has yet committed any clear act of overt aggression and accordingly—apart from the few men in Seoul and Taipeh compelled by professional exigencies to take a different line—they do not want war with China. Nor does any Western government want war with China. But bluff and blunder are the common roads to war. There can be no security anywhere in East Asia worth consideration until the nations concerned make it crystal clear, by words and deeds, that in the North as well as in the South, their objectives are purely defensive. For that is the only way to win the confidence and support of independent Asians, and they are the people on whom the region's safety finally depends.

THE MISGIVINGS—to use a mild word—with which most Asians regard the West's efforts to "save" them from communism are made amply clear in the discussion of the impending Afro-Asian Conference by K. M. Pannikar and C. P. Fitzgerald which appears on pages 287-289 of this issue. The articles by these two astute observers were of course prepared quite independently, which makes the more striking the similarity of their basic conclusions. As Mr. Fitzgerald points out, the presence of Communist China at the conference means that the problem of Formosa and the offshore islands, as well as of SEATO, is sure to be injected into the debate in one form or another. The nations represented at the conference represent the overwhelming majority of the peoples of two continents which, reckoned by the pendelum of history, are now on the upswing. To ignore them is to ignore the future.

As this important meeting approaches, our own plans become more and more obscure. We shall defend Quemoy and Matsu but only if, in the judgment of the President, their conquest by Communist China would seem to endanger Formosa. We are prepared to use "tactical" atomic weapons, though not the bomb, in limited warfare, but only if the limited warfare constitutes more than a "police" action. We warn China that it cannot be permitted to take Formosa by force, but we offer no hope that Mao can get it by any other means.

Obscurantist policies are not a way to meet a clear and present danger. One gets the feeling, watching the Washington dispatches, that the White House and the State Department are not unaware of the fact, and that alongside the complicated military maneuvering there are the cautious beginnings of statesmanship. The insistent pleas of Messrs. Eden and Nehru that restraint be used on the Quemoy and Matsu issues have not been answered affirmatively from Washington; on the other hand, their pleas have not been rebuffed. The door is still open to negotiations. One wonders whether the Democrats, who have had bipartisanship thrown back in their faces in the form of the Yalta documents, are now ready to make a partisan move—for peace. And perhaps the time has come for the White House to show some signs of bipartisanship, and to listen for a change to Senator George instead of to Senator Knowland. The Russians, for their part, give every indication of their readiness to talk.

Washington in Focus

by Max Freedman

SENATOR GEORGE made his proposal for a conference with Russia without consulting the other members of the Foreign Relations Committee or the Democratic leadership. It is a tribute to his personal prestige that the Democrats at once supported him. The Eisenhower Administration no longer could dismiss the call for a conference as an impatient demand from an old man in a hurry. Behind Churchill now stood the united ranks of the Democratic Party; and the President had to contrive something better than the polite evasions of conventional diplomacy. In the upshot he emerged with more honor than the Republican Party. For it is evident that the President is more hospitable to the idea of a conference, and is more tolerant about the conditions which must precede such a meeting, than is Senator Knowland or the Republican leadership in Congress.

There could be no more impeccable sponsor of a Big Four conference than Senator George. He is invulnerable to the charge of being friendly to communism. Nor does anyone believe that he is eager to attend such a meeting himself. If he does decide to go, it will be from a sense of duty rather than vanity. He genuinely believes that the West must talk with Russia soon if public opinion in the democratic world is to be persuaded that no chances for peace are being missed. All his thinking turns on that central point. He does not believe that Russia and the West can suddenly become friends, but he thinks it is impossible for the West to keep arming itself with the hydrogen bomb and boasting about its new strength in Europe without consenting to negotiate. Otherwise, the famous slogan about "negotiation from strength" becomes a mockery.

Senator George's argument has many fine points but that is its hard core; and the President quickly realized how difficult it was to answer it effectively. So on Wednesday at his press conference he surprised reporters by being far more receptive to Senator George's proposal than Senator Knowland and Representative Martin had indicated on Monday. Nor was anyone really convinced by the President's argument that his views are substantially the same as Senator Knowland's. It would be a bleak prospect for peace if they were. He was trying to minimize the extent of the differences between the White House and the Republican leaders on this issue and hoping that the opportunity for second thoughts would be taken in Congress to permit the Republican Party to formulate a more coherent and constructive policy. If the attitude of the party leaders remains unyielding, however, the President will once again be confronted with the choice of going ahead with Democratic support or bowing to the prejudices of a Republican minority.

The issues concern war or peace; and the Democrats must seek a clear answer from the White House. President Eisenhower seems to think that it does not matter very much which country takes the initiative in arranging the foreign-ministers conference which should precede the "parley at the summit." Why must the credit go to Great Britain if the United States sincerely wants such a conference to be held and wants it to succeed? An overture from Washington will at least convince world opinion that the United States is ready to take some risks to insure the success of the conference and is not merely engaging in a stale imitation of British policy. Here is one point where the Democrats should keep up the pressure. Having coaxed the President to move thus far, they may be able to persuade him to go even farther.

APART from the debate on the Russian conference, Senator George performed another service when he urged that the time had come to think of more normal relations with Communist China, and above all, to enlarge China's trade relations with the West. It is futile at this stage to chatter about a trusteeship for Formosa, to demand China's immediate membership in the United Nations and its presence at the conference with Russia. All these aims may be eminently sound and constructive; but they are not on the agenda of practical politics in Washington.

With the shrewd skill of a veteran political strategist, Senator George avoided such emotion-soaked issues and concentrated instead on the practical questions of trade. After all, if no progress can be made on this subject, then it is obvious that the more difficult political problems now defy solution. Many officials in the State Department believe that it would be a contribution to peace to normalize trade relations with China, even though they are opposed to the early recognition of the Peking Government. They think that such a gesture would be interpreted in China as meaning that it could slowly win its way back to membership in the world community provided it renounced aggression and ceased disturbing the peace by its provocative policies. These officials cannot make these points in public; but there would be strong support for any move in Congress to break through the rigid restraints on normal trade.

Once again the opposition would come from the right wing of the Republican Party. But that is hardly a satisfactory reason for the Democrats being afraid to do battle on this issue or shuffling away into timid compromise. Above all, there is no excuse for forgetting about Senator George's initiative and allowing the Chinese issue to die without any constructive action simply because the Russian proposal is more dramatic and challenging.

SOMETIMES the confusion in the Democratic Party can best be identified by examining the views of one of its ablest members. Senator Mike Mansfield is chairman of the foreign relations subcommittee on Far Eastern Affairs. He has adopted an equivocal stand on the question of more normal relations with China. In fact, he has been more outspoken in his defense of Mr. Dulles's policy in the Far East than he has been until now in endorsing Senator George's initiative. He wants a conference with Russia; he thinks there is only one way to test Russia's intentions and that is to see how she behaves at the actual conference. He thinks very little of trying to get pledges of fair conduct in advance or relying upon the rhetoric of the Kremlin that an era of cooperation has at last come in world affairs. What may be happening, in his judgment, is that Russia may want an interlude of repose, may therefore be willing to negotiate for a temporary settlement, and may recognize that the growing strength of NATO requires a reassessment of Soviet policy.

All this realism, however, suddenly vanishes when Senator Mansfield talks about Germany's future. He is greatly disturbed by the prospects of a German-Russian settlement which would undermine the foundations of Western diplomacy in Europe. If he stood alone in these fears, they would not be worth reporting. Other Senators share them but they refuse to proclaim their doubts or to criticize the Administration's policy in Europe, with its central emphasis being placed on Germany as an equal and trustworthy ally.

It must be reported that the State Department officials who are closest to this problem are convinced that the views of Senator Mansfield are exaggerated and remote from the current realities of German politics. They believe that West Germany can be trusted and they deplore all suggestions that the perfidy of Rapallo may now be repeated. And they would like Senator George to spread some of his own knowledge of German affairs among the members of the Democratic Party.

FORESHADOWED by many portents, the action of the Senate Finance Committee in linking the fate of the imperiled trade bill with that of the unpopular proposal to ratify GAAT was fully expected.

In almost every capital of the free world the charge has been made, sometimes obliquely, often openly, that the Geneva negotiations were blemished by the special concessions exacted by the American delegation and its insistence that Congress would never ratify GAAT unless these favors were granted American agriculture and industry. After all these concessions, the outlook for GAAT, and for the reciprocal trade program, is more uncertain than at any time since the prolonged trade debate began.

CHICAGO'S HECTIC RACE

Straw in the '56 Wind . . *by Elmer Gertz*

Chicago

THERE is only one certainty in Chicago's sensational mayoralty campaign which comes to an end on April 5—a Democrat will be elected. Richard J. Daley, the choice of the regular Democratic organization, is favored to win, but he has only the thinnest edge over Robert E. Merriam, the Democrat-in-a-hurry who is running on the Republican ticket.

Chicago has not seen a mayoralty fight like this since the daffy days of Big Bill Thompson, the great enemy of King George. It is not simply a local squabble. If Merriam wins a victory for the Republicans in the Democratic stronghold of Chicago, grave doubt is cast upon next year's chances of unseating the saccharine McCarthyite, Everett Dirksen, and even greater doubt remains as to the renomination of Adlai E. Stevenson. Is the Democratic convention likely to turn to a man who may not even win his own state? Such considerations have prompted many people who might otherwise have been in Merriam's corner to support Daley.

The Independent Voters of Illinois, the local affiliate of Americans for Democratic Action, has come out for Merriam. But the vote was split. Leo A. Lerner, who has always been the brains, heart, and soul of I. V. I., is supporting Daley. In Merriam's stable are to be found some of those who supported Stevenson and Senator Douglas, but not the two men themselves. After Douglas's great victory last fall, the Senator kept Merriam cooling his heels when the latter sought to congratulate him. Stevenson, who issued a rather mildly pro-Daley statement when the Democratic nomination was at stake, is now for Daley in the clearest of language.

Merriam obtained Republican nomination with ease after some of the fanciest maneuvering ever seen in these parts. The G. O. P. chose him because it looked as if he could garner more votes than any genuine Republican. Only thirty-six, he was born to urban politics. His father was Charles E. Merriam, dean of American political scientists. Like his son after him, Dr. Merriam had been alderman from the University of Chicago ward and had early shown qualities of leadership over the reform forces. When still a young man, he ran for mayor on the Republican ticket, his campaign being managed by Harold L. Ickes. It was a famous fight. Some believe that he actually got most of the votes, but was counted out. During the New Deal era, Merriam Senior became a Democrat. Young Bob started as a Democrat. He became a Republican last fall and certainly his switch was more sudden and less explainable than his father's. He professes to be for Adlai Stevenson, Paul Douglas, Joseph Lohman, and the other liberal leaders of the Democratic Party, but he says that the Cook County Democratic Organization (which put these knights-errant and others like them in office) is simply incapable of providing decent leadership for Chicago.

MERRIAM is a student of metropolitan planning and government, with a good deal of ability and even more ambition. He has a flair for the dramatic, an amazing gift for public relations. There can be no doubt that he is honest. He did not understand at first what was meant by the wily alderman who told him, shortly after he was first elected to the City Council, that he had "a good privilege ward." He tends to sneak around obstacles rather than overcome them. When the Chicago public-housing program was stalled by those who were opposed to racial equality, Merriam came up with a brave new plan for middle-income housing, acting as if that were a magical substitute for the housing of low-income and minority groups. He has equivocated so much on the race issue that most Negro leaders regard him with some distrust. When Stevenson, as governor, proposed to name an outstanding supporter of public housing as chairman of the State Housing Board, Merriam was one of those who argued—privately—against the choice on the ground that it would antagonize the real estate interests.

Merriam has great resourcefulness; if he defeats Daley he will need all of it and more besides. For it is a certainty that about forty of the fifty members of the City Council will be Democrats, most of whom will be bitterly opposed to him.

Merriam, taking his cue from a press which is mostly for him, has chosen as his campaign tune a song of hate against "the machine." He knows that a large number of citizens can always be aroused against an organization that has remained in power over a long space of years. The Chicago *Tribune*, apparently hesitant at first, finally came out for Merriam in an editorial remarkably reasonable in tone for the McCormick press, which summed up the attitude of many Chicagoans:

> Mr. Daley is a clean living man and we should be greatly surprised if ever a financial scandal touched him personally or if he ever was found to have taken a dishonest penny. In this respect, there is nothing to choose between the candidates, but if Mr. Daley is elected, he will be under obligations, and heavy ones, to a political gang some of whose members have already got rich in politics. Many more of these colleagues of Mr. Daley intend to get rich just as fast as conditions will permit. They regard Mr. Daley as a condition which will permit. Mayor Kennelly was dumped precisely because he was a condition which would not permit.

The only Chicago newspaper which has come out for Daley is

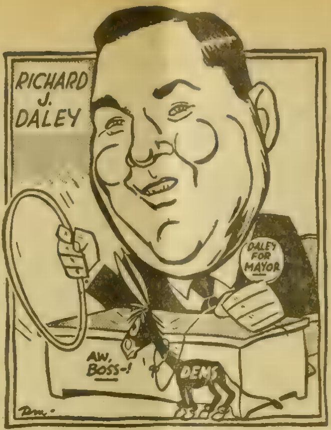
ELMER GERTZ is a Chicago lawyer who has written extensively on social and political topics.

Hearst's *American*, which had supported Kennelly in the primaries.

On one occasion Merriam and Daley debated the "machine" issue. Daley declared that a political party is a machine only "when you oppose it." Merriam countered by defining a machine "as a political organization using politics and government for personal profit, enrichment, and aggrandizement" and said that the local Democratic Party is such a machine. Daley asked if the Republican Party in Cook County is any less a machine. The fact is that there are elements in both parties here which could well be eliminated —for example, the West Side block of syndicate politicians.

Daley has been deemed to be representative of the better elements in the Democatic organization. He built up a reputation for integrity and stability in his various posts as Democratic leader in the state senate, director of the Department of Finance under Governor Stevenson, and Cook County Clerk. Now when he is smeared with "the machine" he is being found "guilty by association." He asks why his opponents don't point out what wrongs he personally has committed, instead of dwelling upon the machine or the tragic case of his whilom running-mate, Alderman Benjamin M. Becker, who was forced off the ticket when it was charged that he had split fees. The one break that Daley has gotten thus far is that in the resulting reshuffle Morris B. Sachs, a business man of great popular appeal (long a sponsor of a famous Amateur Hour), has now become the Daley Democratic candidate for city treasurer.

FIVE YEARS ago the Cook County Democratic Organization nominated for sheriff Captain Dan Gilbert, "the world's richest cop," and brought down upon itself a political disaster —from which it is still suffering. Even Stevenson's loss of Illinois in 1952 is traceable, in some measure, to it. Daley, selected as county chairman over the opposition of the old guard, felt that if the Democrats were to make gains or even hold their own, then the strategic office of sheriff had to be rewon. For that purpose he sought a man of impeccable reputation, familiar with but outside the ranks of party hacks.



As the pro-Merriam Chicago Daily News *sees the Democratic candidate.*

It was then he thought of Dr. Joseph D. Lohman, a man with an impressive list of professional and civic achievements.

Run-of-the-mill politicians display little enthusiasm for giving juicy offices to men who are not ready to hand out plums to the deserving. When I asked a shrewd and somewhat liberal politician if he thought Lohman had a chance to be nominated for sheriff, he roared, "Are you crazy?" There was a real fight to get the nomination for Lohman, commencing with the effort to interest the man himself in the job. He had never run for elective office and didn't know if he would like it. Lined up against him were the ward leaders who don't want their little duchies invaded by Negroes, public-housing projects, or any other sign of social progress. The result of the ward committeemen's ballot was much closer than has been publicly admitted. Only the support of Colonel Arvey, his law partner, Barnet Hodes, and his handyman, County Commissioner Arthur X. Elrod, won for Lohman.

Benjamin S. Adamowski, a political maverick from the hectic days of Governor Horner, has been a complicating factor in the present campaign. He was the first to announce his candidacy in the Democratic primaries—even before the November election. He said from the outset that he was in the race to the end, whoever the other candidates might be; and he did remain in the race even when it became apparent that his chances were nil.

Adamowski had been corporation counsel early in the Kennelly administration. Unable, he said, to stomach the mayor's lack of leadership, he left before the end of Kennelly's first term. In the current race he had counted upon having only one primary opponent—either Kennelly or the one chosen by the organization to replace him. Adamowski could not have known, when he made his decision in October, that the Democrats would be in the mood to toss out Kennelly, that Kennelly—who would have been glad to withdraw had he been asked nicely—would flare up in anger and do battle against the machine.

Thus Adamowski found himself with two primary foes—the incumbent and Daley. And, because the newspapers saw here a golden opportunity to smite if not smash the Democratic machine, he also found himself without any real organized support. He was everybody's second choice. This was all the more frustrating because it was generally admitted even by his opponents, that he was the best man for the job.

ONLY THE newspapers have taken Kennelly's defeat harder than Kennelly himself. They have not even begun to give up hope of punishing the Democrats by trouncing Daley. On this issue the liberal *Sun-Times* is even more partisan than the *Tribune*. During much of Kennelly's administration the newspapers justly criticized him for inaction and lack of leadership, the same charges made by the Democratic leaders who finally dropped him. Now they claim that he was dumped by a combination of greedy politicians and criminals. The fact is that the worst elements of the Democratic Party did want to get rid of Kennelly; but so did the best elements. The mayor is a decent, sometimes likeable man who has shown little stomach for battle. During his eight years in office, he never made a speech or issued a statement in support of even the best of his party's candidates, including Stevenson, Douglas, and Lohman. If the machine is too strong, it is because Kennelly abdicated his responsibilities.

The ace card of the newspapers and of the Republicans is the City Council's Emergency Crime Committee, created by the Democrats and once headed by Merriam. Merriam resigned as chairman when he announced his mayoralty candidacy, insisting that he did not want to play politics with the committee. Irwin Cohen, the committee's counsel, who was acting United States Attorney here in the early days of the Eisenhower Administration. wants to delay public hearings until the election is out of the way and he has fully gathered and sifted his evidence. But his chief investigator, Downey Rice, has resigned and is now playing with the Republicans. It would not be surprising if at a strategic moment before the election, Cohen's successor as United States Attorney, Robert Tieken, or one of Governor Stratton's handymen, comes up with some well publicized indictments involving one or another of Daley's supporters. This is a tough campaign and a lot of things can happen even in its closing stretch.

L'AFFAIRE POUJADE

France's Aspiring Fuehrer . . *by J. A. del Vayo*

Paris

THE LEADER of what has come to be known here as "the revolt against taxation" is Pierre Poujade, a 34-year-old Frenchman of the provinces—square-shouldered, vivacious, with a confident smile, malicious small eyes, and an *eloquence torrential.* He is rapidly—and unexpectedly—becoming the Number 1 headache of the Edgar Faure government. A fortnight ago he watched from the gallery of the National Assembly as his rebellion nearly but not quite gained enough strength on the floor to bring on another government crisis. Early last week he made international headlines with a plea to French retailers to declare a tax strike and, as this is written, he is preparing another attack on the government in connection with Faure's fiscal reform bill.

Known as the "chief" to the members of the Organization in Defense of Tradesmen and Artisans (U D. C. A.), Poujade began his crusade against taxes less than two years ago in the village of Saint-Cere in southern France. Here he harangued a small audience of shopkeepers and artisans on the inviting theme that the cause of all their miseries was the tax collector. This is the kind of gospel which travels with electrifying speed, and from small meetings in crowded town halls Poujade quickly moved on to more imposing platforms. In January he did what only truly national figures in France can do: he packed the Velodrome d'Hiver, the Paris equivalent of New York's Madison Square Garden, for a three-hour speech arguing that the French governmental system was rotten, root and branch, and that until it was replaced with something better no one should pay a sou to support it.

Poujade surrounds his meetings with demagogic trappings remindful of an earlier decade in Italy and in Germany. At the velodrome meeting, for instance, the packed audience was asked to stand in silence while the "chief" made his way down a long aisle to the speaker's platform. But it is not the *poujadiste* trappings alone which evoke uneasy memories. In Poujade's speeches, and in those of his lieutenants, the anti-parliamentary and anti-democratic overtones are unmistakeable. He appeals to "the people" to get rid of the "old politicians"; "thanks to us," he told his followers recently, "France has found itself again. . . . We are the nation's last hope." He has referred to parliament as a "dungheap" and to some deputies as "traitors" who must be "wiped out." His philosophy is an admixture of racism, xenophobia, and anti-intellectualism. To join his organization, one must not only pledge not to pay taxes, but also to prove that at least three of one's grandparents are French. Implicit in his every major pronouncement is the argument that only through a "strong man" can France find its salvation.

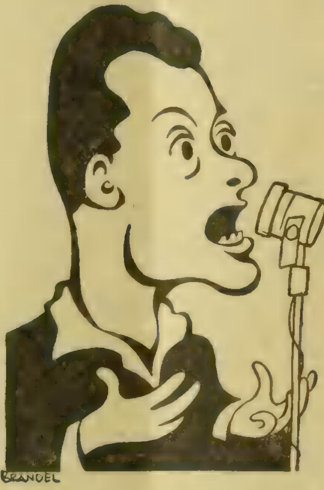
French labor is awakening to the danger of the man and his movement. Last week the Roman Catholic labor federation attacked Poujade's "Fascist methods"; the Socialist federation, Force Ouvriere, described the movement as "camouflage for a veritable Fascist organization."

Poujade's program consists of eight planks, five of which are vaguely phrased variations of one which calls for "a revision of social laws in a spirit of equality among all Frenchmen." The other three are imperatives: a total and immediate fiscal amnesty, the suspension of all tax collections, and "abrogation of the Dorey amendment" under which fines and jail sentences may be imposed on persons who urge others not to pay taxes.

IN JOINING Poujade's organization the initiate signs a formal letter announcing his determination no longer to pay taxes. Such letters are collected by "activists" in each locality and delivered en masse to the authorities. From the outset, then, the government finds that it is dealing not with individuals but with large groups which subsequently show a united front against the tax officials. An investigator, bent on looking into an individual case of non-payment in a small community, may be met by dozens of shopkeepers who have closed their businesses and gathered in the public square as a gesture of defiance. Sometimes only the *amour propre* of the investigator is hurt, but on occasions he has been attacked physically. Sometimes the tax rebels will form a protective wall around the business establishment whose proprietor is sought by the investigator. Even if the government manages to close a case against a tax rebel, the *poujadistes* cause difficulties. As in the United States and elsewhere, the French government under certain conditions may auction the property of a non-taxpayer and pocket the proceeds in lieu of taxes. But in a manner reminiscent of the early 1930's in the United States, when farmers banded together to protect themselves against mortgage foreclosures, so the *poujadistes* today jam the public-auction hall and by concerted action keep the bids ridiculously low. Any individual who is tempted by a bargain to break the low-bid agreement suffers later reprisals. Thus the *poujadiste's* property is bought for practically nothing and, after the auction, he gets it all back.

So it goes in town after town in the provinces—in Dole, Haute-Vienne, Cotes-du-Nord. Meetings and demonstrations keep the populace in a continuing state of excitement. And every two weeks Poujade and his six major aides foregather from all over the country for consultation in the "Eagle's Nest" of the movement—a small hotel near Saint-Cere, where the U. D. C. A. was born.

The movement puts out a weekly periodical with a circulation of 400,000. Actual membership may be a little less, and is mostly concentrated in the provinces. Its power as a potential voting bloc has already been dramatically illustrated in the National Assembly, when Faure had to ask for what was virtually a vote of confidence in order to defeat a series of *poujadistes* proposals. But the French treasury has been feeling the pressure more even than has parliament. In central France, where the *poujadistes* are strongest, one out of ten departments show tax collections nearly 50 per cent below normal. For a long time the Ministry of Finance tended to minimize the importance of the movement. Perhaps the ministry hoped that, if ignored, the *poujadistes* would fall apart of themselves; perhaps it feared that publicity would only help them. But of recent weeks a different policy has been followed. The ministry has acknowledged publicly that tax receipts in many departments have fallen off seriously. As this is written the Ministry of the Interior, with jurisdiction over the police, is in conference with provincial prefectures, and the reports it is getting from various parts of the country are said to be far from reassuring. Judicial authorities have begun a John Doe investigation based on an anonymous tract, calling upon French tradesmen to withhold tax payments, which Poujade has admitted was written and circulated by one of his lieutenants. The "chief" denied the document was an official publication of the U. D. C. A., but declared that he would support the author if charges were brought against him. French law provides that persons who by physical violence, threats, or collective measures attempt to organize collective refusal to pay taxes shall be punished by prison terms ranging up to two years and fines up to $.,000.



Pierre Poujade

POUJADE and his lieutenants are treating the law with steadily increasing disdain; many of his rank-and-file followers show even bolder defiance. Official requests for payment of taxes have been returned to the tax offices with the words "tax strike" scrawled across them. The incapacity or unwillingness of local authorities to take effective counteraction naturally increases the self-confidence of the tax rebels. Each defeat for the government, no matter how small the case, is a resounding victory for the *poujadistes.*

It is estimated that the potential membership of the Poujade organization may be something over 1,000,000—the figure generally used for the number of retailers in France. Apparently U. D. C. A. has organized almost half them already. Some of France's leading newspapers are beginning to comment on the manner in which the National Assembly is cringing before this powerful vote potential. *Figaro* comments that the deputies have the "election jitters" and that the government is losing power to control lawlessness. *Le Monde* said of parliament: "Rarely has so little logic been combined with so much cowardice." The question in everyone's mind is whether Faure will show the leadership necessary to stiffen parliament against the demagogic appeal of the *poujadistes.*

THE WEAKNESS of the movement lies in the fact that although it deals with an economic problem, its leader is an illiterate in the subject. But his ignorance is a bond between him and most of his followers; certainly it does not prevent him from voicing the deep resentment of the small business man toward a tax system that almost every objective observer in France agrees is unfair. In parliament on March 3 the Count of Chambrun, one of the deputies belonging to Pierre Cot's left-wing Progressive group, delivered a devastating attack on the system which the representative of the Ministry of Finance found impossible to answer. Poujade, like Hitler did before him, is playing upon the grievances of a middle and lower-middle class, and the fact that the grievances are genuine makes him all the more dangerous.

The "chief's" ignorance of economics is compensated for by his astute political flair. While the raison d'etre for his movement remains the tax problem, its interests are by no means limited to taxes. This is a pre-election year in France, and the major political groupings are jockeying for position among an electorate as fragmented as it has ever been. Poujade sees the coming months as offering opportunity for him to gain the support of innumerable local political leaders. The bait is the tax amnesty; the ultimate goal is "a revision of the social and political legislation" of France in a direction which Poujade's demagogic pronouncements are making all too clear.

SKIDS UNDER LABOR

The Right-to-Work Laws . . *by Eleanor G. Astor*

WHEN Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell spoke before the C. I. O. convention in California last December, he condemned moves by employer groups to form a national organization dedicated to obtaining the passage of "right-to-work" laws in all states. In taking this stand he alerted the nation to the fact that the drive to pass these laws in individual states was a nation-wide conspiracy.

After the Taft-Hartley Act was passed over President Truman's veto in 1947, right-to-work laws were enacted in Arizona, Arkansas, Georgia, Iowa, Nebraska, North Carolina, North Dakota, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. Before then only one state, Florida, had such a statute. With the election of Eisenhower in 1952, anti-labor forces were strengthened, and between 1952 and 1954 five additional states—Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Nevada—passed similar legislation.

All these seventeen states are predominantly agricultural; most of them are in the South. But this year a vigorous effort is being made to get right-to-work laws passed in industrial states. The campaign has been organized by the National Association of Manufacturers, the United States Chamber of Commerce, and other well-financed lobbies.

IN ESSENCE, right-to-work laws forbid all forms of union security—the closed shop, the union shop, and any contract which would bind workers to the union for any period of time. In short, they negate all federal legislation, including the Taft-Hartley Act, that recognizes the right of employees to organize and bargain collectively. They are anti-labor laws and the title given them is as misleading as the slogan "creeping socialism."

The drive has been given impetus by the Administration's policy of shifting power to the states. The repudiation of federal responsibilities gives big business more opportunities to break the back of labor. At present the battle is being fought in Maryland, where citizens with the blessings of local chambers of commerce have set up a 'right-to-work" committee headed by Edward P. Colwill, a general contractor of Baltimore. Mr. Colwill says that neither his committee nor the law wishes to hurt unions but he insists that new business concerns should not be prevented from setting their own wage scales. "It is nonsense," he says, "to pretend that new business, young business, can immediately contract with unions to pay the going rates paid by well-established large firms." Apparently Mr. Colwill would like to use the right-to-work law to undercut union wage scales. Maurice A. Hutcheson, president of the A. F. of L. Carpenters and Joiners, believes that Mr. Colwill and his committee would not hesitate to use "the lunch baskets of workingmen and their kids as the legitimate seeds of future industrial expansion," and that in their view "the hide of the workers is the place from which to extract competitive advantage."

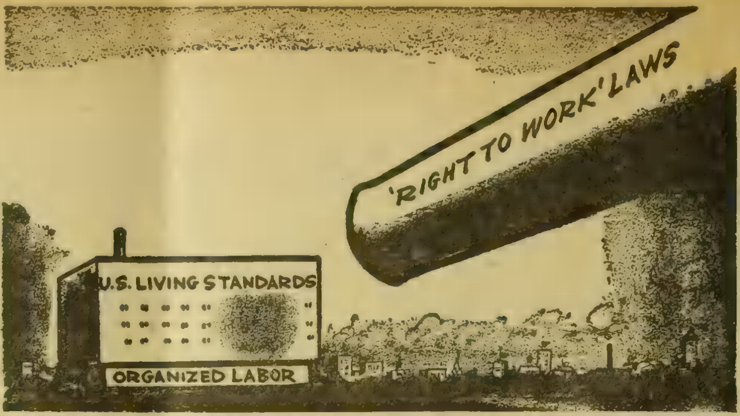
The method of promoting right-to-work legislation has followed a similar pattern in most of the states. Local chambers of commerce, trade associations, associated industries, and other business groups combine to set up an organization that is supposedly non-profit and educational. Influential men from all over the state are chosen as a board of directors. The message is spread through newspaper advertising, purchase of time on radio and television, the circulation of petitions, and the efforts of county committees. According to union representatives in Kansas, business concerns begin by sponsoring "a rather comprehensive proposal for general anti-labor legislation. In time they concentrate more specifically on legislation to prohibit union security. They wave the flag and talk about an individual's right-to-work' They use the old tactic of picking a single strike or labor issue and constantly play it up in the newspapers and their own literature."

Propaganda put out by the United States Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers includes leaflets proclaiming that when a worker is forced into a union against his will 'he has lost the freedom which our Declaration of Independence was written to preserve." Not based on such high principle is the claim that the union shop is a device for securing a monopoly of power which encourages violence, vice, and gangsterism. "The individual worker has little or nothing to gain from a union shop. He may have a great deal to lose. The union leaders are the real beneficiaries . . . the main purpose is as a device for forcing submission to labor leaders' authority." In a pamphlet entitled "What's the Answer to Labor Violence and Coercion?" the Missouri Chamber of Commerce has come up with a viciously distorted picture of law-breaking labor unions: "Armed roving gangs patrol construction jobs terrorizing would-be dissenters. . . . Union meeting rooms are spotted with thugs. . . . Hundreds of thousands of dollars are paid to union leaders under threat of being forced to hire extra help."

Clergymen of all denominations have joined the unions in combating this propaganda. They declare right-to-work laws are immoral because they prevent men from forming associations with their fellow-men to attain a better way of living. They also say that these laws are undemocratic, since they permit the individual worker to defy the wishes of the

---

ELEANOR G. ASTOR is managing editor of The Advance, *official publication of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.*



Partymiller in York Gazette and Daily

The Real Target

majority. The unions argue that the title of the laws, "right to work," has nothing to do with their substance, since they neither give nor guarantee the worker the right to obtain or hold a job.

That union security is needed and is socially desirable in the United States today can be seen from the results of the secret-ballot elections held under the National Labor Relations Board between 1947 and 1951. Under the terms of the Taft-Hartley Act at that time a union could not negotiate for security provisions in a collective-bargaining agreement unless a majority of the workers in the union had voted for them. Of the 45,119 elections conducted by the N. L. R. B. in that period, 97 per cent gave a majority for union security. So overwhelming was the support for it that the law was amended to eliminate the necessity for the N. L. R. B. elections.

Without a union shop the security of a union is always threatened, since higher wages can temporarily be paid to non-union workers for the sole purpose of destroying the union. Required to fight constantly for its survival, the union would have little time for activities in other areas.

IN BOTH principle and practice the union shop is almost identical with the American system of self-government. A union can be established only if the majority of workers in a shop vote to have one. Only the elected representatives of the workers can negotiate with the employer for a contract. Once the contract has been negotiated it is brought back to the workers for their approval. Just as in a democracy all citizens must abide by the will of the majority, in a union shop all workers must comply with the contract conditions as negotiated by their elected representatives and approved by the shop members.

Part of the appeal of right-to-work laws is the belief that they will attract industry to the South. Mayor H. C. Rhodes of Pelehatchie, Mississippi, in a letter urging a Connecticut manufacturer to bring a branch of his plant to the "veritable industrial paradise" of Pelehatchie, wrote: "Our wonderful labor, 98 per cent native born, mostly high school graduates, will lower average hourly industrial wage rates 6 to 49 cents below other Southern states and from 50 to 95 cents below Northern rates. . . . This labor is truly American, not inflicted with the 'something for nothing' idea, and works together joyously with management for the success of both. . . . No one will tell you whom you must employ and all detrimental state laws for industrial operations have been repealed." However, a recent publication put out by the Washington, D. C., office of the C. I. O. entitled "The Case Against Right to Work" and the legal brief presented by the Kansas State Industrial Union Council have definitely estaolished that state anti-labor laws are not a major factor in bringing either industry or commerce to a given area. In no way do such laws represent real economic advantage to a state.

To the extent that right-to-work laws may temporarily maintain a low-wage structure, they impede the expansion of consumer income. This means that they limit the growth of markets—a powerful attraction to industry and commerce. In point of fact, their enactment can attract only low-wage, anti-union soft-goods plants in which labor costs represent a high percentage of total production costs. They do keep unions on the defensive, but past experience in this country makes it clear that so long as basic freedoms exist, workers in industrialized areas will somehow manage to organize. Labor Department statistics indicate that area wage differentials are narrowing and that the national trend is toward their elimination.

Extensive research by C. I. O. representatives in the seventeen "right-to-work" states has produced no evidence that these laws have been of any aid to their current economic development. In fact, the available data show that the rate of economic advance has slowed down in those states since 1947, when most of this legislation was adopted. In Texas, for example, non-farm employment rose 62 per cent in the eight years between 1939 and 1947, an average yearly increase of 7.8 per cent. But in the five years between 1947 and 1952 it rose only 2 per cent, an annual increase of 5.6 per cent.

Most of the states that adopted right-to-work laws in 1947 had expanded their economic activity in the years 1939-47, largely in response to government activities—the war effort, defense mobilization, atomic energy, and resource-development programs like the Tennessee Valley Authority. In addition, new plants in these areas were given financial assistance by the federal government because it wished to disperse strategic industries. All sections of the country shared in the benefits of the expanding economy during these years, but the Southern states, starting from lower levels than others, made the most rapid strides.

Right-to-work laws do not cut down the incidence of strikes. In 1952 the incidence rate in two of the "right-to-work" states was far above the national average of 7 per cent. The case for right-to-work legislation is based on nothing but the obsession of business men that labor must be curbed. It aids neither the workers, the unions, nor the growth of our national economy.

AFRO-ASIAN CONFERENCE

The Nation *here presents two reports on the important Afro-Asian Conference to be held this month in Bandung, Indonesia—one written by a distinguished Indian diplomat, whose country was a prime mover in calling the conference, and the other by an Australian, whose country will not participate. K. M. Pannikar was India's Ambassador to China in 1948-53, and is the author of "Asia and Western Democracy"; C. P. Fitzgerald, author of "Revolution in China" and other books on the Far East is on the faculty of the Australian National University.*

The proceedings of the unique conference will be covered for The Nation *by Sam Jaffe, an experienced American correspondent who is now on his way to Southeast Asia.*

Symbol of Independence

. . *by K. M. Pannikar*

New Delhi

THE SIGNIFICANT fact about the Afro-Asian Conference which opens at Bandung on April 18 is that for the first time Asian and African leaders are conferring among themselves about matters of interest to their peoples and to the world in general. Till 1946 it was an axiom in international diplomacy that the affairs of Asia were to be determined by a conference of Western powers. Even today the European powers seem unhappily not to have grown out of this way of thinking. The Geneva Conference on Indo-China was attended by France, England, and America, but not by Burma, a neighboring country, or by Indonesia or India, which have at least as much interest in peace in this area as Britain or America. SEATO, the object of which is supposedly to protect Asia from aggression, consists of five Western powers—United States, Britain, France, Australia and New Zealand—and only three Asian nations. Nothing could bring out more clearly the conviction of the West that they know best what is good for the East.

It is against this background that the Afro-Asian Conference must be viewed. The first Asian conference, held in Delhi in 1946, was meant to indicate that Asia was awake. At that time no Asian country except China was in a position to formulate independent views. Japan was under occupation; India, Burma, and Indonesia were only on the road to freedom. The second Asian conference, also held in Delhi, was for the specific purpose of mobilizing opinion against Dutch aggression in Java. Thus the present conference is the first clear affirmation of the right of Asian and African people to an independent voice in the settlement of their own affairs.

The composition of the conference is important. From Japan to the Gold Coast, most Asian and African states which are either independent or on the way, have been invited. In addition to the states of Southeast Asia—including the two SEATO powers, Thailand and the Philippines—and the Middle East countries which constitute the Arab-Asian group in the U. N., the sponsors have invited those African nations which are practically self-governing and struggling to be independent: the Sudan, the Gold Coast, and Nigeria—states which are entitled to speak for "Black Africa." The People's Republic of China and Japan are taking part in the conference, a fact which adds greatly to its importance.

The omissions are no less significant. Chiang Kai-shek's government could hardly be invited, as the convening powers recognize only the Peking government. Most of the Asian and African nations have so far refused to recognize the regime of Dr. Syngman Rhee as the legal government of the whole of Korea. While the omission of these states is understandable, the case of Israel is one which cannot be so easily explained. The difficulty presumably was that the host country, Indonesia, has not recognized it, and the Arab nations would not attend a conference which included it.

It may well be asked what there is in common between Ethiopia and Japan, Nigeria and China, the Gold Coast and Indonesia. On the face of it, the conference would appear to be a collection of incompatibles: Thailand and the Philippines, both members of SEATO; the Sudan and the African states, not yet fully independent; Communist China and the Arab countries, which have so far not recognized Peking. Yet these disparate states have a fundamental unity of approach to certain major problems. The most obvious point is their desire to see the right of all nations to freedom accepted as a general principle. All the participating states except Japan have at one time or another been under colonial rule. Though some among them—especially in Southeast Asia—are equally if not more apprehensive of communism than of imperialism, there is no denying the fact that for most of them the immediate problem is the danger which they see of a return to the principle of Great Power protection, which appears to them to be nothing less than colonial rule under a new guise. The maintenance of independence against both colonialism and communism is the first point on which the majority of these nations are united.

A SECOND issue on which they are united is the principle of racial equality. Though the problem today is mainly confined to Africa, the Asian states are no less concerned, for the doctrine of *apartheid* in South Africa is directed as much against Asians as against Africans. It will be remembered that Japan championed the cause of Asian equality as long ago as 1919 at the peace conference in Paris. In the U. N., India and other Asian countries have been fighting strenuously for the acceptance of the principle. To the African, this is the one overriding question.

A third and equally important

issue facing Bandung is the fear of nuclear weapons. The nations which threaten each other with A- and H-bombs are having difficulty enough to provide for protection against the effects of explosions. The nations of Asia and Africa are altogether helpless. These countries see themselves threatened with annihilation in a war which they do not consider their own and in which they do not want to become involved.

THE conference is in no sense intended as an attack against either of the power blocs. If Communist China is represented, so are the three powers associated closely with the United States in SEATO—Pakistan, Thailand, and the Philippines. Neither is the meeting designed to create a third bloc. Apart from nations like India, Burma, Indonesia, and Afghanistan, which pursue a policy of non-involvement, the rest of the participating states are closely allied to one bloc or the other. Clearly the conference cannot reach decisions on major policies. For this reason it would not be right to judge its work merely by the resolutions it adopts or the communiques it issues. Its historic importance lies in the fact that the Asian and African leaders, men who understand their people and are able to speak for them, are meeting to discuss freely the problems which affect them all, especially their right to unhampered development in political and economic spheres.

The Issues at Stake

. . by C. P. Fitzgerald

Canberra

THE FORTHCOMING Afro-Asian Conference represents the most positive expression so far achieved of the Indian policy of "non-alignment." The independent nations of Asia and the few independent states of Africa are meeting to settle the causes of friction between them and to demonstrate to the West that Asia is well able to handle its own affairs without interference from the West. For this reason the conference has not had a very good Western press. Although the former colonial powers are now resigned, with more or less good grace, to the independence of their erstwhile colonies, they are still reluctant to admit that they no longer have anything to say about affairs. Obsessed with the dramatic clash of communism and democracy (it is no longer fashionable to contrast communism with capitalism), the West is impatient of the theory of non-alignment, which is believed to be unrealistic and thus an element of weakness in the struggle against communism. If the countries which adhere to non-alignment were in fact to be invaded by aggressive communism, would not the West have to come to their rescue—not from affection, but from fear of any increase to Communist strength?

The Indian view would not deny that this situation could arise, but claims that the possibility of it happening is made more remote by the policy of non-alignment. The difference in view stems ultimately from a different assessment of the forces behind Asiatic communism. The West easily assumes that China's motives are closely allied to those of Russia; the Asians see China primarily as one of themselves, an Asian people which has achieved independence and strength, not perhaps in the way they would like to see, but none the less an example to them all. The Indians therefore believe that China has limited objectives which can be realized without prejudice to the rest of Asia, and that it has legitimate grievances which should be redressed by the offending powers—principally the United States—which have refused recognition to Peking and opposed its admission to the U. N.

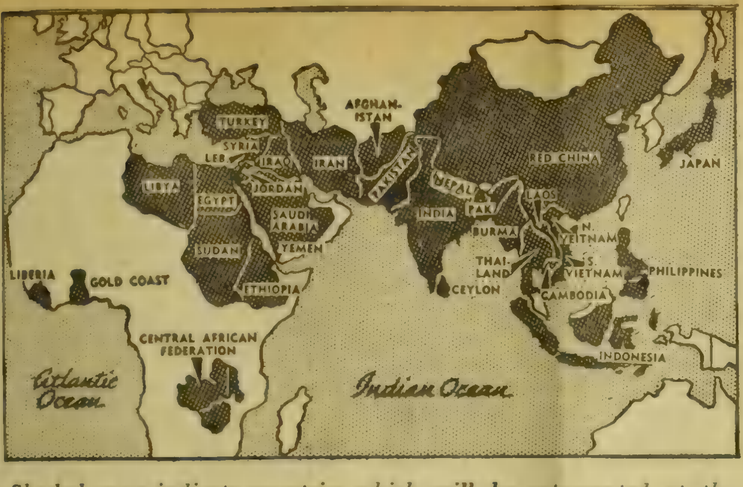
In a sense the conference is thus a demonstration against the negative attitude of the West toward China. China is invited, and so is Japan; even more pointed, so is Thailand, a nation which expresses considerable hostility toward China, and is the most fervent Asian supporter of SEATO. Clearly the invitations represent an attempt to prove that cooperation is possible among Asian states even of markedly opposed ideology.

What are the difficulties which could be solved by a conference at which Chinese meet Thais under the benevolent chairmanship of Indians? Undoubtedly the most important is the question of the overseas Chinese, who are numerous in Indonesia, a major problem in Thailand, and of some importance in Burma and the Philippines. The Asian nations of the non-alignment bloc are anxious to show that their relatively friendly attitude to China will be rewarded with a satisfactory settlement. Thus it could be proved that the Chinese are not unreasonable if approached with friendship, and that coexistence can have a concrete meaning.

India and Indonesia, supported by Burma, will therefore propose that China should clearly and unequivocally agree that the overseas Chinese adopt the nationality of their host country, renounce "dual nationality"—by which they could continue to count as Chinese in China's eyes—and cease to cast backward looks toward China whenever they find the policies of the host country inconvenient. China may be expected to ask in turn that the host countries prohibit the activity of Kuomintang agents and to drop all legislation discriminating against naturalized Chinese.

IT IS of course obvious that even if some such undertaking is agreed upon by all the governments concerned, it is not possible to make Chinese into Indonesians or Burmese overnight, nor to make Indonesians and Burmese regard their new fellow citizens as the same as themselves. But if the dual nationality claim were definitely renounced by Peking, and discriminatory legislation repealed by the host countries, there can be little doubt that the problem would be much reduced. The overseas Chinese, most of whom are either wealthy or at least prosperous shopkeepers and merchants, are not inclined to communism. Clearly, however, Peking will demand assurances that there be rigid control of Kuomintang activity among them.

If this major issue can be solved the impression made upon Thailand, which has the largest proportionate Chinese minority, and which at present pursues a strong anti-



Shaded areas indicate countries which will be represented at the Afro-Asian Conference at Bandung.

Chinese internal policy, will be deep. Thailand may also find that another question will be called up for discussion. Just beyond its northern border, in the southern Shan states of Burma, there still remains a large force of Chinese Nationalist troops, who, after they were driven out of Yunnan, crossed into Burma. Some of them were withdrawn to Formosa after Burma lodged a complaint at the U. N. which clearly implicated Thailand as responsible for keeping them supplied and in communication with Formosa. But many still remain. The Burmese army succeeded in driving them south to the Thai border, where they have made contact with the Karen rebels, still in arms against Burma. It is known that these Chinese still get supplies from Thailand, send their sick to Chieng Mai for treatment, and by their position on the frontier make it difficult for the Burmese army to act against them. If Burma makes them an issue at the conference, China can be counted upon to give support, and India will certainly lend its weight behind any peaceful solution of what might become a very dangerous dispute. The fact that it is a dispute which Western diplomacy, at the U. N. and elsewhere, has so far failed to solve, and one in which Western good faith has been called in question in Asia, is a further reason why the conference should try to solve it.

The conference can be relied upon to pass with unanimity some resolutions condemning the continuance of the colonial system. This issue, at least, is not controversial in Asia, provided no one raises the point that Indonesian control of West New Guinea would be just as "colonial" as the present Dutch regime. Whether the conference will broach this thorny dispute, and make some recommendation less inconsistent than a mere replacement of Dutch rule by that of Jakarta, cannot be foreseen.

EQUALLY, no hint has been let out whether the conference will pay attention to the most urgent question of all in East Asia, that of Formosa and the islands of Matsu and Quemoy. With China in attendance, it would seem probable that some discussion of this question can hardly be avoided, yet as the policy of nonalignment seeks to avoid inflaming existing disputes, while seeking for solutions acceptable to both sides, any pronouncement will need to be very carefully worded. Independent Asian opinion is strongly on the side of Peking in this matter; on the subsidiary question of the offshore islands, it is wholly so. Yet the nonalignment bloc will not wish to sponsor or subscribe to any Chinese resolution violently condemning the actions of the United States. Perhaps informal meetings outside the conference hall will be more fruitful in exploring possible approaches to the problem than any formal resolution.

Although the conference is primarily an Asian affair, and the matters with which it is likely to deal are mainly Asian or African, it would be a mistake for the West to ignore the proceedings or to treat any results which may be achieved as of secondary importance. Measured by the scale of H-bomb warfare, the Asian nations are weak, but the very fact that total war now means H-bomb war has given diplomacy a new significance. Instead of being the attempt to prevent war, or to prepare favorable combinations of powers to wage war, diplomacy must now replace war as the final instrument of policy. No war on the full scale which now threatens the world can possibly be an instrument of policy since its results would make all policy vain. It is in this sense that the collective views of the Asian nations become more important than their real military strength would suggest.

IT DOES not follow that there will be any unanimous views on major policy put forward by a conference which includes representatives of such differing countries as China, Japan, Thailand, and India. Some local settlements may be achieved, some general expression of principles put forth, but it is probable that many nations are sending delegations more to assay the usefulness of such gatherings than in the expectation of clear-cut results. Japan, under the newly elected government of Hatoyama, may use the meeting at Bandung for tentative trade approaches to China. Japan is by no means wholly prepared to take sides among the Asian nations, especially in any movement which has a complexion hostile to the West. On the other hand, the conference gives it an opportunity for diplomatic maneuver in which its newly regained independence can be asserted. China, while possibly willing to settle the question of dual nationality among the overseas Chinese, probably sees the conference as an opportunity to gain support for its claims and sympathy for its grievances. If the meeting achieves some results it will certainly not be the last of its kind. From such meetings there may emerge a general Asian policy which the West ultimately will have to meet. The conference will mark a long step in the consolidation and clarification of the policy of Asian non-alignment.

BOOKS

Studs Lonigan Forever

By John W. Aldridge

"REFLECTIONS AT FIFTY" * brings together what James T. Farrell considers to be the most interesting of the literary and occasional essays he has written in recent years. It is not an important collection, for Farrell is not an important mind, except by comparison with what in America we deem to be mentality in the creative artist, nor is his influence as a novelist or critic any longer to be very seriously reckoned with. He now has, to be sure, a kind of "place" in American letters; we judge him perhaps as the last of the *natural* writers in the tradition stemming from Norris and Dreiser; and recently he has taken on something of that curiosity or luxury value which writers in this country tend around fifty to come into by virtue of the fact—which we somehow never cease to find remarkable—that like Clark Gable and Gary Cooper they have managed to survive to that age. But one cannot say of Farrell that he promises to share with us a productive old age in the manner of Shaw or Mann or that at some time prior to old age we can expect him to resume work upon the foundation which he began to build with "Studs Lonigan" and has since incessantly built over. We therefore find him in this volume engaged upon a typical menopausal literary effort: the consolidation of ideas and insights which he experienced to greater purpose twenty years ago and which represent a defensive position which is no longer under attack. The book nevertheless is an instructive document, the record of an almost ludicrously earnest intelligence, and it instructs us best on those occasions when it does not appear to know how much it is instructing us in the way that intelligence educated itself and in the role which self-education, (in this case, after college) played in shaping the attitudes, morals, and modes to which that intelligence gave expression in literature.

SELF-EDUCATION comes high in America, and Farrell has paid for it—as in differing respects have Faulkner and Hemingway—with his whole career. Its cost to him consists in the fact that the attitudes it has given him are largely provincial; the morals are parochial; and the modes are pedantic, for it appears to be the case with the self-educated literary man in America that he tends always to confuse learning and pedantry, and that in pursuing the one he will caricature the other. But for an intelligence of a different quality and grain from Farrell's the cost is not necessarily so high. The self-educated critic R. P. Blackmur, for example, is similarly afflicted with pedantry: in some areas he has informed himself to a degree that is very nearly saintly. But Blackmur's intelligence derives its great compulsive force from precisely its ignorance of what the formal limits and conventions of learning are, of just how much work it has to do in order to graduate at the head of its class. The result is that in the course of expiating his ignorance (which I am certain he always believes to be profound) Blackmur outmodes the conventions by exceeding them. His fear of flunking out flunks out nine-tenths of his contemporaries. Farrell's pedantry, on the other hand, is of a peculiarly flaccid kind, the kind that caricatures itself because it is backed by a knowledge of what the conventions are and how to imitate them.

It becomes clear in reading over the prose in this volume that Farrell went to school, but it is just as clear that he went to school to the wrong teachers. His prose is a savage compound of rhetoric and jargon derived from French naturalist novels, the writings of William James, John Dewey, the Marxist and the German philosophers, political manifestos, and behaviorist psychology, and it appears to have gotten into the book by way of the dump truck and shovel. It has no rhythm, grace, warmth, or subtlety of style, and it is overlaid with a heavy-footed earnestness and zeal like that of a frightened schoolboy, pompous and pop-eyed, reciting a speech cribbed largely from the "Encyclopedia Brittanica." In content it is approximately vintage of 1910. I do not mean that the questions it raises are necessarily no longer in force. It is rather that one no longer expects to see them discussed in quite this fashion and at this level. It is scarcely real any longer, for example, to observe of naturalism, as Farrell observes of it in one of these essays, that "it has been an attempt to meet and to reveal and to explore the nature of experience in the modern world." We now know that this is precisely what naturalism has consistently failed to do for the modern world and that that is the reason the best modern writers can no longer take it seriously. If they did, they would have to take seriously Newton on the nature of space and Spengler on the nature of Western society. But this is the nature of Farrell's provincialism, one consequence of his self-education, and we have no choice but to take it seriously.

THE other consequence, his moral parochialism, is the quality which above all others has impoverished his imagination and concerning the nature of which, by tone, by word, by unwitting confession, "Reflections at Fifty" is at times almost heartbreakingly informative. The more purely literary phase of his education Farrell apparently got principally from two men, Sherwood Anderson and Theodore Dreiser, about both of whom he has written here with honest admiration and feeling. What they passed on to him by precept and example was the great cranky lesson which had sustained them in their own mountainous dedication to their craft: the serious writer in America is a man besieged; lying in wait on all

*Vanguard Press. $3.75

JOHN W. ALDRIDGE is the author of "After the Lost Generation" and the editor of "Critiques and Essays on Modern Fiction." His new book of criticism will be published late this year.

sides of him are forces of darkness and bigotry bent on stealing his virtue; he is a perpetual Penelope and at the same time he must serve as his own avenging Odysseus; his role must be one of unremitting, nerve-end vigilance. Anderson and Dreiser had early developed a paranoid revulsion to being touched; the cry of "Rape!" was forever on their lips; and if they wore their integrity a bit too enticingly high at the knee, it was because their right to integrity, their right to keep it or give it away, was constantly being challenged.

And this was the crux of Farrell's education in literary morals. Anderson and Dreiser taught him integrity; they took him aside and patted him on the head and told him always to speak the truth, my son, and no harm will ever come to you. They helped to develop in him the one quality for which today we rightly do him honor. But then Farrell stopped learning. He stopped right then and there with what he had and set himself up in practice as a writer of novels, a man of integrity, a speaker of the truth, all of which he was. The one truth he had was the truth of his early life on the South Side of Chicago when he was Studs Lonigan-cum-Danny O'Neill-cum-James T. Farrell, and after the manner of an Anderson "grotesque," he made this one truth his own. Then he began to discover that, just as his teachers had warned, there were dark forces about striving to keep him from speaking the truth. There were court injunctions, hostile critics, leagues of frightened philistines. His integrity was being threatened, and all that he knew to do, all that his education had taught him to do, was to speak the truth again and again in novel after novel until the dark forces either surrendered or were destroyed. It did not matter that it was substantially the same truth he spoke each time. The important thing was that it was The Truth.

He began to develop a compulsion, a repetition compulsion. Finally it became a fixture of his psychic life. He would sit in the midst of his own entrails, weaving them all day into a tapestry which he would unweave all night, just to keep the dark forces off guard. But he never learned how to be his own Odysseus. Even in middle age, while flying in a plane from Los Angeles to New York or while talking to a Russian official in Vienna, he tells us that his mind was not there, was not recording and absorbing fresh experience; it was back in the childhood world of his first and only truth with "Old Tom and Mary O'Flaherty, Jim and Liz O'Neill, Aunt Margaret, Aunt Louise, Uncle Al, little Danny." The integrity that became an obsession, the integrity that made him an honest writer, has held fast to its truth, and the truth now holds Farrell fast, blocking his ascent into the greatness that might have been his. It has forced him, instead, deeper and deeper into his pedantry, his thick, almost scholiastic preoccupation with every last physical detail of his world, until now in his last novel we find that even the details are running out and the truth has narrowed to the little circle of infancy and age. And above the monotonous drone of the language doing its remorseless work of geneology-tracing and visceral book-keeping, we catch the accent of a man patiently telling over the catechism which he was taught would get him to Heaven.

Salisbury in Russia

AMERICAN IN RUSSIA. By Harrison E. Salisbury. Harper and Brothers. $4.

By Mark Gayn

IT WAS a casual remark by the late Edwin L. James ("Is there any chance that the Russians would give you a visa?") that placed Harrison Salisbury in an aged wagons-lits car of the Moscow-bound "Red Arrow" express back in 1949. Though he dreaded the thought of returning to the Soviet Union, where he had been during the war, Salisbury was to remain there as the New York *Times* correspondent for the next five years—the last years of Stalin, the tense days in which Stalin's heirs disposed of Beria, and the months of what might now perhaps be called the "Malenkov interlude." During these years Salisbury came to be denounced as "pro-Soviet" by the extreme right in this country, as he was denounced as a "reactionary" for the syndicated series of articles he wrote on his return from Moscow.

These articles form the backbone of "American in Russia." Whether received with faith or doubt, they remain the most fascinating work on the Soviet Union done by an American in years. Like the articles, the book leaves many questions unanswered. Why, for instance, was Salisbury the only Western newspaperman to report the virtual seizure of Moscow by Beria's MVD troops, and the city's physical isolation, in the first seventy-five hours after Stalin's death? Which of the differing versions of these events was correct—Salisbury's or that, for instance, of a turncoat Soviet official writing in *Life?* Could censorship alone have been responsible for the astonishing contrast between Salisbury's on-the-spot reports from Central Asia or Siberia and what he has to say in the book? Granted Salisbury's premise that the Soviet government had made all normal contact with the Russian people impossible, did this not also mean that he had to rely primarily on embassy rumors, on gossip, intuition, and inferences from *Pravda?*

But with all these questions and

MARK GAYN is the author of "Japan Diary" and "The War in the Pacific."

BOOK MANUSCRIPTS INVITED

If you are looking for a publisher, send for our free, illustrated booklet titled To the Author in Search of a Publisher. It tells how we can publish, promote and distribute your book, as we have done for hundreds of other writers. All subjects considered. New authors welcomed. Write today for Booklet 103. It's free.

VANTAGE PRESS, 120 West 31 St., New York 1
In Calif.: 6253 Hollywood Blvd., Hollywood 28

Clare Boothe Luce, in a letter to S. Greiner in regard to his attitude toward life's problems as he voiced them in his earlier work, **PRELUDE TO SANITY** (1943), had this to say:

"It destroyed my already battered belief in the efficacy of thought to organize society, . . . made tragic mock of Homo Sap . . . It made our monstrous historical yesterdays and our hideous historical tomorrows endurable to both cynic and beliver . . . simply by transferring their bases from the moral and intellectual and 'psychological' casualties to biological ones."

Though Greiner foretold in the **PRELUDE** the advent and uses of the A-Bomb it is in his last work that these are fully dealt with. Our thought-monguls who prepare our destruction do not know the answer. If you want the truth, the whole truth, we recommend

CRISIS AND RESURRECTION $4.50

Master Publications, Kirksville, Mo., or Fortean Society, Box 192, Grand Central Annex, New York City.

reservations the book remains a highly skilful and imaginative re-creation of a historical pattern from numerous and seemingly disjointed little facts. As long as no better explanation is offered of the incredible "doctors' plot," for instance, one must accept Salisbury's thesis that it was one of the initial steps in an immense new purge that Stalin was planning for his closest aides. And inevitably one must wonder along with Salisbury whether Stalin's death at this juncture was not entirely too fortuitous.

The book is not uniform in quality. This reader, for example, could have dispensed with the story of the two Russian girls—Salisbury's wartime friend Galya and a subway "pick-up" named Nadja, who only wanted a good meal, who proudly exhibited her muscles, and whom he makes a symbol of a primitive and powerful Russia. But such lapses are more than made up by the tragic tale of Mikhail Borodin or the story of Salisbury's Russian teacher, Nina, who desperately wanted to be a member of the "intelligentsia," was undoubtedly an MVD informer, and led a typically amoral life in her milieu of free-loving actors, prostitutes, and gangsters. (Those who think Salisbury exaggerates are referred to the files of *Pravda* for the past year.) There are excellent reports on the spectacular rebuilding of Stalingrad, and the decay-by-design of Leningrad; on the Volga Germans deported to Stalinabad, and the prices of jewelry at the giant GUM, "Moscow's Macy's" (sapphires at $11,250 and ruby earrings at $9,500); on the state of literature, Siberia, Stalin's children, and Birobidjan, with its vanishing Jewish character and its omnipresent MVD; and on the leading Kremlin figures, including garrulous, vodka-drinking, and dynamic Khrushchev.

NATION Readers are cordially invited to the

GOLDEN ANNIVERSARY LUNCHEON

of the

League for Industrial Democracy

April 23, 1955, 12:30 P.M.

Hotel Commodore

42nd St. at Lexington Avenue, N. Y.

and to hear

CLEMENT R. ATTLEE

former British Labor Prime Minister

ANNUAL AWARD TO

HARRY W. LAIDLER

For his 50 years of Dedicated Service to the L.I.D. and the Cause of Democracy

Greetings from M. J. Coldwell, M.P.,
Premier T. C. Douglas
William H. Kilpatrick,
Walter P. Reuther (tentative),
James B. Carey, A. J. Hayes,
Roger Baldwin, Stuart Chase,
Norman Manley, Mark Starr,
Norman Thomas.
Nathaniel M. Minkoff, *Chairman*

Price of Luncheon Ticket, Friday P.M. and Saturday A.M. Conference Round Tables on "THE NEXT FIFTY YEARS", $7.00. Admission to After-Luncheon Addresses, $2.

League for Industrial Democracy
112 East 19th Street New York 3, N. Y.
AL4-5865

The author feels that Stalin's heirs did modify the rigidities of Stalinism—though this improvement may now have been ended with Malenkov's displacement. Also, he believes that while the West underestimates the discontent in the Soviet Union, the Soviet peoples are not likely to rise up in revolt against their rulers. The latter, he thinks, do not want war, if only because they feel that time is on their side and capitalism is doomed. With their growing political power, such older army men as Marshal Zhukov are, in Salisbury's opinion, a moderating influence on party hotheads. And he is convinced that there are differences between Moscow and Peking, and that with a wiser and more flexible policy Washington could have exploited them.

Books in Brief

A Gallant Man

EIGHTY ADVENTUROUS YEARS. An Autobiography by Sherwood Eddy. Harper. $3.

Mr. Eddy's thirty-sixth book, written in his eighty-fourth year, tells the story of a long career of distinguished accomplishment as missionary, teacher, and social reformer in thirty countries. The author spent many months in Russia, China, India, and Europe, appraising with a clear eye political and social conditions and leaders during former and present regimes. He was a true liberal as well as a stern realist, a fighter by nature but a pacifist by conviction until his rational outlook convinced him that certain aggressions had to be stopped by force. In the final chapters he reveals the religious beliefs which have sustained him through all his experiences.

The Busy Jefferson

THE PAPERS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON. VOL. X: 22 June to 31 December, 1786. Edited by Julian P. Boyd. Mina R. Bryan and Frederick Aandahl, Associate Editors. Princeton. $10.

The latest volume of the "Papers" covers seven months of political and diplomatic lull. Europe, Jefferson writes to Benjamin Hawkins, requesting a list of Indian words and seeds of the Venus flytrap, "is in a profound calm." Jefferson himself is quietly concocting proposals for joint action against the Barbary pirates, and there is sufficient official business of one kind or another to hold him in Paris. Nevertheless, with his genius for getting things done, he has ample leisure for private pursuits. He helps his friend Demeunier to prepare an article on the United States for the "Encyclopedie Methodique," burying the devoted man under an avalanche of fact, opinion, and advice. He begins his notable correspondence with Madame de Tesse and Madame de Tott. He investigates a new "polytype" method of printing. He takes time to study English prosody and finds it necessary to reverse an earlier opinion. John Trumbull, the artist, joins his "family" and introduces him to Mrs. Maria Cosway and, incidentally, to Mr. Cosway. Mrs. Cosway's beauty, charm, and showy accomplishments in painting and music sweep the forty-three-year-old widower off his feet. By far the most famous document in this volume is the "Dialogue between the Head and the Heart" that Jefferson, laboriously and with infinite care, wrote out with his left hand and sent to Mrs. Cosway in London. There are other matters of equal interest in this volume; and it would be superfluous to repeat old compliments on the editing and production.

Great Adventurer

CASANOVA. By Hermann Kesten. Translated by James Stern and Robert Pick. Harper. $5.

The adventures which Casanova took twelve volumes of his Memoirs to relate have been crammed by his latest biographer, the novelist Hermann Kesten, into less than four hundred pages. This makes for a crowded, almost breathless, recital with little room for any new appraisal of this fabulous adventurer.

Drama of a Liberal

EDUCATION OF AN AMERICAN LIBERAL. By Lucille Milner. Horizon Press. $3.95.

This would be a dramatic and fascinating story even without its importance as a social and political document. For Lucille Milner relates the impact on a sensitive middle-class woman of exposure to the social costs of industrial capitalism. Her experience with Missouri legislators while serving as a lobbyist for child-welfare measures and a turn as a ten-dollar-a-week factory hand in New York dissipated her illusions and sharpened her perceptions.

But more is offered here than the account of a personal education. For twenty-five years until her resignation in 1945, Miss Milner was the Executive Secretary of the American Civil Liberties Union and an active participant in all the memorable cases during that time which tested the reality of democratic freedom in the United States. For the first time we have an insider's version of the torment within the union as a strong faction sought to enlist the organization in a political struggle against the Soviet Union and the American Communist Party. Historians may ultimately date a significant change in the position of the union from May 8, 1940, when by a vote of 10 to 9 the board of directors expelled Elizabeth Gurley Flynn because of her political beliefs. Though staunch libertarians, including members of the A. C. L. U. board, foresaw the ultimate implications of this decision, only with extension of the cold war after 1946 did its far-reaching consequences become apparent.

Theater and Films

Robert Hatch

BECAUSE of appointments that now seem obviously less important, I am very late reporting on "The Three Sisters," playing in a closet known as the Fourth Street Theatre. I shall try to make amends for tardiness with enthusiasm. Unfortunately, the production is so miraculously good that it almost defies comment; especially when you have seen no other staging of this Chekov play. Is it better than the LeGallienne production? Does it conform to the Stanislavsky interpretation? Did Katharine Cornell have something more penetrating to offer? I don't know—but I do know that the present production carries the magic of a great play greatly personified and that we have not been shown anything of comparable quality for a long time.

The best-known names in the cast are probably Morris Carnovsky

Struggle For Social Justice:

JEHOVAH VERSUS BAAL

Hebrew history was convulsed by a long struggle for social justice which was identical with the warfare of Jehovah (or Yahweh) against Baal. "The baals of Canaan are set over against Yahweh; and the name Baal becomes the very signature of Heathenism." Prof. Moore of Harvard (Commentary on Judges, P. 195). The actual force that created the One-God religion was precisely the long-continued struggle for social justice (not socialism or communism). This is the essential truth about Hebrew history: and it is an appalling fact that for centuries our churches and our religion have been so largely based upon a misinterpretation of Hebrw history. In other words, the Monotheism of Israel was not produced by a supernatural impulse, operating arbitrarily on a mountain-top in the desert of Arabia. It was, and is, a cultural achievement of the Hebrew people themselves.

Coming into view amidst the campaign of modern scientific scholarship as applied to Hebrew history, the foregoing considerations are securely enthroned in the faculties of our great institutions of learning, such as Yale, Harvard, Chicago, Duke, etc Technical circumstances have prevented the religious public and the general public from assimilating the situation. But religion is on the eve of adjustment with a scientific chronology measured by millions of years instead of six thousand years. And the people are dimly aware that great changes are imminent. One of the circumstances retarding public opinion is the prevailing ideology of Individual Righteousness, or Salvation, which has been able to debar the proclamation of social justice from the pulpit for more than fifteen hundred years. You can help defeat Reaction!

Two circulars, entitled respectively (1) Bulletin of Bible and Hebrew History, and (2) Restoration of Social Justice to Belief in God, will be sent to you free, on condition that two three cent stamps are forwarded as partial coverage of mailing cost. — Write name and address very clearly on the outside and inside of your envelope. If no stamps are forwarded, no circulars will be sent. — L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, New York.

(Advertisement)

A Man's Best Friend — Sends Him a Free Copy of The Nation

HERE'S an easy way to introduce *The Nation*—the magazine you read and respect—to your friends. Simply fill out the coupon below and we will send a sample copy to each one of your friends—with your compliments.

***The* NATION**
333 Sixth Avenue
New York City 14, N. Y.

Please send a free copy of *The Nation* with my compliments to the persons listed below:

To ....
Address ....
City .... Z . State .....

To ....
Address ....
City .... Z . State .....

To ....
Address ....
City .... Z . State .....

To ....
Address ....
City .... Z . State .....

To ....
Address ....
City .... Z . State .....

To ....
Address ....
City .... Z . State .....

Your Name ....
Address ....
City .... Z . State .....

4-2-55

(Andrey), Philip Loeb (Tchebutykin), and Roger DeKoven (Vershinin); they play brilliantly but no better than Eileen Ryan as Masha, Peggy Maurer as Irina, Carol Gustafson as Olga, Leonardo Cimino, Shirley Gale, George Ebeling, Frances Chaney, or everyone else in the cast. The director is David Ross; I am in awe of him. He appears to have understood exactly what Chekov intended, known exactly which actors could best impersonate his people, and been able to fire them with his respect and love for the great play. He works on a stage about the size of my desk in a long, low, and narrow loft never intended for a public gathering and he sends you home aware once more that the theater is a noble institution.

I am not going to talk about the play. I can scarcely pretend to have discovered its beauty and terror and I am unlikely to add anything new to what has been said of it. Or perhaps one thing: there is a great deal of suffering in "The Three Sisters" but almost no cruelty. Chekov knew as much as we do about human misery and he took no very hopeful view of the race. But he wrote without patronizing his characters and without brutalizing them. Our writers have been through analysis and have learned all about the corruptions of the psyche. Reserve in sorrow, generosity in pain, gentleness in adversity have almost entirely given place to the single scientific observation that a hurt dog howls and bites. Why then do the tragic men and women of "The Three Sisters" seem so much more important and so much more real than the groveling snappers that occupy the attention of our analyst-moralists? Chekov was a doctor, too.

THE INTIMATE revue has fallen out of fashion in the theater and the two which by coincidence are now in town simultaneously suggest that this may be a loss. Not that "Once Over Lightly" (Barbizon Plaza) or "Shoestring Revue" (The President) are models of the form. They are really witty or stylish or original about 20 per cent of the time (say 30 per cent for "Shoestring Revue") and that isn't a high enough average when you are paying good money for sheer diversion. But they remind you that there is a kind of satiric comment, of mocking poignancy, of clever improvisation that have disappeared from the theater because the revue was the only place for them.

If they succeed, as I hope they do, the quality is apt to improve sharply and we might get a "Garrick Gaities" or a "Little Show" again. It is a good style for off-Broadway.

IN THE film "East of Eden" a "seriously disturbed" young man is played by the newcomer, James Dean; and in "The Blackboard Jungle" an even more shocking delinquent is played by the newcomer, Vic Morrow. Dean is directed by Elia Kazan and Morrow by Richard Brooks, but the mentor of both appears to be Marlon Brando.

It would be over cynical to suggest that they are trying to cash in on a fad, and in any case I doubt that the actors and directors would be so foolish as to think it was smart. But Brando is a powerful theatrical personality and his mannerisms are so explicit and so often repeated that other performers can easily fall into them as the "sincere" way to behave. Dean and Morrow both employ his trick of standing with one hip dropped, the opposite shoulder thrust toward but half turned away from whoever is admonishing them; they both speak under stress with his stuttering, slurred, explosive cadence; they both relieve their inarticulateness with sudden open-mouthed howls, often accompanied by the sound of breakage. Morrow is portraying a contemporary city-street tough and it could be argued that the leather-jacket gangs all move and sound today like Brando; but Dean's role is that of a Salinas, California, farm youth at the time of the First World War and for him the excuse will not hold. The mimicry is more unfortunate in his case, also, because he is the more interesting actor and presumably capable of inventing his own methods of communication.

"The Blackboard Jungle" is a tract for our times, proof that Hollywood is not heedless of the ulcers that here and there disfigure our pleasant land. But Hollywood has a strong aversion to leaving a bad taste in the customer's mouth; it likes to end the Zola act with a round of lollypops for all present.

And this rather canny social zeal may do more harm than good; it calls the citizen's attention to a pressing evil only to assure him immediately that a very pretty remedy is at hand.

The present excursion into sociology notifies us that in a typical big city high school discipline has fallen off to the point where unarmed teachers walk the corridors in fear of their lives and where for lady teachers death may be a comparatively merciful fate. The students in such an institution play with switch blades instead of marbles and after class—when sufficiently sober—divert themselves with mayhem and armed robbery.

But do not be alarmed. Fortunately, there is nothing in this undesirable situation that cannot be remedied by a teacher (in this case Glenn Ford) endowed with the endurance of St. Sebastian, the ingenuity of Horace Mann, and the infighting techniques of a Marine commando. Mr. Ford "gets through" to the boys and from then on the school hums with industry and love.

I don't know how carefully MGM has "researched" the school situation, but they have permitted some casual boners to slip into the picture. It seems that the school is in New York (or at least in some large city where there is an elevated and where heavy snows are not uncommon), but one day Mr. Ford takes a morning off to seek advice and encouragement from a former professor, now headmaster of a model school some ten miles away. Palms are growing on this campus and the architecture strongly suggests UCLA. At another point Ford remarks that, at $2.00 an hour, a school teacher makes no more pay than a baby sitter. Perhaps the scenes of carnage are similarly inflated. But supposing that our schools—or at least some of our schools—are now only institutions of temporary confinement for armed and remorseless criminals, they are not going to be reformed into educational paradises by superman turned pedagogue. "The Blackboard Jungle" is a sentimental melodrama masquerading as a social document, which in its own way is as dangerous a little gadget as a zip gun.

The problem in "East of Eden," based on the novel by John Steinbeck, is lovelessness. Carl Trask, son of Adam Trask and brother of Aron, is as moody and bitter and dangerous as Cain.

Or so it seems to him and he finds the explanation in the discovery that his mother, officially reported dead, is really the madam of the most prosperous "house" in Salinas. He tells himself that he has inherited her badness, as his brother has inherited their father's infallible virtue. In fact, of course, brother Aron is a monster of priggish self-interest and Carl is driven by his own sensitivity and his father's lack of it into the self-destructive paroxisms that periodically overwhelm him. He tries to earn his father's love, he tries to buy it, and he tries to do without it. He is lectured for his pains. In the end he is saved by a girl who loves him for no reason except that she understands what is biting him.

This sounds pretty bad, but in fact it is not bad at all. The motivation is sadly hazy throughout (I understand that only a fragment of the novel has been brought to the screen), but the basic observation that a child who is not loved cannot possibly grow up is true and not unimportant. James Dean (despite the Brandoisms mentioned above) gives a painfully unmasked picture of what such a child looks like as it becomes older; Raymond Massey is sufficiently convincing as the good stick of a father, and Julie Harris is a quite marvelous girl-woman—too thin, burning too brightly because she sees too clearly.

The fault of the picture is that it drags. I think that is because it has been impossibly stretched across the heroic span of Cinemascope. "East of Eden" deals with inner conflict; the entire story could be played out in a living room. Instead it sprawls all over the eye-filling landscape and the real action is padded and interrupted by a great deal of rushing to and fro that is inserted to justify all that expensive new machinery. The picture keeps looking like a Western, but it lacks that kind of excitement; and the very real excitement it does have is dulled by the giant sweep of technicolor.

Records

B. H. Haggin

Oiseau Lyre OL-50032, devoted to seventeenth and eighteenth-century Spanish and Portugese harpsichord music, offers a number of engaging and interesting pieces, many of them reminiscent of those of Domenico Scarlatti — which would seem to mean that he used with special distinction the language, style, and form of his time. The record also offers an impressive work of Alessandro Scarlatti described as Toccata (No. 7 in D minor), Fugue, and Partitas on "La Folia," of which I can recognize—in what comes off the record—the Toccata and the

Sightseeing plus Insight

STUDYTOUR 5
The Nation Seminar
June 24—Aug. 17

STUDYTOUR 2
Economy Tours
July 7—Aug. 10
July 7—Aug. 21

STUDYTOUR #4
Politics, Labor and Social Welfare
July 15—Aug. 22

STUDYTOUR #8
Literary Landmarks
June 15—Aug. 27

STUDYTOUR #9
Festivals of Music and Drama June 29—Aug. 31

Get the greatest benefits from your trip abroad.

Be completely free from the troublesome details of . . . reservations, excursions, luggage, transportation, etc.

Travel with congenial people, who share your interests, under the guidance of qualified leaders.

Do more than just see cathedrals, museums, etc. Meet interesting people in the countries you visit.

Send for complete descriptions of all tours.

WORLD STUDYTOURS

Write Dept. [illegible]

WORLD STUDYTOURS
Director, GOODWIN WATSON, PH.D.
A non-profit organization providing adult education through international travel
1175 AMSTERDAM AVENUE, NEW YORK 27, N. Y.

variations on "La Folia," but no fugue in between. And puzzling too is the conclusion of the variations on an inconclusive chord. Good performances by Ruggero Gerlin.

Bach's Sonata No. 1 in G minor and Partita No. 2 in D minor for unaccompanied violin are played by Milstein on Capitol P-8298. The uninteresting G minor he plays in his usual straightforward manner; but in the great Chaconne of the D minor there are constant changes of tempo, distentions, and pauses that make this an ineffective statement of a work whose effect requires a steadily maintained tempo like that of Grumiaux's performance on the Boston record. Capitol also has issued the Chaconne on the 10-inch H-8297, with Milstein's "Paganiniana."

The two records of Columbia SL-219, "The Art of the Organ," offer a number of pieces played by E. Power Biggs on various European organs. Of Bach there is only the D minor Toccata without its fugue; of Purcell only a Fanfare in C; and for the rest there are several engaging and impressive pieces by Buxtehude, Sweelinck, and Pachelbel, and as many that are less interesting. Some of the performances come off the record with bright, clean, and clear sound; some with thick sound blurred by reverberation, a few with high-frequency distortion, one with what seems to be a break-up of low pedal-notes.

Three great organ works of Bach—the Fantasia and Fugue in G minor, the Prelude and Fugue in E flat from the "Clavierubung," and the Passacaglia—are on Haydn Society 129, played by Cochereau on the organ of the Church of St. Roch in Paris. The performances are slow-paced, sometimes to the point of ineffectiveness, and at times come off the record as huge masses of indistinguishably blurred thick sounds.

Better performed by Videro on the organ at Kaerteminde, Denmark, and clearly reproduced by Haydn 128, are Bach's great Prelude and Fugue in B minor and the uninteresting Prelude and Fugue in A, Pastorale in F, and Fantasia in G (the last three identified as BWV 536, 590, and 572).

Mozart's Serenades K.375 and 388 for wind instruments are on MGM E-3159, played by a group under Arthur Winograd's direction. The playing is good, but lacks the animation, sensitiveness, and ensemble integration of the old Westminster performances by a Vienna Philharmonic group.

In the performance of Mozart's Piano Concerto K.449 on London LL-1158 Gulda's playing is merely fluent, with none of the enlivening incisiveness of Istomin's in the Perpignan Festival performance. The recorded sound of his piano is dull; that of the London Symphony under Collins a little strident. Better playing by Gulda and better reproduction of piano and orchestra are heard, on the reverse side, in Strauss's "Burleske," an engaging early work.

The Haydn Trios Nos. 29, 30, and 31 for harpsichord, flute, and cello on Oiseau Lyre OL-50036 are pleasant pieces, with some of Haydn's startling modulations in the development sections, and made attractive by the characteristically beautiful playing of Veyron-Lacroix, piano, Rampal, flute, and Huchot, cello.

Similarly the two Quintets Op. 56 Nos. 1 and 2 for wind instruments by Franz Danzi (1763-1826) on Oiseau Lyre DL-53005 are made attractive by the beautiful performances of the French Wind Quintet, comprising Rampal, flute, Pierlot, oboe, Lancelot, clarinet, Coursier, horn, and Hongne, bassoon.

I managed at last to hear Mattiwilda Dobbs—at the final concert of Scherman's Little Orchestra Society. She exhibited the exquisite purity and sweetness of her voice, its extraordinary ease and security in florid vocal writing and astronomical high notes, in a performance of *Grossmachtige Prinzessin* from Strauss's "Ariadne" that could hold its own with the famous performance of Ivogun. The music however made me think of Shaw's remark that Brahms's prodigious musical powers were nothing short of a European misfortune; for I feel the same way about the prodigious musical powers of Strauss that went on producing even worse rubbish than this aria for years after he had stopped having anything to say. I had more pleasure therefore from Miss Dobbs's singing in Mozart's little one-act opera "The Impresario," which was composed in the same year as "Figaro," and has a delightful overture and superb vocal writing in its two arias and trio. In the contest between the two rival prima donnas there was no question as to who was the best: Mariquita Moll's voice was lovely in its lower range but not agreeable in high notes, and she had difficulty with her florid passages. Lawrence Avery sang well as the placating tenor; Max Leavitt was excellent as the impresario; and Scherman accompanied the singers well but conducted a performance of the overture that lacked the lightness, grace, and suavity it should have had.

Nobody needs to be told of Markova's appearances in Ballet Theater's coming season; but I think I should direct attention to Lazovsky's one appearance in "Petrushka" on the evening of April 16. His Petrushka was without equal in its time; and it is only the most outstanding of the performances we have been deprived of by this great dancer's inactivity.

PUBLICATIONS

SOCIALIST BOOKS. Catalog, literature, Free New York Labor News Company, Dept. M, 61 Cliff Street, New York 38, New York.

BRITISH BOOKS—All Subjects—direct from London to you. Bargain catalogues free. Transbooks, Box 22-N, Brooklyn 26, N. Y.

"HOW TO GROW A PEACE GARDEN"—The story of a flower and an idea that reached around the world. 50c postpaid. Mary Phillips, R. F. D. 1, Lemont, Illinois.

AUDIO

HI FIDELITY
RADIO-PHONOGRAPH
sales, installation and service
VECTOR LABS
217 3rd Ave. ■ N. Y. C. 3 ■ GR 3-7686

BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES

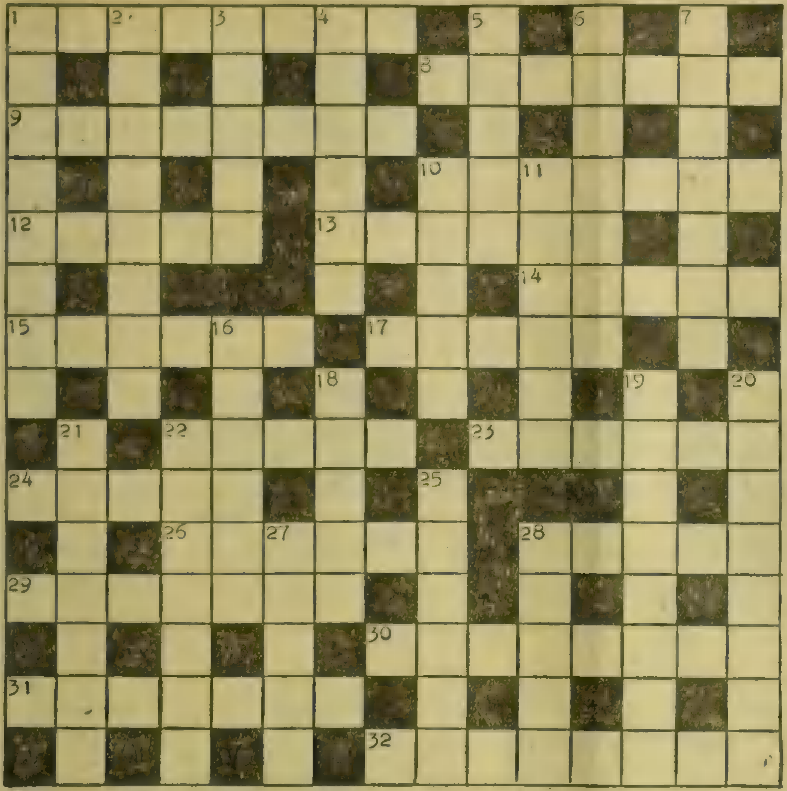
$200 WEEKLY CLEANING VENETIAN BLINDS. Free book. Burtt, 2434AB, Wichita 13, Kansas.

Advertising Rates

CLASSIFIED
74c a line (6 words)
Three-line minimum
●
CLASSIFIED DISPLAY
$7.42 per inch (minimum)
Remittance must accompany all orders
●
The NATION
333 SIXTH AVENUE
New York 14, N. Y.
CHelsea 2-8400

Crossword Puzzle No. 613

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Where they hang hay for trimming? (8)
8 It turns work with the needle in the center or out from it, either way. (7)
9 A heliocentric parallax is so observed. (8)
10 Hurry to heaven in revolutionary style. (7)
12 See 24 across
13 See 32 across
14 A design, perhaps, in a poem. (5)
15 and 19 down Proving that most people are not very bright? (6,8)
17 Hackers might be wild wolves! (5)
22 and 31 across Strike on Pearl Harbor, Guam, and Manila? (5-4, 3)
23 About yesterday's meal? (6)
24 and 12 across Gets fat off in the Turkish bath tubs, in the vernacular. (10)
26 Helpful to women in the kitchen, but a nuisance in public, perhaps. (6)
28 Fish bar? (5)
29 See 32 across
30 Equal to a location for the hanger? (8)
31 See 22 across
32, 13 and 29 across What Edward and Richard both followed? (3,5,4,2,7)

DOWN

1 Impose again? (8)
2 A good way to study the industry, as one verifies. (8)
3 Concerning notices, or what one does with them. (5)
4 One of the parsley family. (6)
5 Sounds like a lot to save! (5)
6 F.O.B. is it between one and two in boxes. (7)
7 He probably has wages earned about his bad mark. (7)
10 A lost nephew of Daedalus. (5)
11 Futile. (6)
16 The senator puts an end to a sort of control. (6)
18 The drinking spot of the absent-minded? (5)
19 See 15 across
20 Almost quiet where water is deep, generally speaking. (8)
21 The wrong maxim to an individual of the empire. (7)
22 Cap beers when hot? (7)
25 Tap, to bring up a suggestion. (6)
27 Scripture, but not the true sort. (5)
28 This well might be on the verge of flight. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 612

ACROSS: 10 ENVIOUS; 11 STAUNCH; 12 COLLOIDAL; 13 TRUMP; 14 ENTITY; 16 STRICKEN; 19 TREMOLOS; 20 ASHTON; 22 LEMON; 23 EXCORIATE; 25 KIDNAPS; 26 IONIZES; 27 TRANSCENDENCE DOWN: 2 BEVEL; 3 LOOKOUT MOUNTAIN; 4 INSIDE; 5 ABSOLUTE; 6 HEALTH INSURANCE; 7 NANTUCKET; 8 NESCIENT; 15 THERMIDOR; 17 NONSENSE; 18 FORENSIC; 21 ACTION; 22 1, and 9 LIKE A BULL IN A CHINA SHOP; 24 ANZAC.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept. The Nation 333 Sixth Avenue. New York 14. New York

RESORTS

FOR THE FAMILY'S EASTER VACATION
April 7-17
CARAN LODGE
Sylvan Lake ● Hopewell Junction ● New York
60 miles from New York on Taconic Parkway
Tennis, Folk Dancing with Bernie and Esther, ■ cozy fireplaces, James Baird and Hopewell Golf Courses nearby. Children's Day Camp 8 A.M. to 8 P.M. Children's Dining Room.
Accommodations limited to 10 families
RESERVE NOW
New York HI 6-7506 Hopewell Junction 6-2632

50 Miles to FOREST HOUSE
Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes All sports.
FOREST HOUSE
Lake Mahopac, N. Y. ● Tel. Mahopac 8-3449

THE PINES. Modern year-round retreat for adults in the Blue Mountains of Pennsylvania Dutch Country Continental cuisine. Intimate group of congenial people 95 miles from N. Y. C., 60 miles from Philadelphia. Write: Mrs. Ann Wunthal, Danielsville, R. D. 1. Tel.: Bath Te 7-6501.

LAKE LOUANNE, ideal spot for rest and relaxation. 200 acres woodland, rustic trails, private lake skating. Charming home with fireplace. Large rooms with private baths. Delicious home cooking. Small group, informal and cultured atmosphere, friendly service. Louis Cudroff, Old Clinton Road, Westbrook, Conn. Phone: CLinton 6-2465.

FARMS & ACREAGE

COLONIAL of 8 rooms. Entirely orignal, amazing condition. 6 fireplaces; electricity, telephone. Barn, garage-workshop. 125 acres, brook, views. $12,500. Berkshire Farm Agency, East Chatham, New Yodk.

REAL ESTATE

TAX-EXEMPT INDUSTRIAL SITES
54 Acres — Jersey City
for lease to tenants who may
erect their own tax-exempt
buildings, or we will build
20,000 to One Million square feet
for lease to acceptable tenants.
L. N. ROSENBAUM & SON
565 Fifth Ave., New York 17

PERSONALS

3-WAY PORTABLE RADIO. Super-fine reception, powerful. Regularly $34.95, plus $4.95 for batteries SPECIAL $27.69, including batteries. Standard Brand Dist., 143-4th Avenue (13th & 14th Sts.), N. Y. C. GR 3-7819. 1 hour free parking or 2 tokens.

MATURE COUPLE to supervise Day Camp at small Parent-Child resort. Phone: New York—Hi 6-7506. Hopewell Junction 6-2632.

GIVE
1955
HELP CRIPPLED CHILDREN

Printed in the U. S. A. by Southern Farmer, Inc., P. O. Box 509, Montgomery, Ala.

AN EXCEPTIONAL OFFER TO READERS OF "THE NATION"

Ten Weeks of The New Republic

$1*

NR is the *only* weekly Journal of Opinion written in the Nation's Capital; it goes behind the handouts and the headlines to find the stories you won't read anywhere else: what tax cuts mean and to whom, whether the US is as prosperous as Eisenhower thinks, how the Democrats are planning for '56.

And in articles by scientific and military experts such as Dr. Ralph Lapp or Brig. Gen. Thomas Phillips, *NR* keeps you up to date on the impact of the nuclear age on military strategy, our economy, civilian defense — and — above all, on our chances for peace.

Also the 1955 *New Republic* prints the finest comment on books, theatre and films in its history, with contributors like Eric Bentley, Claude Bowers, Leon Edel, Graham Greene, Robert Graves, Irving Howe, Lewis Mumford, Reinhold Niebuhr, David Riesman, Delmore Schwartz.

*and you can have the dollar back if you decide (contrary to our belief) that the 1955 New Republic isn't the most exciting, liberal weekly now published.

MAIL THIS COUPON TODAY— AND SEE FOR YOURSELF!

NEW REPUBLIC, 1826 Jefferson Place, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

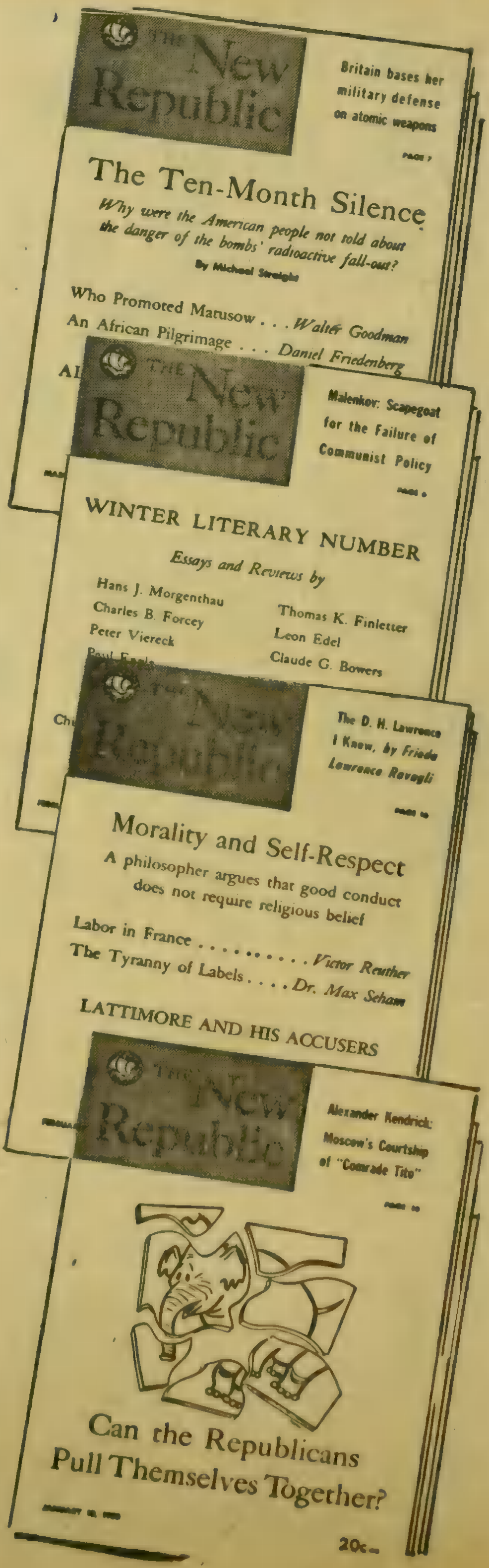
YES, here is $1 for the next ten issues of the *New Republic*

Name____________________

Address____________________

City__________ Zone_____ State________

OFFER GOOD UNTIL APRIL 25
FOR NEW SUBSCRIBERS ONLY



THE New Republic

Britain bases her military defense on atomic weapons

The Ten-Month Silence

Why were the American people not told about the danger of the bombs' radioactive fall-out?

By Michael Straight

Who Promoted Matusow . . . *Walter Goodman*

An African Pilgrimage . . . *Daniel Friedenberg*

THE New Republic

Malenkov: Scapegoat for the Failure of Communist Policy

WINTER LITERARY NUMBER

Essays and Reviews by

Hans J. Morgenthau
Charles B. Forcey
Peter Viereck
Thomas K. Finletter
Leon Edel
Claude G. Bowers

THE New Republic

The D. H. Lawrence I Knew, by Frieda Lawrence Ravagli

Morality and Self-Respect

A philosopher argues that good conduct does not require religious belief

Labor in France . . . . *Victor Reuther*

The Tyranny of Labels . . . . *Dr. Max Seham*

LATTIMORE AND HIS ACCUSERS

THE New Republic

Alexander Kendrick: Moscow's Courtship of "Comrade Tito"

Can the Republicans Pull Themselves Together?

20c

AP 11 '55

IME AGAINST RACE IN SOUTH AFRICA: R. K. CHASE

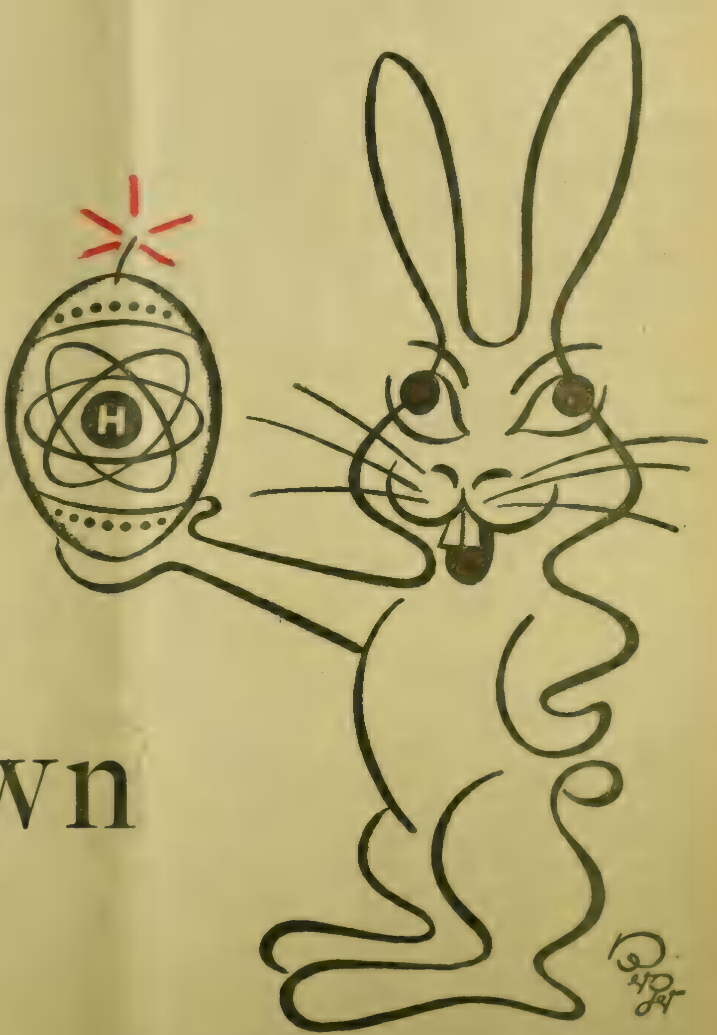
BURLINGAME
PUBLIC LIBRARY
Burlingame, Calif.

THE *Nation*

April 9, 1955
20c

Spring 1955: Perils Unknown

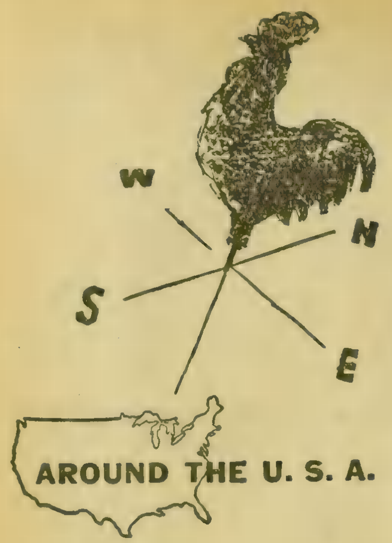
by Carey McWilliams



EVERY
WEEK
SINCE
1865

Anti-Anti-Trust Drive *L. A. Traywick*

Back Door to Peace? *J. A. del Vayo*


W
N
S
E
AROUND THE U. S. A.

Ferment in the Lettuce Fields

Imperial Valley, California

PRELIMINARY skirmishes here in the last few months between the Associated Farmers and the United Packinghouse Workers of America (C. I. O.) indicate that a fierce struggle to unionize one of the few remaining groups of unorganized American workers is preparing. Last July the U. P. W. A. was given jurisdiction by the C. I. O. over all agricultural field workers—500,000 in California, more than 2,000,000 in the United States. The union has three big problems: farm mechanization, Mexican nationals under contract to work in the United States, and the Associated Farmers of California.

Up to the last few years most vegetable crops were picked in the field and trucked to town where they were prepared for shipping in packing sheds. The Imperial Valley alone had 3,000 workers in sheds. Today there are fewer than 400. Out of sixty lettuce sheds, only five are operating this season. Sheds have been all but eliminated by use of a new vacuum freezing method. Formerly shed workers placed chipped ice between layers of lettuce as they packed the crates. Now lettuce is packed in the fields in cardboard cartons which are taken to town and placed in a dry vacuum freezer a truckload at a time. This process saves the farmer the rent for sheds and the cost of packing equipment. It also enables him to get his field-packing done by Mexicans who work for 70 cents an hour instead of the $3 per hour the shed workers used to receive.

However, residents of the Valley and the United States army furnish two commentaries on the new field-pack system. The army is largely responsible for the continued operation of the five sheds using the old ice-pack method; it refuses to buy field-packed lettuce. As to local residents, it is significant that lettuce sales have declined in Imperial Valley retail stores. The local people are aware of the unhygienic conditions in which Mexican labor is employed. There are, for instance, no toilet facilities in the fields. Ice-packed lettuce received a good washing in the sheds; field-packed lettuce comes into no contact with water until your grocer unpacks it.

MISTREATMENT of the Mexican workers is widespread. Some of the farmer-owned camps in which they sleep are clean; most are filthy. Food is generally poor; one camp served tripe and pig's feet night after night and another had macaroni three times a day for an entire week. The reason for the poor food is obvious—it means more profit for the grower, since he is entitled to charge the worker $1.75 a day for food no matter what is served.

Few farmers keep accurate piece-work records, although they are supposed to pay on a piece-work basis if the worker has earned more than the minimum wage.

With these conditions prevailing, the union had little trouble signing up over 1,000 Mexican workers in a recent organizing drive. Considering the language barrier and the fact that the workers are scattered through the valley in little camps closed to outsiders, this is a phenomenal achievement.

A camp of Mexicans near Yuma, Arizona, hearing that the union was ready to pay bus fare, sent a representative 70 miles to U. P. W. A. headquarters in El Centro to ask the union to do something about their miserable living conditions. Arrangements were made for this man to testify at a hearing to be held shortly before the regional director of the Labor Department's Bureau of Employment Security. Two days after the worker's return to Arizona, the union received a hurried letter from him to the effect that he was being transferred. The U. P. W. A. demanded that he be located in time to appear at the hearings, but he was found only after they were concluded.

Held early in February, the hearings produced promises by federal authorities to enforce existing law. But as there is only one compliance officer for the entire Imperial Valley, it is doubtful that the Associated Farmers have become especially worried. However, the union did get the right to be heard when prevailing wages are set each year. Under an agreement between Mexico and the United States, Mexican nationals are supposed to be paid not less than the prevailing wage paid Americans for the same work. Theoretically, this is designed to prevent Mexicans from displacing Americans. But by managing to have the wage set at 70 cents an hour, the Associated Farmers have been able to fill their fields with Mexican nationals; Americans refuse to work for such wages. The prevailing wage in lettuce is due to be renegotiated in a few weeks. If the union is successful in raising it, more Americans will want field work and the U. P. W. A. will be able to place them.

THE chief objective of the U. P. W. A. is to gather all field workers into one strong union. Union officials believe that once they can show the farmers that the majority of workers are unionized, union recognition and higher wages will be granted without strike action.

But the Associated Farmers are not likely to give up so easily. They are the best-organized group of employers in the country and use ruthless strike-breaking methods; these were thoroughly exposed by the La Follette committee in 1940.

The U. P. W. A. has taken on a big job. The Associated Farmers know that if they are able to break the union's bargaining drive they will remain free to exploit the field workers for a long time to come.

WILLIAM CARPENTER

[*William Carpenter, a free-lance writer, was formerly on the editorial staff of the Los Angeles* Daily News.]

VOLUME 180, NUMBER 15
NEW YORK, SATURDAY, APRIL 9, 1955

THE *Nation*

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

The Shape of Things

"The War Party"

When Senator Lyndon B. Johnson, in one of the briefest debates in recent Senate history, charged that the right wing of the Republican Party was now "talking war" and then, by way of rebuttal, invited Senator Knowland to wear the shoe if it fit, he touched on one of the biggest political scandals of the post-war period. Everyone of course, including the politicians, has known about the existence of a war party, but since the ill-fated campaign of 1948 a make-believe that no such thing exists has been maintained by both major parties—like a family scandal which both sides feel compelled to conceal. When Syngman Rhee visited Washington last summer to propose a declaration of war, the Washington *Post* and other papers commented on the riot of pro-war statements which appeared in the press. *Newsweek* (August 9, 1954) expounded the views of the preventive warriors with considerable frankness, and *Look* (August 24, 1954) carried William C. Bullitt's categorical exposition of the motives actuating the war party. Yet the myth continued to prevail that Rhee was just an old eccentric without important allies in the Senate and armed services, and responsible Democratic spokesmen seemed unwilling to point out that the war crowd on the G. O. P. right wing was becoming increasingly reckless.

In the absence of *political* opposition, the war party has been winning decisions by default; there has been no way by which the growing peace sentiment in the country could find expression in meaningful political terms. Max Lerner merely stated what everyone must recognize as fact when he wrote: "I do not remember a time when one sensed so vast a wave of feeling and opinion, mounting every day, thus far unexpressed yet insistently seeking to find voice." Yet until the recent statements by Senators George and Johnson it did not appear that the Democrats were even aware of the size and force of this wave of feeling.

Needed: An Anti-War Voice

Now that the existence of a war party has been publicly acknowledged, public opinion can begin to form in what has been an enormous political vacuum. The truth is the country has been suffering from too rigid an adherence, by political leaders of both parties, to a misconceived "bipartisan" approach to certain foreign-policy issues. Writing in the London *Spectator* of February 25, Max Beloff notes that "too great an effort towards agreement internally may be more dangerous than the frank acceptance of the fact that there are issues over which genuine disagreement is possible and, indeed, inevitable." The case of Quemoy and Matsu is a classic example of the kind of issue that should be debated. Perhaps now it can be, for bipartisanship is one thing and rebellion within a party is something else again.

Senator Knowland's sharp disapproval of any attempt to draft President Eisenhower, which was reported in the same news columns as a story from Chicago that a group of conservative Republicans are prepared to launch "a nation-wide drive to wrest control of the Republican Party from New Dealers and internationalists," certainly smacks of insubordination. The drive will be launched on April 25 when the "hate-the-United-Nations" forces assemble in San Francisco for a five-day rally. Just as this drive may well derail the war party by getting it out in the open, so Senator Knowland's suicidal logic can be expected to result in his own and the right wing's further isolation from the Administration. Both processes might be accelerated, however, if those who favor a policy of peaceful coexistence, sanity, and support for the United Nations would demonstrate with dispatch and vigor that the war party constitutes a diminishing minority in this country.

A "Hardening" in Europe?

Prime Minister Nehru, not normally pessimistic, believes that the world situation has "hardened" and that things are happening which could lead to "catastrophic results." It is easy to understand his apprehension over developments in Asia; he has always regarded SEATO as a menace, and he is not alone in seeing Quemoy and Matsu as stepping stones to peace or war, depending upon who takes what steps. But is his pessimism over Europe justified? Russia has made what appears to be a gesture toward ending the Austrian-treaty deadlock, and Premier Bulganin's stated willingness to meet with the West could make high-level four-power talks a possibility this year.

But to go by present signs and to ignore those of the immediate past may make us misread Soviet intentions. For three years and more Russian foreign policy has been keyed to stopping West German rearmament; Soviet spokesmen have warned many times that the re-creation of a German war machine would have serious consequences. Soviet policy has obviously failed. The parliaments of France and West Germany have finally approved the Paris accords, and the United

In This Issue

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 297

ARTICLES

Washington in Focus
by Max Freedman 299

Back Door to Peace?
East-West Trade Sessions
by J. Alvarez del Vayo 300

Perils Unknown:
Effects of the H-Bomb
by Carey McWilliams 302

Time Against Race:
South Africa's 100-Year Plan
by R. K. Chase 306

Anti-Anti-Trust Drive:
Big Business Lays Plans
by Leland A. Traywick 308

BOOKS

In Search of the Question
by Waldo Frank 310

Defense of TV
by Hazel Cooley 312

Selected Art Books
by S. Lane Faison, Jr. 313

Sociology and Philosophy
by Abraham Edel 314

THEATER by Robert Hatch 314

MUSIC by B. H. Haggin 315

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 614
by Frank W. Lewis opposite 316

AROUND THE U.S.A.
Ferment in the Lettuce Fields
by William Carpenter opposite 297

Editorial Board

Freda Kirchwey — Editor and Publisher
Carey McWilliams — Editorial Director
Lillie Shultz — Director, Nation Associates
Victor H. Bernstein — Managing Editor
J. Alvarez del Vayo — Foreign Editor

Martin Solow — Assistant to the Publisher

Harold Clurman — Theater
B. H. Haggin — Music
Robert Hatch — Films
Gladys Whiteside — Copy Editor
Caroline Whiting — Assistant Literary Editor
Alfred Maund — Editorial Assistant
Mary Simon — Advertising Manager

Contributing Editors: Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus, Keith Hutchison, H. H. Wilson, W. Macmahon Ball, Maxwell Geismar, Bruce Catton.

The Nation, April 9, 1955, Volume 180, No. 15

The Nation, published weekly by The Nation Company and copyright, 1955, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879 at the Post Office of New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879. Reentered as second class matter at the Post Office, Montgomery, Alabama. Printing Office 1603 Reuben Street.

Subscription Prices Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12, Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1. **Change of Address:** Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs, Information Service, Dramatic Index.

States Senate will have ratified them by the time this is read.

German rearmament is thus agreed up; it is the consequences that now interest us. Vulnerable Berlin, Western island in the Eastern sea, has been the first to suffer as the East Germans have clamped down an intolerable tax on the use of the highway leading to it. The next may be France and Britain, if the Russians make good their threat to denounce the friendship pacts with them. And the Paris treaties will be unpleasant ghosts at any four-power talks, if, indeed, they do not make such talks impossible. For the Russians are likely to demand as a price for a high-level conference the postponement of any move to execute the Paris agreements. From their point of view, they can justifiably argue that there is no point in discussing even the key question of German unification under circumstances which make an accord impossible. Mr. Nehru's pessimism will continue to be well founded so long as the West insists on treating the Paris agreements as a *fait accompli,* subject to no discussion and no compromise.

The Example of Mr. Cain

When former Senator Harry P. Cain, now a member of the Subversive Activities Control Board, teed off against the government's security program in a speech at Spokane in January, spokesmen for the Administration hastened to advise him that he was "rocking the boat." A good soldier, Mr. Cain had nothing further to say on the subject until the Attorney General released his comments on the security program which promised only minor reforms. Then, in a speech before the National Civil Liberties Clearing House in Washington, the former Senator denounced the program once again, this time calling for the "liquidation" of the list of so-called "subversive" organizations and defending the Fifth Amendment in forceful fashion.

Interviewed by the Washington *Star,* Mr. Cain described the evolution of his views on security matters with remarkable candor. "I readily confess," he is quoted as saying, "that I attempted [as a Senator] to accomplish too much for too many people in too many directions all at once. In attempting this, I lost sight of some fundamentals which have returned to focus during the last two years."

Much of the comment about Mr. Cain's current views on security issues overlooks two significant items in his career: his spirited defense of Mrs. Anna Rosenberg when she was viciously smeared some years ago in an effort to prevent her confirmation as Assistant Secretary of Defense, and his opposition—almost alone among West Coast public officials—to the incarceration of the resident Japanese and Japanese-Americans during World War II (in the early 1940's Mr. Cain was Mayor of Tacoma). In the atmosphere of the times, Mr. Cain has set an example of responsible behavior which even his bitterest former critics must applaud.

Washington in Focus

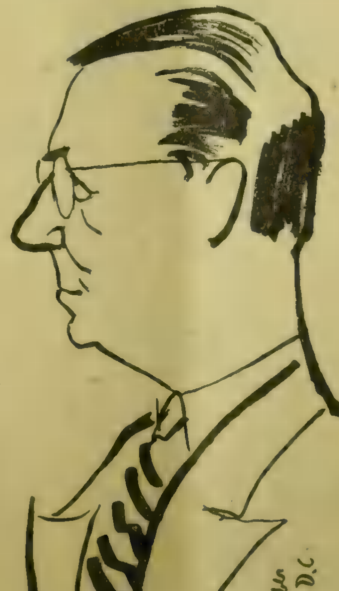
by Max Freedman

CIVIL DEFENSE in the hydrogen age has always wavered between the opposite perils of inertia and panic. It has been necessary to arouse a sense of danger without yielding to a sense of fear. Thus far the record of leadership is rather blemished. For example, General Chidlaw, as head of the Strategic Air Command, thought it advisable to warn the conference of mayors last December that Russia could wipe out 100 American cities in 100 minutes; and in the next breath he called for an improved system of civil defense. In terms of logic it is possible to reconcile these statements; but no one present at that conference would doubt that the danger, thus overdramatized, produced a feeling of futility before a task too vast and numbing to submit to the ordinary methods of civic organization.

Another example of the wayward moods of public sentiment was provided by the reaction to the Atomic Energy Commission's statement on atomic fall-out. The statement was designed to reduce anxiety, but its forbidding statistics, all the more disturbing for being so unfamiliar, served once again to emphasize the dimensions of the problem rather than the area still open to prudent precautions. One needs more than the threat of a charred ruin to stir the energies of the nation into creative action.

This confusion emerged again from the Kefauver committee's hearings on civil defense. Senator Jackson, with trenchant logic, was trying to destroy the comfortable doctrine that it would be possible to escape the hazards of blast if one were on the edge of the city and took elementary safeguards. He pointed out that no one knew what form a Russian bombing attack might take. It might be directed at the approaches to a city as much as to its heart. The most important task, therefore, was to provide for a network of super-highways permitting the swift evacuation of the city and to prepare all the necessary facilities in the country to receive the uprooted and dispersed population. This was heroic logic but even Senator Jackson faltered from all its implications. What is to prevent a Russian bomb from tearing up these roads and making escape impossible?

It is unnecessary to bludgeon one's mind with these nightmares to realize that the present arrangements are unsatisfactory. Governor Peterson, the head of civil defense, testified before the Kefauver committee on March 4 that the method of classification applied to fall-out data "made it extremely difficult for us to work in the area of preparation to take effective steps to meet the threat of fall-out." Governor Peterson added that even in his own organization he could not discuss "the fall-out problem or fall-out data" with some people who were cleared for secret information but who lacked the "Q" clearance of the Aatomic Energy Commission. "We had a very difficult situation," he went on, "in which one man in the shop working side by side with another man could have this information while the other fellow could not." The moderation of this language should not obscure the magnitude of the problem which it discloses.



Senator Kefauver

It should be explained that the relationship of the Atomic Energy Commission to the Defense Department and the Central Intelligence Agency is governed by statute. When Governor Peterson's complaint was raised by Senator Humphrey before his subcommittee examining the advisability of establishing a commission on government security, two officials of the A. E. C. expressed surprise. Mr. John Waters, director of the division of security for the A. E. C., testified that over 300 people now working with the Civil Defense Agency had received "Q" clearance. He added that the agency had observers at the commission's tests in the Pacific and at Nevada. All the same, Governor Peterson's statement stands on the record and it raises doubts about the way the present security system is being administered.

When Senator Humphrey pressed the matter, Mr. Waters explained that the Atomic Energy Commission does not accept a federal civil-defense "top secret clearance" for access to restricted data. Mr. Waters admitted that it might be necessary to have "some close cooperation" not only with the civil-defense organization but with the Food and Drug Administration and other agencies of the government. He insisted however that the A. E. C. had been fully cooperative in arranging these special clearances when requested and said that the initiative had to come from the agencies requiring the services of the individual.

Senator Humphrey admitted during these hearings that the security regulations and procedures of the

Atomic Energy Commission are in some ways the best in Washington but he strongly suggested the urgent need of greater cooperation with other branches of the government, especially when the problems of mass evacuation had to be considered. Otherwise the security system could become an obtacle to national safety.

SENATOR HUMPHREY defined the central dilemma when he asked: "So long as the Soviet gives us time to work out all of these things and exchange papers and telephone calls we are all right but what happens if we have to get out in a hurry some week-end?" To this challenge Mr. Mitchell, general counsel for the Atomic Energy Commission, simply replied with great frankness, "I would hesitate to guess."

A Public Roads Administration representative testified that they have two people with a "Q" clearance. As Senator Humphrey explained, the atomic fall-out "has upset the entire civil-defense preparations. I am somewhat familiar with this. It has caused a re-evaluation of the whole program. No longer are they thinking about just digging in and getting in shelters. The idea is to scatter and disperse. You cannot disperse into thin atmosphere. You have to have roads."

Yet the cooperation between the Atomic Energy Commission and the Public Roads Administration certainly falls short of what the emergency may require.

In testifying before the Kefauver subcommittee, Dr. W. F. Libby, a member of the Atomic Energy Commission, said, "We of course have no knowledge as to how large a bomb the enemy might be able to deliver on our cities nor have I any knowledge of how effective the enemy's means of delivery might be." That statement, because of its very caution, seems more persuasive than General Chidlaw's estimates. It also deflates the macabre prophecies made with such reckless ease bv so many commentators. On the highest authority we have been assured that in this most vital area of national security there is a margin of error, uncertainty, and conjecture which cannot at present be removed. But it is always perilous to underestimate the danger or to neglect means of possible safety. That is why the defects in the present planning for civil defense, uncovered by Congress, demand swift remedial action.

BACK DOOR TO PEACE?

East-West Trade Sessions . . *by J. A. del Vayo*

Geneva

THERE were two reasons why the recently held tenth session of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (E. C. E.), which was attended by more than 160 delegates from twenty-five European countries and the United States, as well as observers from Canada, Iran, and Israel, aroused so much interest. First, there was the widespread desire to see achieved in the domain of trade what has not been achieved in the political domain—to get East and West together in the hope that a frightened world might be offered an alternative to the armaments race and H-bomb diplomacy. Second, as a result of Europe's increasing economic strength the incentive to extend the exchange of goods to the Communist countries becomes more irresistible every day.

Gunnar Myrdal

As Gunnar Myrdal, executive secretary of E. C. E., pointed out in his opening statement, the tide is now running decisively in the direction of East-West trade. In this connection, he said, governments are turning increasingly to the machinery made available to them by the commission. Although neither Myrdal nor his associates like to be hailed as crusaders for "peace through trade," seeing their organization rather as an instrument for reaching intergovernmental agreements, nevertheless the E. C. E. has distinguished itself as one of the few U. N. organs which have fulfilled the hopes originally placed in it.

Whether through the influence of Myrdal, Geneva, or both, the tenth session of E. C. E. was conducted in an atmosphere quite different from the normal run of debates at U. N. headquarters in New York. The conference opened, for instance, with a difficult issue to solve—a Soviet Union draft resolution calling for participation in the meetings of representatives of both East and West Germany. The Western delegates were put in the awkward position of rejecting their ally, Bonn, for whose inclusion the Soviet delegate, P. N. Kumykin, fought as hard as he did for East Germany's. The resolution was rejected but the debate, which offered new data on the economic strength of Germany, proceeded calmly. Kumykin spoke more as a technician than as a politician: his tribute to Max Suetens of Belgium, newly elected chairman of the commission, equaled in warmth that of any Western spokesman.

The conference had at its disposal,

as a point of departure for its work, the comprehensive "Economic Survey of Europe in 1954" prepared by the E. C. E. staff. The report emphasizes that industrial production rose markedly last year in practically every West European country, with the upswing reflected in lowered unemployment. Leading the upswing were the Netherlands and West Germany, which were also the only West European nations showing a significant increase in exports. Germany's economic expansion, about which I wrote in *The Nation* last December, is fully confirmed by the survey. I have had new evidence of it here in Switzerland, where German dumping is taking on alarming proportions. Radio dealers, for instance, will accept old sets of any make as part payment toward a new German radio.

NOT all signs point to economic improvement, however. The survey lists four weaknesses in France—agriculture, insufficient industrialization, regional unbalance, and a weak export structure. Conceding that so long as food was short France would tend to concentrate on agricultural expansion, the E. C. E. experts nevertheless urged industrial growth for France's home market, the overseas members of the French Union, and as the basis of a general expansion of exports. French delegates Dupraz and Philip, while giving praise to the general excellence and objectivity of the survey, denied the implication contained in it that France was becoming "devitalized." If that were so, M. Dupraz asked, how could France maintain its present high living standard? As to the implications of industrial deficiency, the delegates pointed out that France was fourth in motor-car production. M. Philip stressed that by 1966 his country's demographic "stagnation" would be overcome and that the proportion of employables to total population would reach the pre-World War I level. He added that France, following a kind of "cautious Malenkovism," was shifting its emphasis from basic industries to agriculture and the processing industries.

The discussion showed that improvement in living standards continues to be one of Eastern Europe's primary objectives despite the recent emphasis on heavy industry resulting from increased international tensions. The Soviet Union's national income rose 11 per cent last year, with industry again making the largest contribution to the increase. In agriculture the most significant development was the Soviet government's plan to open to cultivation vast areas of virgin land in central Asia and Siberia. The country's population, which has been rising at the rate of 3,000,000 a year, reached 216,000,000 in 1954. Because of the rapid population increase, industrialization and urbanization are being pushed vigorously.

Trade relations between the Eastern and Western blocs are developing, but not as speedily as might be. The Communists are seeking to expand trade, especially with underdeveloped areas: recently the Eastern bloc has also resumed trade contacts with Yugoslavia. Most of the postwar period had seen a progressive deterioration in East-West trade relations, while intra-bloc trading increased. It was what Stalin characterized in 1952 as "two parallel world markets." The Communist countries, their spokesmen say, are trying to make the separation narrower. The West took an important step toward the same end in August, last year, by relaxing strategic controls. During the six months ending in November, 1954, the United Kingdom granted licenses for the export of $30,000,000 worth of machine tools to the Soviet Union. The United States, during the first half of 1954, approved export licenses to the amount of $7,000,000—not very much but in striking contrast to the $500,000 worth of licenses granted during the first half of 1953.

Prospects for East-West trade in farm products are favorable, judging by the statements of various delegates. The work accomplished in this field by the E. C. E.'s agricultural committee has been remarkable. As M. Wallon of France pointed out, agriculture—unlike industry—has few established facilities for international contact, a fact which lends special value to the role played by E. C. E.

The discussion of inter-regional trade confirmed the interest that the Chinese market holds for many countries. While the French wanted to limit the discussion to problems confronting U. N. members only, the British proposed a committee to study a Czech resolution asking for the inclusion of Communist China. Surely one reason for Britain's interest is the recent statement by Vincent Grantham of the Chartered Bank of India, Australasia, and China that Peking would welcome the participation of British banks in the financing of its foreign trade. Few British institutions were worse hit by the great change in China than the Eastern banks, which today seem anxious to reenter a once prosperous field.

THE general conclusion emerging from this session of E. C. E. is that both Eastern and Western blocs are becoming economically stronger and that the process would be hastened if East-West trade were allowed to develop unhampered by political considerations. In a closing speech urging greater East-West trade ties, Lord Reading of Britain expressed concern at signs that Russia and its associates were planning to steer future expansion in other directions (doubtless he was thinking of China, India, and other Asian markets). "I hope," he said, "this tendency will not become a permanent feature but that on the contrary trading will expand to the mutual advantage both of the East and of the West." Kumykin, the Soviet delegate, assured the conference that the Soviet Union was as determined as ever to develop trade with the West on the basis of reciprocal advantages.

Dupraz of France also deprecated the growth of intra-bloc as against inter-bloc trade; blaming both sides, he asserted that every step toward integration in one bloc was immediately followed by a similar step on the part of the other. "It is our mission," he said, "to show that the systems can coexist, that two world markets can exchange goods and work together to their mutual benefit." He summarized the purposes of the conferences perhaps as well as anyone when he expressed the conviction that one day the U. N.'s Economic and Social Council would exceed in importance the Security Council. Before adjourning, the conference arranged for trade experts from both sides of the Iron Curtain to meet here again next fall.

PERILS UNKNOWN

Effects of the H-Bomb . . *by Carey McWilliams*

AT THE moment the American people are in danger of being lulled into a sense of false security by the denial to them of pertinent information on both the strategic use of nuclear weapons and the possible consequences of further H-bomb tests. Despite a great deal of talk some time back about "Operation Candor," the Administration failed to enlighten the public on the possible consequences of the H-bomb fall-out until February 15, when on the President's order the A. E. C. finally released a report which, it now appears, had been withheld for three months for fear it would "adversely affect certain international situations"—an obvious reference to the pending ratification of the London agreements (New York *Times,* March 25).

Quite naturally, therefore, the report came as "a severe shock" to the American people, as the Federation of American Scientists notes, since there had been so little prior preparation to cushion its effect. In the intervening weeks a strong public opinion has begun to form. But the question now arises: Will this process of opinion-forming, which depends on the availability of relevant and reliable information, be continued? A very real danger exists that the process will be aborted by the denial to the people of further vital information. The problem has two major aspects, one relating to the possible consequences of continued H-bomb tests, the other to nuclear military strategy.

A series of recent incidents indicate that an attempt is being made to foreclose further discussion of the possible consequences of nuclear tests. The most significant occurred in Colorado. On March 13 Dr. Ray R. Lanier, head of the radiological department of the University of Colorado, and Dr. Theodore Puck, head of the biophysics department, jointly called public attention to the fact that the fall-out of radioactive dust from this spring's atomic tests in Nevada had reached a point where it could no longer be safely ignored. Their statement drew furious protests from Governor Johnson and Mayor Quigg Newton of Denver and reassuring words for the public from Senators Millikin and Allott. The Governor called the report "a phony," "a publicity stunt," and suggested that the two scientists should be arrested. He was particularly outraged that the report had been released at a press conference. Lanier and Puck replied that they had no desire to alarm the public needlessly but emphasized that "for the first time in the history of the Nevada tests the upsurge in radioactivity measured here has become appreciable" and added: "We feel strongly that our belief in the principle of public discussion of the problem in our democracy does not constitute grounds for an attack on our patriotism."

In relation to an earlier Nevada test the Denver *Post* of March 3 had quoted other local scientists as saying that geiger counters were going "wild" with "radiation thirty times normal, but safe." Lanier and Puck replied by scouting the notion that there is any determined "safe dosage" for radiation. To quote Dr. Lanier:

> The best guinea pigs for so-called safe-dosage studies have been the radiologists themselves. Doctors now try to keep below 300 milli-roentgens a week, but X-ray doctors have nine times the leukemia rate of the average citizens. They have five times the incidence of skin, kidney, and lung cancer. And they have more malformed children. Particularly for genetic damage, which may not show up for several generations, there is no known safe minimum dosage.

Both men emphasized that the best time to study and report on the fall-out problem and how to cope with it is now, while the development of atomic energy is in its infancy. Once big-scale atomic-power plants become widespread, the problem will be far more serious than it is today.

Dr. Frederick Soddy, Dr. Linus Pauling, Dr. Joseph Rotblat, and other scientists have issued statements strongly confirming the views of Drs. Lanier and Puck. According to Dr. Pauling, a recent Nobel prizewinner, the continued dispersal of radioactive materials into the atmosphere is creating a critical situation; constant irradiation of living cells may have begun a new cycle of leukemia victims or set in motion new hereditary mutations. Dr. Rotblat, professor of physics at London University—he worked for a time at Los Alamos—estimates that it would be safe for man to double the background of radiation that already exists naturally through cosmic rays and radioactive elements but that any higher rate would be "rather risky." The explosion of seventy-five hydrogen bombs over thirty years would double the natural rate. "Rough as this estimate may be," he adds, "it certainly shows that we are sailing much closer to the wind than any of us thought."

DESPITE these quite specific warnings, the American public is being fed a steady diet of reassuring articles and editorials, heavily discounting even the possibility of serious consequences from nuclear tests. For example, in a feature on The Facts About A-Bomb "Fall-out" the *U. S. News and World Report* on March 25 informed its readers that there is "not a word of truth in scare stories over tests." Anyone who had not read what the scientists have been saying about the tests might easily conclude from the article that radioactivity is a new vitamin; indeed, the article reads like a TV commercial announcing the discovery of a new wonder drug. "Tests have shown that fruit flies [note Dr. Muller's statement on page 304 of this issue] raised for 128 generations in highly radioactive surroundings ended up "hardier, more vigorous, more reproductive, with better resistance to disease." Even the fish contaminated in Japanese waters in last year's disastrous tests "could have been eaten if skinned."

Governor Johnson's rebuke to the scientists was vigorously upheld by David Lawrence in his syndicated column (March 20) on the ground that bomb "scares" are dangerous. Two days later the same Mr. Lawrence had kind words for Admiral Carney's statement to twenty Washington correspondents, which resulted in a provocative rash of war-scare headlines. Apparently certain kinds of "scares" are just dandy; others taboo. The people should have Carney's bootlegged views on Quemoy and Matsu but not facts essential to their survival.

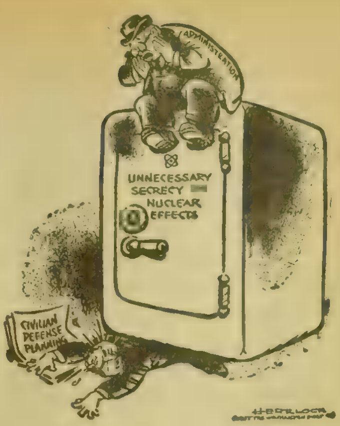
John C. Bugher of A. E. C. suggests that atomic radiation can cause genetic mutations but that it is still uncertain what the long-range effects on "the welfare and survival of populations" might be.

At the same hearing at which Dr. Bugher testified, Senator Kefauver raised the key issue. "The last thing this subcommittee wishes to be," he said, "is alarmist, but it is our view that for the maximum safety of the people it is time that the facts regarding these problems should be brought more fully into the light." The failure of the Administration to follow up the release of the fall-out report with a steady flow of relevant information is clearly endangering a civilian-defense program which to date has failed to win popular support. Both in Denver and Los Angeles public officials have been deluged with communications in which citizens have sought information about the possible consequences of radiation. The officials naturally attempt to "reassure" the citizenry by discounting the danger. But the more the danger is discounted the more difficult it becomes to get the people to take civilian defense seriously. In Los Angeles city and county officials blandly announced that evacuation in case of atomic attack had been "temporarily abandoned" as a basic policy (Los Angeles *Times,* March 10, 1955)! Two days later Colonel J. B. Colegrove, senior deputy director of Los Angeles civil defense, had to remind these officials that it was not up to them to make "basic policy" on such matters. "Under disaster conditions," he said, "you are going to get an evacuation of the civilian population of metropolitan areas whether you want it or not."

The issue, of course, has many ramifications. For example, Dr. George V. LeRoy, associate dean of the Division of Biological Sciences, University of Chicago, has testified that Japanese physicians have delivered public lectures in Japan based on material which is still classified as secret by the A. E. C. "In our atomic-energy program," he said, "it is difficult for me to understand the need for secrecy concerning the effects on man or animals of atomic radiations, flash burns, fission products, and 'fall-out.' " In the event of war, American physicians would have to care for the victims of nuclear bombings "regardless of how little or how much they know about the nature of the injuries that occur."

Clearly, the real cause for alarm is the attitude of officials who suggest that scientists should be arrested for telling the public what it has every right to be told. Even more alarming is the tendency to brand as suspect, if not subversive, all those who seek a moratorium on further H-bomb tests or who point up the dangers of fall-out. In an editorial on March 25 the New York *Daily News* entered a strenuous protest over the fact that Dr. Linus Pauling, on a recent NBC news interview, was "permitted to peddle the current Communist propaganda line that hydrogen- and atom-bomb experimental detonations are polluting the earth's atmosphere so as to endanger life and make probable a serious increase in births of abnormal babies."

IN PARALLEL fashion, an effort is being made to foreclose full-scale debate on nuclear strategy in or out of Congress. Congress, as James Reston notes, is much more interested in Yalta than in Quemoy and in almost anything more than in the one great issue of our time—survival. But Congress can be forced to shift issues only by an aroused public opinion, and the public, unfortunately, is not aroused, not having been properly informed. A few illustrations will suggest the extent of the information vacuum.


ADMINISTRATION
UNNECESSARY SECRECY NUCLEAR EFFECTS
CIVILIAN DEFENSE PLANNING
HERBLOCK

"Run for Your Life"

On returning from his recent visit to the Far East, Mr. Dulles discussed still a new policy: "less-than-massive" or "limited" retaliation based on the use of "small A-bombs" which, we are assured, can be delivered, like bullets, with pinpoint precision that would not endanger civilian populations. But Brigadier General Thomas A. Phillips, among other military analysts, advises us in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* to take all this with a grain of salt. The kind of precision attainable under carefully controlled conditions in Nevada is not likely to be attained under battle conditions. In Nevada a vast painted bullseye, perfectly visible at 30,000 feet, is used to mark the target, over which the bomber makes two or three practice runs before he strikes.

Or, to take another illustration, how well is the American public informed on the crucial issue of our measure of superiority over Russia in nuclear power? On several occasions, as in interviews of March 31 and December 17, 1954, Admiral Strauss has assured us that we possess a substantial superiority. Some of the military analysts are not quite so sure. The Russians detonated an H-bomb six months before we did and, in the view of General Phillips, may now be well on the way to their first 1,000 hydrogen bombs. The Soviet Union is said to be rapidly overcoming our lead in long-range atomic carriers. "As seen by air-force officials," wrote the General last year, "the situation is increasingly serious." More recently, he said that a nation starting from scratch today with a billion dollars might have 1,000 H-bombs in three years.

Now that the British propose to construct H-bombs, other nations are clamoring for atomic weapons, and the clamor will grow louder. Will West Germany's twelve divisions be equipped with nuclear weapons- Japan, Premier Hatoyama assures us, does not intend to renounce its ambitions to possess them. South Korea's Rhee, whose handpicked National Assembly has voted unanimously to declare the Korean truce void, wants them and so, it may be assumed, does Chiang Kai-shek. In short, the question of relative advantage could hardly be more fluid than it is at the moment.

But the public assumes that we have a marked advantage and therefore tends to be complacent, while Congress is simply incredulous in the face of evidence which undercuts its prejudices. For example, the Washington *Post* recently reported that a Congressional subcommittee appeared "somewhat skeptical" when told by a number of American scientists that Russia has already surpassed the United States in the production of engineers and is approaching us in the development of scientists. Dr. C. E. Sunderlin, deputy director of the National Science Foundation, assured the subcommittee that nine out of ten American physicists believe that Russian progress in such fields as solid-state and low-temperature physics is equal to that in this country. Dr. Alan T. Waterman, the director, added that Russian scientists are "doing an extremely fine job in mathematics and a very good job in astronomy." The testimony was not headlined.

The same lack of information may be noted in other areas. Under the Atomic Energy Act the President alone can authorize the use of atomic weapons. But one may venture the suggestion that the public is not generally aware that plans have already been drawn up defining certain contingencies under which the military authorities could take retaliatory action without the immediate approval of the President. The power of the NATO command in this respect is not fully understood. As tension mounts, the tendency will be to provide for ever more far-fetched contingencies. Hanson W. Baldwin, writing in the New York *Times* of December 21, 1954, points to the danger of the "automatic reflex" which is being conditioned:

> Atomic arms are now aboard United States aircraft carriers, at bases of the United States air force, and with operational units of the army. The procedures for authorization for use have been simplified and channels of communication improved so that almost instantaneous response to an emergency is possible.
>
> The great danger is whether or not the pendulum is swinging too far. Many of the air force believe the price of survival means beating the enemy to the first atomic punch. More and more military commanders are coming to regard tactical atomic weapons as just another part of their armory to be used as their judgment determines if war starts.
>
> But this very decentralization of authority and insistence upon speed of decision could commit the United States, in some future time, without much reason or judgment and perhaps without actual necessity, to an all-out atomic war.

One may assume, too, that the public is not fully aware of the extent to which some military officials are united in the belief that we would be justified in using nuclear weapons to launch a war. Recently Cassandra, the well-known columnist of the London *Daily Mirror*, reported that General LeMay had told him: "When it comes to trading knock-out punches . . . it might not be the best policy to sit and wait until you are hit so hard that you never wake up again." Nor is the public generally aware that a preventive-war nuclear strike might so poison the atmosphere with radioactive particles that the fall-out,

Disaster by Instalments

by H. J. Muller

Responsible geneticists the world over would certainly concur in the statement made by Dr. C. H. Waddington in his article in The Nation (February 19, 1955) that the vast majority of mutations produced by radiation are harmful. Probably most of them would go a good deal farther than Dr. Waddington.

In the most accurately studied genetic material, fruit flies, it has long been known that there are vastly more mutations producing hidden, slightly harmful effects than those producing drastic or easily recognizable ones. There is ground for inferring that this principle holds throughout living things. What is not so commonly realized is that each invisible, slightly harmful mutation occasions an amount of damage in later generations comparable to that arising from the birth of a "monster." This is because the "small" mutation survives through so many more generations as to do a great amount of scattered harm. By the accumulation of many of these small mutations a population can become genetically debilitated.

The large-scale and meticulous experiments carried out over the past six years by the Russells working at Oak Ridge indicate clearly that the genetic damage in organisms closer to man (represented in their work by mice) is much greater, perhaps ten times as great, as in fruit flies. It is significant that this very reliable and costly work was carried out under the auspices of the Atomic Energy Commission and is cited in its reports.

The whole subject needs further study. We already know enough to indicate that an all-out war utilizing atomic energy might so debilitate the descendants of the survivors in the more technically advanced countries as to make them significantly inferior, genetically, to the populations of the technically less advanced countries, whose ancestral germ cells would presumably have been subjected to far less radiation, not only from atomic warfare but also in the course of medical and industrial procedures. At present we in this country undoubtedly receive far more radiation from peace-time operations than as a result of atomic tests.

H. J. MULLER is professor of zoology at Indiana University, Nobel laureate in physiology (1946), co-author of "Genetics, Medicine, and Man" (1947), and was president of the Eighth International Genetics Congress (1948).

blown homeward, might endanger the attacking nation. In a somber interview reported in the Los Angeles *Times* on March 13, 1955, Dr. Norris Bradbury, director of the laboratory at Los Alamos, used the expressive phrase: "He [the enemy] may die faster sooner, and I may die slower later."

The day is not far distant, we are told, when a hydrogen bomb with a megaton rating (the equivalent in blasting power of a million tons of TNT) will be small enough to be carried by a single-seater fighter-bomber. "With the reduction in size of atomic bombs," writes General Phillips, "covert introduction into the United States becomes easy. A small atomic bomb can be made in three pieces with a five-inch tube and two ends which screw on. It could be assembled in the dark with the help of no tool other than a belt buckle. It could be brought in in separate pieces in ordinary baggage."

And just what was the meaning of the curious remark which Sir Anthony Eden made in response to a question by Mr. Attlee in the closing moments of the recent British debate on the H-bomb? A new and substantial difficulty, he said, had arisen—namely, that experiments were now possible "without a bang." Almost the same phrase was used by Dr. Norris Bradbury in the Los Angeles interview mentioned above. "The problem of military application," Dr. Bradbury said, "is not necessarily confined to making big bangs." Does this mean that weapons other than bombs and warheads are in the making of such a character that known techniques would not indicate when tests were being made?

In view of these possibilities, the constitutional issue which was delicately suggested but never really debated when Mr. Dulles first announced the policy of "massive instant retaliation" has now receded into a forgotten past—a quaint relic of what might have been the greatest debate ever staged in Congress. How far back in time today sound the words of the late Senator Robert Taft: "The fundamental issue [on Korea] was, and is, whether the President shall decide when the United States shall go to war or whether the people of the United States themselves shall make that decision." But today the people cannot make the decision without information, and they cannot get information unless they demand it in much louder terms than have been used. The people must also realize that key policy decisions are being made by a curious zigzag, piecemeal process which operates almost independently of the will of their representatives, that is, in the absence of clearly formulated policies. As Aneurin Bevan said in the recent debate in the British Parliament: "We cannot discuss this White Paper [proposing British manufacture of the H-bomb] as though what we are doing is providing the *instrument* of policy alone—because when the instrument which we are proposing to create is absolute, policy is intrinsically the instrument itself . . . because the weapon being absolute, it is also policy." Every operational decision involves policy, and policy is therefore being continuously shaped, almost every day, in a manner of which the people are wholly unaware and which forecloses subsequent debate on broad principles. Each step in the process is or tends to be "a point of no return."

FROM all this, certain limited conclusions can be readily drawn. The Administration should issue a White Paper summarizing all that is known about the consequences of A- and H-bomb explosions and it should keep this information current. It should also attempt to state, clearly and in one document, the main features of American policy in reference to the use of nuclear weapons. The people should not be encouraged to take refuge in Churchill's proposition that a "saturation" point might be reached which, by a process of mutual terrorization, would insure the peace. Here General MacArthur is clearly right: when the saturation point is reached you get not safety but "spontaneous combustion." Instead of mulling over the Yalta papers like a dog over its vomit, let Congress insist upon a clarification of current policy and then debate the Administration's proposals so that the people may have the benefit of an informed discussion.

The nature of the problem facing the American public interested in peace is suggested by a recent statement by Dr. Donald Soper, leader of the British peace movement, which appeared in the London *News-Chronicle* of March 10:

> Why, if we want peace, are we tottering on the edge of total disaster?
>
> I believe the answer is that violence creates, sooner or later, a state of paralysis—it produces a set of ideas and a complex of conditions in which it is impossible to obtain peace. . . Armament programs must be carried out secretly; no government can tell the truth to any other government, and so a smog of suspicion hangs over the nations.
>
> Strength to fight a war, or to frighten a possible aggressor from starting one, means that small nations must seek big brothers, who not only watch them but occupy them as well, until vast supra-national armed blocs peer and glare at one another through various sorts of curtains. . . .
>
> What surely is needed is some power to break through this vicious circle—some action to initiate the disarmament that every nation promises to undertake when someone else starts it, some action to rescue truth and common sense from the madhouse of fear, some action to reduce suspicion and give a chance for decency and friendliness to grow again. What we need is a new dynamic to get peacemaking under way.

The fact that the Russian people may suffer from a frustration no less acute than our own does not lessen the force of this statement.

Perhaps the coming Conference on World Disarmament and Development, which will be held in Chicago on April 30, will initiate action to end the frustration of American opinion. This year's conference is a follow-up on the 1953 Washington Workshop and the 1954 Conference on World Disarmament and Development, which was held in New York. Supporting organizations include the American Association for the United Nations, the American Baptist Convention, the American Friends Service Committee, the American Veterans Committee, the Church Peace Union, the Citizens Conference on International Economic Union, the Committee for World Development and World Disarmament, the Methodist Church Board of World Peace, the Post-War World Council the United Church Women, and Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

In the meantime the suggestion of the Federation of American Scientists for the establishment of a U. N.

commission to study and report on the consequences of atomic explosions merits the widest support. It should be linked with a popular demand for the cessation of further H-bomb tests. Fortunately the President seems to have recognized the importance of an informed public opinion. His appointment of Harold Stassen as Presidential assistant for disarmament suggests that a concerted effort will now be made to call into being the creative power and imagination of the people themselves. It is a good sign.

TIME AGAINST RACE

South Africa's 100-Year Plan . . *by R. K. Chase*

Johannesburg

WHITE South Africans are hypersensitive to what the world says of them. So it was a sore point even to Dr. Malan's political opponents when the ex-Prime Minister was described in Britain, America, and elsewhere as "the world's most hated man." The struggle over his succession was watched here with intense misgivings, and the victory of Johannes Strijdom was seen by all but the extremist section of the Afrikaner Nationalists as a step in the wrong direction. Could anyone be worse than "the world's most hated man"? It would appear so.

By a remarkable irony Mr. Strijdom's victory is turning into a hollow one even for his supporters. So far he has shown himself to be a leader unable to lead. Ashen-faced and gaunt, the victim of a heart affection, he sits on his front bench in Parliament and the wordy storms fly over his head. Often that head which was to have been crowned with the presidential laurel in the new republic falls forward on his arms either in sleep or in pain. Mr. Strijdom is sixty-one. He may recover; he may yet be the president who, in the words of the Nationalist draft constitution of 1941, will be "directly and only responsible to God." But there are sober doubts. In the parliamentary lobbies, opinion gives Mr. Strijdom's leadership a future of six months to two years.

At all events it is not in the nerveless fingers of this former "lion of the north" that the active direction of South Africa's affairs lies. The effective leader, towering above his fellows by virtue of their relative insignificance, is the Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd. Political speculation is even now busy with his name as the country's next prime minister.

Dr. Verwoerd is the son of a German missionary. Tradition has it that during the First World War young Verwoerd, together with the family, said a prayer for victory each night before a portrait of Kaiser Wilhelm. World War II found Verwoerd with a new object of adoration, Adolf Hitler. He was then editor of *Die Transvaler,* the most extreme Nationalist paper, and under the tolerant rule of Field Marshal Smuts he ran it as little less than a fifth-column organ. In a memorable court action a judge of the Supreme Court found that *Die Transvaler* supported Nazi propaganda and that Dr. Verwoerd had "made the paper a tool of it in South Africa."

VERWOERD and his colleagues symbolize a turning point in South Africa's development. The old Nationalism led by the late General Hertzog and Mr. Havenga—whom Strijdom ousted from the premiership—had successfully carried through its political objectives: the freeing of the Afrikaner people, the establishment of the Afrikaans language and culture on a parity with English, and, by the Statute of Westminister in 1931, the establishment of the Union as a free, equal partner in the Commonwealth. This older Nationalism was deeply attached to the parliamentary system of government through which it had gained such spectacular victories. After 1931 its leaders regarded the republican issue as "academic" and, more important, vaguely conceded that at some future date the black African population would have to be permitted greater political rights. The old Nationalist leaders failed to face up squarely to either question, however, principally because the slow pace of African political development never made it necessary. The "evil" day was postponed. Now it has arrived.

The present Nationalist government is not the spiritual heir to the older Nationalism. General Hertzog and his colleagues were mainly men who had fought on the battlefields of the Boer War of 1899-1902 against British imperialism. Their subsequent political victory was a peaceful reversal of the decision by arms. Between them and the new men now in power there has been a deep break. The latter, backed by their fanatical ranks, are in ideology the heirs of the Goebbels Ministry of Propaganda.

The Nationalist draft constitution of 1941, which was to be put into effect by collusion with a victorious Hitler, has never been repudiated by the party which wrote it. It remains the blueprint for South Africa's future in the impractical minds of Dr. Verwoerd and his friends. So far as the whites are concerned, the country would be a one-language, one-party, one-flag dictatorship. The draft constitution's application to the non-white majority is summed up in the word *apartheid.*

Since 1948, when Dr. Malan first came into power with the Nationalist government, there has been endless dispute over the exact mean-

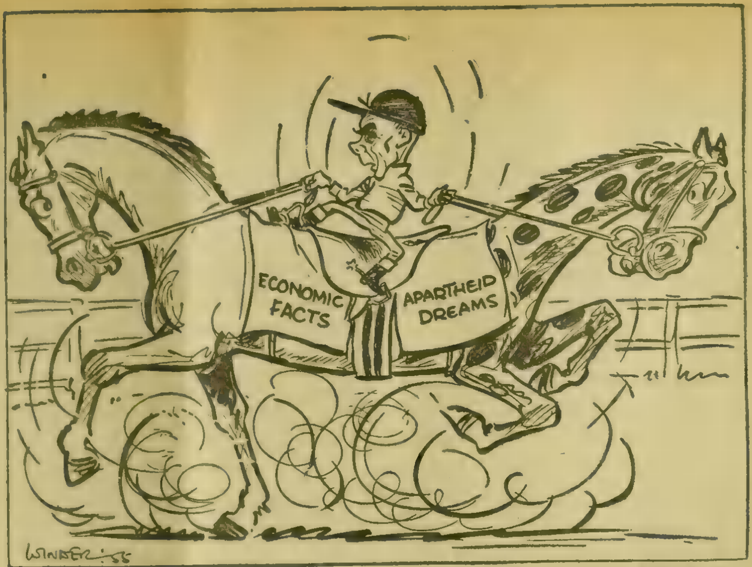
---

R. KENNET CHASE is the pen name of a South African writer.

ing of *apartheid*. Some said it was nothing more than an election slogan, and was not much different from the traditional white policy of keeping the whip hand over the non-whites. Others thought it implied the setting up of completely separated autonomous black areas—"Bantustans" on the lines of Pakistan. No doubt the confusion sprang from certain internal disagreements among the Nationalists themselves. Malan, Havenga, and others of the old school could not go all the way with the extreme ideologists.

A patchwork of laws was passed at succeeding sessions of Parliament. Until recently the laws failed to give any clear pattern for *apartheid*, but they did clear the way toward an authoritarian regime. They gave the government power to rule by decree, to suspend the courts, suppress newspapers, outlaw persons and deprive them of their living, close down churches and schools, enter and search any premises without warrants, suppress all rights of assembly, speech, and procession. The government can violate the mails, confiscate property, dismember organizations, and deport citizens. Some of the powers have already been used, mainly against the already underprivileged non-whites. Others are kept "on ice." Still others used by the Nationalist parliamentary majority to disfranchise the Cape-colored (mixed race) voters, have been declared unconstitutional by the Appeal Court.

The Nationalists find it difficult to impose a dictatorial regime within the framework of a parliamentary system which retains such democratic institutions as an independent judiciary. Hence their impatience. They have already gone far to destroy representative government. Their 94 members in Parliament represent 643,000 voters; the 62 opposition members represent 775,000. And the voting figures in turn must be measured against South Africa's total population of 13,000,000 people. Here is reason enough for the Nationalist Party's neurosis—delusions of grandeur along with feelings of basic insecurity.



Johannesburg Sunday Times

Problem Pony

SINCE the first of the year the meaning of *apartheid* has become increasingly clarified. While Mr. Strijdom's health remains impaired, Dr. Verwoerd has had a free hand to expound his creed. He has done so with an astounding singleness of mind and a still more impressive lack of realism. Some observers have called him the "Alfred Rosenberg of South African Nationalism." While Verwoerd has never advocated genocide, the comparison with Hitler's mystical theorist holds true in many respects. The Nationalist leader can be remarkably plausible in support of fallacious premises. Throughout his career he has a consistent record of being proved wrong; yet he clings to his theories as if they had a validity superior to political, economic, or social fact. His plan for *apartheid* is roughly as follows:

1. In the next fifty years measures for the eventual complete separation of the races will be carried out. During this time the entire process of African advancement toward civilization will be arrested. All Africans, now officially called Bantu, will be removed from towns and white-farming areas and squeezed back into the reserves, which by the year 2,000 will include the three British territories—Basutoland, Swaziland, and Bechuanaland.

2. In order to minimize the shock to the country's economic system—for Africans provide about nine-tenths of the labor for farms, mines, and industry—the transfer will be affected by the gradual elimination of the African family everywhere outside the reserves. Black workers, fragmented and forbidden the right to organize, will become a commodity supplied at will where needed just as electricity may be tapped from a grid.

3. In a second fifty-year period industrial development will be permitted only on the fringes of the labor pools in the Bantu reserves.

During the century covered by the plan, separation will be more and more strictly enforced until the white race has finally disentangled itself from every form of contact with persons of color save the supervision of their labor. In their reserves the Bantu will be forced to revert to a kind of revised tribalism invented for them by Dr. Verwoerd.

At present the reserves, excluding the British territories, are already overcrowded with a population of 3,100,000 Africans. Another 6,000,000 live on white farms and in towns. By the end of fifty years it is estimated that the African population of South Africa will be nearly 20,000,000. The problem of forcing this colossal djin back into an already bursting bottle does not deter Dr. Verwoerd.

JOURNALISTS from all parts of the world recently witnessed one of Verwoerd's first "successes" in his fifty-year period of preparation. Overawed by 2,000 police armed with automatic weapons, some 120 African families were moved from an old township near Johannesburg to a new one fifteen miles away in the veld. The move went off without incident. Altogether some 80,000 black people are to be moved from the same place by the police and military. The process is called cleaning up a "black spot." In reality a "black spot" means anywhere a black man can own freehold property. In the new township he will not be permitted to own a freehold; he will, as a matter of fact, enjoy no security at all as tenant or resident anywhere outside the reserve. Where he is allowed temporary tenure in a white area, every minute of his life is spent under the supervision of the Department of Native Affairs.

Last year Dr. Verwoerd, through Parliament, seized control of the education of Africans. He has wrested hundreds of schools from the missions of various denominations, including many endowed and run for generations by American churches. Only the Roman Catholics and some sections of the Anglicans stubbornly held on to their schools. The purpose of the new "Bantu education" was described by Dr. Verwoerd: "There is no place for the Bantu in the European community above the level of certain forms of labor."

The Native Affairs Department has been turned into a fantastic personal empire in which one man rules over nine million. To Verwoerd, the dictator, these millions are mere counters with which he plays an unreal game on a mythical checkerboard. Incredible? But it must be remembered that the Union of South Africa is the only country in the world where racial discrimination is sanctioned not only by law but by the principal church—the Dutch Reform church. Fifty years is a long time for a checkers game to last, no matter what color the counters.

ANTI-ANTI-TRUST DRIVE

Big Business Lays Plans . . *by Leland A. Traywick*

SINCE the first of the year a series of events has put the problem of monopoly again into the spotlight. Congressional hearings have been held on the President's "Economic Report" relative to the current wave of big-business mergers. The publication of J. D. Glover's "The Attack on Big Business" under the imprimature of the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration has aroused considerable interest. *Look* has published the results of a poll by the Opinion Research Corporation which purport to show that "people, ten to one, indorse the idea of big business." While not so planned, this barrage of praise for big business is preparing the public to accept any weakening of anti-trust enforcement which may be proposed on the basis of the Justice Department's anti-trust report, which was released April 1.

Big business is spending larger sums than ever before to win over public opinion. Nor are the efforts of corporation publicists, with their huge staffs and almost tax-free expense accounts, confined to the conventional radio, TV, newspaper, and magazine channels. Relatively new and increasingly important is big-business largess to higher education. In January, General Motors announced a gift program totaling $2,000,000 a year. Similar programs have been announced by General Electric, Standard Oil of New Jersey, General Foods, CBS, Armstrong Cork, and Walter Kidde. The Ford Motors Company Fund—different from the Ford Foundation—gave more than $1,000,000 last year and will doubtless give as much this year. The country's largest brokerage house intends to make large gifts. According to the *Wall Street Journal*, the gift total to educational institutions this year will exceed the 1953 peak of $58,000,000. In addition to cash outlays, big business finances faculty seminars, scholarships, and other forms of help to colleges.

Such donations are cheaper than paying taxes; they are also an investment. While few gifts have direct strings attached, the indirect strings are just as effective. Private colleges are particularly hard-pressed in these inflationary times. Comments the *Wall Street Journal*, pointing up one significant result of the aid program: some professors get raises. Who, the donors may well ask themselves, bites the hand that feeds him?

Professor Glover's "The Attack on Big Business" subtly defends bigness by ridiculing the attacks which have been made upon it. Basically the attacks are twofold: big business is inefficient, and it is monopolistic. Dr. Glover deals with the efficiency arguments by innuendo: big business owes its growth to efficiency; it can be managed efficiently; statistics reveal its efficiency. But where industry studies have been made, the conclusion is that big business is not *ipso facto* efficient. Such studies have been made in petroleum, fertilizers, cement, rubber tires, wheat-flour milling, bread-baking, steel, and farm machinery. The raison d'etre for industrial bigness is not efficiency but power and market domination.

Glover argues that big business is not monopolistic but is regulated by what economists call "workable competition." This means essentially that "structural competition," which flows from the presence in the market of many sellers of the same commodity, has given way to an in-between arrangement which yields competition between alternative commodities. Since choices are still available, Glover and others claim that competition still exists. But this argument ignores the price-

---

LELAND A. TRAYWICK is associate professor of economics at Michigan State College.

leadership mechanism which tends to unify big-business "competitors"; it ignores unwritten price agreements, patent pools, cross-licensing arrangements, mergers for price-fixing reasons, lobbies, subsidies, interlocking directorates, and powerful aggregations of banks and industrial firms. In reality "workable competition" has become "workable monopoly."

THE Opinion Research Corporation's poll turned out to be an even more forthright defense of big business than Glover's book. According to the results, the public is convinced that (1) big business provides jobs; (2) big business promotes research and hence improves living standards; (3) big business is the backbone of defense. These points should be answered seriatim.

Does big business provide the most jobs? Department of Commerce figures show that 54 per cent of all employed are working for firms with pay rolls of 500 or less. Data from the same source show that 55 per cent of the increase in employment in recent years has come from firms which employ fewer than twenty workers. A point not covered by the statistics is the kind of job which big business too often provides—assembly-line workers, file clerks, order-taking drudges.

Does big business promote research? H. Stafford Hatfield, in his excellent study entitled "The Inventor and His World," remarks: "It is frequently said . . . that advance in the future will come exclusively from the magnificently equipped research laboratories of the great trusts and corporations. There is no evidence of this except the *ipse dixit* of the corporations themselves." He lists the following inventions which have come not from great research laboratories but from the independent work of individuals—monotype, case-hardening of steel, photogravure, moving pictures, the dial telephone, Diesel engines, carborundum, the telegraph and telephone, electric-train control, submarines, safety razors, airplanes, bakelite, gyrocompasses. "The very latest example of the victory of individualism in invention," he adds, "is television, worked out by a young Scotsman with the slenderest resources in a cellar in Soho."

Harvard University studies have shown that, computed as a percentage of sales, small business spends four times as much on research as does big business. And such research as big business accomplishes does not always spell progress. Remarks Arthur A. Bright, Jr.:

> When General Electric did bring out the hot-cathode fluorescent lamp, the new lamp was initially promoted only for decorative and supplementary lighting. The lack of a strong competitive pressure permitted General Electric to concentrate its attention on improving the older incandescent lamp which would not endanger its established interest in the status quo. My own conclusion, therefore, is that General Electric's control over the lamp industry has not provided an ideal environment for the rapid development and introduction of major new light sources.

Methyl methacrylate, one of the best-known plastics, is controlled monopolistically by duPont, Rohn and Hass. It was sold for 85 cents a pound for industrial use. But the very same product was sold to the dental profession for $45 a pound! Is that what the chemical industry means by its slogan, "Better things for a better tomorrow, through chemistry"?

Is big business the backbone of defense? The concentration of economic power which took place during World War II was due largely to the distribution of the lion's share of war contracts to a handful of firms. The concentration was intensified during the Korean conflict. Ten large manufacturing companies handled 30 per cent of the war-contract dollar volume during World War II; the same firms handled 40 per cent during the Korean war. Moreover, as the Senate Select Committee on Small Business pointed out, these firms refused to subcontract unless their own plants were operating at 100 per cent capacity. When the president of General Motors became Secretary of Defense, the former Joint Chiefs of Staff and General Marshall had ready for him a procurement plan which would have spread production in order (1) to have available many plants capable of quick output expansion in case of emergency, and (2) to avoid putting all our production eggs in a few baskets reachable by a couple of A-bombs. Secretary Wilson did not go along. In the first eighteen months of the Eisenhower Administration, $1,700,000,000 in contracts went to General Motors while contracts going to other firms declined by $395,000,000. If big business is the backbone of our defense, it is because the Administration has made it so. And it is a brittle backbone.

PARTLY as a result of public apathy, the anti-trust laws have become all but atrophied from disuse. Since 1952 government anti-trust actions against General Electric, Westinghouse, A. and P., Montgomery Ward, the Aluminum Company of America, the Celanese Corporation, Servel, and Eastman Kodak have been settled out of court without any attempt at vigorous prosecution. More recently the duPont and investment bankers' cases were thrown out of court, and instead of protests there has been only the soft applause of well-gloved hands. Despite a 1948 Supreme Court decision ordering vertical divorcement in the motion-picture industry, the Federal Communications Commission in 1953 authorized the merger of the American Broadcasting Company and United Paramount Theaters and acquiesced in the control of Paramount Pictures by Dumont television. The post-Korean mergers continue; in January it was announced that the Chase National Bank would merge with the Bank of the Manhattan Company. In New York City alone fourteen large banks have merged in the last seven years.

How can this movement be stopped? There are two obvious answers: the anti-trust laws must be strengthened and enforced, and government aids to monopoly—in the form of commission rulings, defense contracts, and so on—must cease. But obviously a big-business Administration will do neither. Ultimately the solution lies in a public made aware of the meaning of economic democracy and demanding its incorporation into the fabric of American life. Economic democracy envisions the breakdown of giant holdings into efficient autonomous plants. It means the decentralization though not the atomization of big business and a return to competitive capitalism.

BOOKS

In Search of the Question

SECULARISM IS THE WILL OF GOD. By Horace M. Kallen. Twayne Publishers. $4.

THE THIRD REVOLUTION. A Study of Psychiatry and Religion. By Karl Stern. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $4.

FRAGMENTS OF AN ANALYSIS WITH FREUD. By Joseph Wortis. Simon and Schuster. $3.

THE FACE OF VIOLENCE. An Essay with a Play. By J. Bronowski. George Braziller. $2.75.

By Waldo Frank

NO TIME, no culture, known to man, from the peaceful Arapesh to the Victorian, has been without anxiety. The modish notion that ours is *the* anxious age reveals that, despite our anthropologists and psychologists, we are as egocentric as were the other ages. Anxiety, distinguished from fear, is the constant of man's consciousness that he is submerged in mystery and that mystery is within him. Fear and pain, since they distract from this metaphysical awareness by pinning the attention upon specific problems, are a relief from it. The flood of information in which we confusedly coexist anesthetizes it. If we must have a label for our time, it might more properly be "the age of immediate solutions"—of substitute informations which, abstracting us from the experience of life as an organic whole, blur our anxiety with fragmentary faiths, with swift false panaceas, with anesthetic arts—and with deadly danger.

The common trait of all these solaces is that they soon reveal that they solve nothing. They are like the symptom of the neurotic which masks an unacceptable desire, for the sake of the peace which the symptom is designed to—and yet does not—bring. The solution is a cheat; the neurotic deeply knows it, although he can do nothing but perhaps substitute another for it. At all costs, the true desire must not be admitted! Similarly, the endless flow of books devoted to our time and its specific troubles concur in their earnest efforts to hide the imperative of our anxiety by continuing some fragmentary past solution that is no longer valid.

The four volumes I have grouped together almost at random have the family resemblance of contemporaneity. After all, men who pass on the street have in common that they live in the same place and hour; and although they are strangers, even foes, much of the personality of the age can be inferred from them.

Dr. Kallen's latest volume continues the richly implemented ardor for human liberty which has filled and distinguished his career. He pleads for an "orchestration" of religions on the theme of union of values and of pluralism in their expression. Toleration would be as inappropriate to describe this catholicity as it would be to describe the attitude of one instrument in a symphony toward another. Religions, he says, become intolerant and aggressive in so far as they defend what is least sure in them—the exclusive, dogmatic possession of "the" truth. They must learn to live happily together by accepting their relativity and a faith in reason. The norm for their knowledge he would have them obtain from science, which gets along without bloody crusades and inquisitions. Dr. Kallen is eloquent on the two more aggressive religions of our day—communism and Roman Catholicism. But his thesis is undermined by his failure to distinguish between the knowledge of science and the knowledge of religion. The latter, his pragmatic empiricism forces him to reject—on the false premise of confusing the knowledge with its dogmatic forms; on the other hand, the possessor of the insights of religion would deny to the abstractions of science the term "knowledge" altogether. This is a schism which must be healed if our culture is to survive. It will never be done by even the most erudite and liberal thinker whose premise fails to recognize the essential difference of the one knowledge from the other.

Dr. Kallen is right about the mounting danger of dogmatism—although he fails to identify the implicit dogmas of his own camp. He is wrong in his belief that dogmatism can be avoided by "faith" in the findings of science which does not embrace the domain of the reality of religion. The intolerance and the dogma issue not from the nature of religious knowledge but from the interpretations by which the ego deforms the knowledge. And not less banefully—and more covertly—science also has its intolerances and dogmas. In "War and Peace" Tolstoi wrote: "If it is admitted that human life can be directed by reason, then the possibility of life is annihilated." This is not irrationalism; it is simply an insight that reason as the regulator of human life must have a matrix and source which transcend it. That knowledge must be possessed and rationally developed.

DR. KARL STERN, a German psychiatrist now teaching and practicing in Canada, is also a man of noble hungers. His book is important because it dissociates clearly the methodological values of psychoanalysis from the ideologies implicit in Freud and in most of his followers and dissenters. Dr. Stern brilliantly discloses the unscientific dogmas in such of Freud's statements as that "God is *nothing but* the father; the Sacrament *nothing but* cannibalistic oral introjection; etc." He compares the growth of the human psyche to that of the human fetus, which recapitulates a long biologic process in order to issue upon normal birth. Freud's philosophy, already dated when he imbibed it in his youth, regards man as if his "fetal" psychological nature were his maturity. And the later schools, with their equally unbalanced accent on the social, merely variate the error.

Of course, Eastern psychology had

WALDO FRANK is a distinguished novelist and cultural critic.

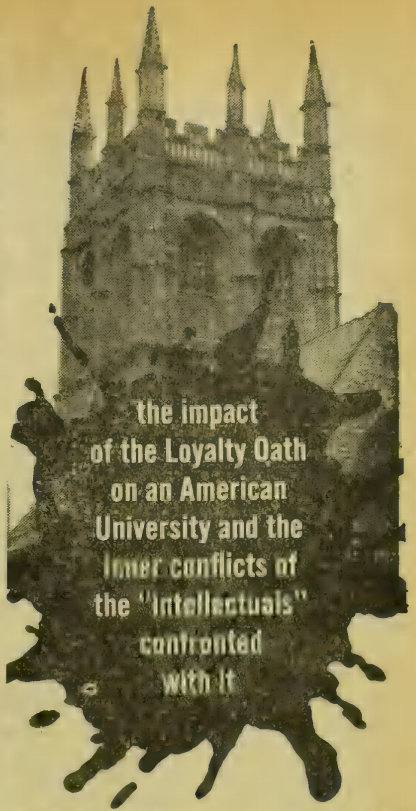
refuted this truncated view of man's nature ages before Europe pronounced it. Dr. Stern is a devout Catholic. The normative human knowledge of metaphysical transcendence which he naturalizes into his psychological view therefore takes the form of an orthodox theology. And this limits his book's usefulness for those to whom his terms may appear provincial and obsolescent. But the reader who can "translate" the idiom of a theology into his own terms of meaning will find "The Third Revolution" a remunerative volume.

DR. WORTIS, a young psychiatrist sponsored by Havelock Ellis and Adolph Meyer, underwent a didactic analysis with Freud in Vienna in 1934. His book consists largely of the notes written down, fresh and crude, after each hour's session. A vivid, magnificent old man emerges—doctrinaire, Mosaic in his devotion to his own Word, yet imprisoned in the "Egypt" of bourgeois Vienna to which his philosophy conformed. The young analysant disagreed, resisted, and revered. Already his dissents tilted him toward the social schools of Fromm and Horney, Sullivan and Burrow. Their value in this book is chiefly aesthetic; they angered the master and made him eloquent. (For example, to the question "What is sublimation? Is it conscious or unconscious?" he has Freud answer: *"Everything is unconscious."*)

Dr. J. Bronowski, mathematician, statistician, and economist, author of books on "The Common Sense of Science" and on William Blake, is one of the rare men of our day who endeavor to carry forward the great tradition of Leibniz and Whitehead in merging the exact disciplines of the sciences for the construction of a general human picture. His little volume "The Face of Violence" consists of an essay that is theatrical and of a play that is dull as the schema for an essay. The play, first broadcast by the B.B.C., received the Italia prize as one of the two "best new plays broadcast in Europe during 1950-51," an award which, if it was just, reveals the low level of radio drama. The author's method, as poet, is to let his bare allegoric characters—as in the drama of medieval Europe—announce their role and then describe their action. In the best of the old Mysteries the schematic personae draw substance from the vital human milieu. In this opus both character and language vaporize to a haze that is not even dimly opalescent. The author's purpose is better served in his essay. What he is trying to reveal is the creative value within man's violence—the spiritual content of the anxiety which it expresses and which all cultures expressed in such practices as the sacrifice of the king, the scapegoat, the romanticizing of crime.

The Doctor has read his Frazer and his Freud. He has nothing new to add, and what he says is far too haphazard to be good sociology or art. But the book's impulse is important, for it refuses to take "the face of violence," grimly confronting us all, at its face value or to preach against it. His lesson is that we should cease throwing up our hands in horror at the violence our society excretes, since neither the hands nor the horror can deter it, and strive rather to understand the creative principle within aggression. The old societies instinctively formed myths, ceremonies, institutions through which the need of revolt was stabilized within the culture—and enriched it. We who feel ourselves superior to myth and sacrament, and who are manned with instruments of destruction that make us more fragile than the most vulnerable culture of New Guinea, run the risk of letting our fear of the violence within us overwhelm and destroy us. Beyond this single note Dr. Bronowski hardly ventures.

THESE are all honorable books; but their answers are fractions because the premises in their questions are fractions. The appeal for faith in reason will continue to lack substance while the present definitions of faith and reason prevail. The approaches to problems of anxiety will continue to be futile while the organic meaning of anxiety is ignored. The correct analysis of such traits as violence and aggression will never tame the lethal trends of our culture while we continue to respond to an image of self whose inevitable reflection is such monstrosities as "defensive" bombs, "just" wars, and the equally deadly anesthetic arts of our peace.



ALBERT EINSTEIN: "Martha Dodd has shed light on the whole morbid and fantastic process of which we are witnesses. Her work merits, in my opinion, the attention of all reasonable people who are interested in the social problems of our day."

"Traces developments in this country with complete and devastating accuracy . . ."—**Robert Hutchins,** *formerly president University of Chicago.*

". . . full of tension, but never melodramatic . . . everything is transformed into life" — **Lion Feuchtwanger,** *the great contemporary novelist.*

"Many people have tried in vain to tell about life as it exists today in the American university — but Martha Dodd has done it"— **Alexander Meiklejohn,** *formerly president University of Wisconsin.*

the Searching Light

a new novel by
MARTHA DODD
author of *Through Embassy Eyes*

$3.50 *At all bookstores*
The Citadel Press, New York 3, N. Y.

Defense of TV

CLEAR CHANNELS. By Max Wylie. Funk and Wagnalls. $4.75.

By Hazel Cooley

NOT a great many books have yet been written about television; therefore when a new book on the subject appears, it is opened with considerable expectancy. "Clear Channels" does not fulfil the reader's hope.

Without thoughtful preface or introduction, it attacks all individuals and groups which have ventured to criticize television. The author, a radio writer and novelist now associated with the TV-Radio Workshop of the Ford Foundation, is obviously passionately devoted to TV, but his vitriolic defense of a medium that is doing so well seems a waste of time and energy. In spite of whatever criticism there has been, the fact is that television is thriving. With 33,000,000 receiving sets, according to the latest count, now in use in this country, representing an investment of billions of dollars, it is clear that the American people have warmly accepted TV, despite its admitted shortcomings.

The author calls the book "A Report to Set Owners." The book's jacket explains:

> There is plenty of sound and fury in the controversy, but Max Wylie has had the happy thought of adding some sense to the uproar. Frankly irked by the incomplete thinking and unproved charges of television's detractors . . .

Frankly, his "irk" shows.

Mr. Wylie says:

> Television isn't going to bring culture to a lot of people who don't want any more than they now have, and who haven't room to store it if given it. And television shouldn't try to do this, and it isn't going to try to do it.

From his cozy, omniscient corner he continues:

> A small per cent of television belongs to the "Harvards"—the intellectuals — whether they're the real thing or not. A much larger per cent belongs (because they are so numerous) to the non-Harvards."

It is not the task of the Harvards, he says, to urge on the non-Harvards what they think is good for them; nor is it television's task, or radio's. "We talk to anybody."

Wylie thinks this is the "age of the jerk." And since he "talks to anybody," he will, we assume, talk to the "jerk" too. But how will the "jerk" understand him? "Hypnagogic orthovagatonic perissological divaricating" is to be found, in company with "casuistical dislocation," "sesquipedalian motive-hunters," "chitinous vanity," "fecundating effect." By this time the reader—jerk or no jerk—feels beclubbed and befogged.

Though he objects to the "incomplete thinking and unproved charges" of others, Wylie himself takes many such liberties throughout the book.

> No psychiatrist . . . has ever rescued an alcoholic from his liquor and turned him into a normal drinker. There is no turning an alcoholic into a normal drinker—not ever—yet in New York City there aren't five psychiatrists who know this, admit, and practice it. They know only how to "treat" him . . . and send him forth to his tragic stumblings and his ruin, accompanied by a crushing bill. . . . To me it is a statistic almost as frightening as it is funny (I do not believe it has been recorded before) that in all the jungle-minded dictionaries behind which psychiatrists live (and hide), not one defines the word "happy." . . . It isn't in their book!

Such wild talk is too ridiculous for comment.

The fourteen chapters include discussion of television in relation to baseball; Cameras and the Congress; Radio; Culture; Juvenile Delinquents; Educators; Public Health; Cigarettes, Smoking, and Lung Cancer. On this last subject Mr. Wylie does a good job of collating material already printed and eliciting additional information from medical authorities.

Phases of baseball are discussed that are totally unrelated to television, such as the baseball clubs' practice of "selling" their players, "expense accounts and deductibles for income taxes," fans' resentment at not getting tickets when nearly every game shows a great many empties, the concentration of some men in baseball on financial profit—though in other parts of the book the author says that he sees nothing crude or incongruous in getting paid for what you do. A great part of each chapter seems irrelevant to the main subject under discussion. The reader can only conclude that the purpose of this verbiage is volume and possibly the opportunity to get rid of a few personal animosities.

Mr. Wylie is not only unsympathetic but unfair and inaccurate in much of what he says about educators and their experience on the air. He does not mention the essential factor in what he calls "education's failure." If education has failed on the air, the responsibility must be borne by the economics of the industry. The failure is not due to laziness on the part of educators or to their lack of talent, sincerity, or ingenuity. American broadcast stations are a business, privately owned and supported. They sell time, and they are competitive. If they "give" time, they can also withdraw it, and this has been the heart of education in radio's plight. A 1937 report by the Commission on Civic Education by Radio, the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education, and the American Political Science Association records what has been called the irrepressible conflict between educational and commercial broadcasting.

If responsible, critical, and sober judgment is asked of the layman, what should be expected of the writer, particularly if his field is communications, where he can either "start something" or prevent it? Yet this author attacks men of proved worth, whose good influence on contemporary society is not to be gainsaid. His violence denies the mood of candor. Perhaps the intent was to overwhelm.

HAZEL COOLEY is the author of "Vision in Television" and is engaged in community education activities.

COMING

"The Contemporary French Novel"
By Henri Peyre
Reviewed by Albert Guerard
"The Cypresses Believe in God"
By Jose Maria Gironella
Reviewed by Kay Boyle
"Why Not Survive?"
By Michael W. Straus
Reviewed by Thomas J. Hamilton

Selected Art Books

MASTERS OF MODERN ART. Edited by Alfred H. Barr, Jr The Museum of Modern Art. Distributed by Simon and Schuster. $15. A magnificent publication including 77 color plates and nearly 300 black-and-white plates, all of them remarkable examples of the photographer's art and the photo-engraver's skill. The layout of this complex volume is equally painstaking and sensitive as modern design. Mr Barr's selections from the museum's collections imply prodigious knowledge and courageous judgment. His penetrating comments proceed from the plates, which are so arranged as to present an informal history of modern art in its manifold and varied national idioms.

THE NATURAL HOUSE. By Frank Lloyd Wright. Horizon Press. $6.50. A compilation of articles and chapters written between 1936 and 1953 with appended advice for future owners of medium-priced houses and 133 illustrations of fair quality. There is a good deal of repetition in Wright's exposition of his philosophy of architecture and in his statement of the importance of his own role in the formation of the modern movement.

ART TREASURES OF THE PRADO MUSEUM: Text by Harry B. Wehle. Abrams. $12.50. Considering the nearly incredible wealth of its contents, the Prado is strangely unfamiliar to Americans. Mr. Wehle, emeritus curator of painting of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, has provided an interesting and beautifully written account of the formation of the Prado's collections from the days of Charles V, Phillip II and IV, and Charles IV to the foundation of the museum itself in 1819—some twenty-five years later than that of the Louvre—and its subsequent developments. His comments on the individual paintings imply a deep understanding of Spanish history and culture. Of the 167 plates, over 70 are in color, some of them folding out into double and triple spreads. The finest of Titian, Rubens, Bosch, and the early Flemish masters, as well as the chief glories of Spanish painting, now become accessible to the English-speaking public.

ART NEWS ANNUAL, 1955 Edition. By the Editors of ART NEWS. $3.95. Fortified by a wealth of fine color plates, including four double-page plates in portfolio, this year's Annual solidifies the prestige already earned by ART NEWS. Leonardo's Last Supper is presented in its newly restored condition There are excellent long articles on Georges de la Tour, on Fantin Latour, on Cubism and the Arensberg Collections, and on glass.

WALTER GROPIUS, WORK AND TEAMWORK. By Siegfried Giedion. Reinhold. $10. An authoritative but by no means definitive monograph on one of the chief pioneers of modern architecture by an outstanding historian of the modern movement. Gropius's major contribution to building and design and his theories of education, which are perhaps even more important, are here admirably surveyed and appraised.

REMBRANDT. Text by Ludwig Munz. Abrams, The Library of Great Painters. $12.50. Although Rembrandt's dark subtleties are notorious for eluding reproduction on paper, the fifty color plates in this book make a bold and relatively successful attempt to capture their quality. The finest are perhaps the frontispiece self-portrait and a detail from the magnificent late composition Jacob Blessing the Sons of Joseph (Cassel Gallery), which is full of tenderness and a golden radiance. The comments on the plates, by the director of the Academic Painting Gallery in Vienna,

Religious Advertisements Approaching Climax

Restoration of Social Justice to Belief in God necessary for Defeat of Communism.—Why is the communist movement always ATHEISTIC? Because, in the time of Marx, religious power helped to end American slavery; and the same religious power can help to end communism today. Communism is afraid of Religion. According to communistic imagination, Labor is at the mercy of privately-owned Capital, which "monopolizes" Industrial Machinery, and therefore has power to oppress and "exploit" Labor.

Labor and Capital Both Exploited by corrupt Fiscal Power. — Laboring people are forced to compete for jobs in overcrowded cities by two very unnatural conditions: — (1) Corrupt **overtaxation** of Productive Enterprise, and (2) corrupt **undertaxation** of Land. This fundamental economic and social **injustice** was begun by the machinations of British Landed Aristocrats, hundreds of years ago. Undertaxation of Land gives an artificial selling and rental "value" to Land. In this way, Land acquires unjust and dangerous power over Private Enterprise at the very moment that Private Enterprise itself is being corruptly overtaxed.

Corrupt Fiscal Power inherited from Britain. — Overtaxation of Productive Enterprise is reflected in artificially HIGH PRICE OF GOODS. And at the same time, undertaxation of Land gives Land an INFLATED PRICE, which is reflected in SOARING RENTALS. Unperceived and silent, this fundamental INJUSTICE operates at the very basis of our civilization, and must be counteracted by an aroused public opinion, leading speedily to appropriate legislation, as in New Zealand; Sydney, Australia, etc.

Churches cannot Go into Politics, but can Restore Social Justice to Religion, and Challenge Communism.—Organized religion can promote and intensify the present world-wide social awakening. It can do so by reasserting the social emphasis of the Hebrew prophets, endorsed repeatedly by Jesus. This is already being done by quite a number of clergymen and by the resolutions passed by some church organizations.

* * * * *

Two circulars, entitled (1) **Bulletin of Bible and Hebrew History**, and (2) **Restoration of Social Justice to Belief in God**, will be forwarded to you if you send postage in the amount of six cents, as partial coverage of mailing cost. Write clearly, or better, print name and address inside and outside your envelope. If no stamps are sent, no circulars will be forwarded. — L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, New York.

are informative as to subject matter but critically rather sparse; his introductory essay provides an adequate historical framework. Brief notes accompany selections of the finest etchings and drawings. The choice of the paintings is marred only by the absence of Rembrandt's greatest artistic triumph, the Portrait of Jan Six.

S. LANE FAISON, JR.

Sociology And Philosophy

HOPI ETHICS. By Richard B. Brandt. Chicago. $7.50. An important pioneer work in the relationship of ethics and anthropology by a philosopher who gathered his descriptive data on the Hopi Indian reservation. The book contains a good deal of ethical theory presented clearly and provocatively. The Hopi materials are inherently interesting in their variety and contrast, and Dr. Brandt explores them sensitively.

THE EMBATTLED PHILOSOPHER. A Biography of Denis Diderot. By Lester G. Crocker. Michigan State. $6.50. The life story of the great eighteenth-century materialist philosopher and encyclopedist. Diderot's friendships, liberally sprinkled with his loves, jostle his ideas, along with the adventures of the Encyclopedia itself as it comes to birth in an atmosphere of repression. Emphasis falls for the most part on story rather than analysis, but the many-sidedness of Diderot's consciousness is well conveyed.

HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHY IN THE MIDDLE AGES. By Etienne Gilson. Random House. $7.50. A compact account, by the most eminent scholar in this field, of persons, problems, and divergent traditions. It covers twelve hundred years of Christian philosophy and includes also relevant Arabian and Jewish materials. Its preponderant concern is analysis and development of ideas, with occasional reference to religious setting but no relation to the lives of the people and the general growth of civilization.

SOVEREIGN REASON. By Ernest Nagel. Free Press. $5. A series of papers dealing with contemporary philosophies of science—Peirce, Russell, Whitehead, and others—and collectively giving a good picture of the present state of the field. Some of the essays are more, some less technical, but all are interesting, illuminating, and incisive. The general perspective is a contextual naturalism in which ideas are to be understood by the way they actually function in scientific use.

A DEMOCRATIC MANIFESTO. By Samuel Enoch Stumpf. Vanderbilt. $2.75. Brief—almost outline—reflections on the elements, character, conditions, heritage, and motives of democracy from a Christian perspective. The book is general without being vague, aware of diverse contributions to the democratic tradition but perhaps not sufficiently of alternative bases for democracy, not altogether free from cliches in dealing with opposing positions yet preeminently sensitive in its concern with human values.

ABRAHAM EDEL

Theater

Robert Hatch

THE hero of "Cat on a Hot Tin Roof" (Morosco) walks with a crutch and refuses to cohabit with his wife—she, in consequence, is the "cat" of the title. This celibacy, supported by an alarming consumption of alcohol, is his gesture of revulsion against being charged by her with incipient homosexuality. However, his father, all-wise but dying of cancer, forces the boy to admit that the pose of dipsomaniac disgust hides in part a fear that there may be some truth to the slander and still more a guilt at having deserted his friend when the charge was first made. The son retaliates by telling the old man the truth about his illness—thus effectively finishing him off—but the self-knowledge is so efficient that, as the final curtain drops, the crutch has been laid aside and husband and wife are settling slowly into the marriage bed.

It is not difficult to understand what Tennessee Williams is up to. He is writing a charade that spells "psychoanalysis," and the people move through the play as in a dream. The heroine walks on stage and removes her dress; the mother points to the bed and says portentously, "This is where the trouble begins"; the father boasts grossly of his virility; monstrous children rush on stage and scream "bang, bang"; the dying patriarch tells a very old and not very funny dirty joke; the hero drinks and drinks but gets no drunker; large sections of the dialogue are delivered in a sing-song monotone; members of the family are referred to by such infantile names as "big daddy" and "brother man." I doubt that even on a Mississippi Delta plantation people behave so when they are awake.

ALL this preoccupation with the symbolism of the consulting room seems to be a little old-fashioned of Williams, but I want to make an even more old-fashioned complaint: I wish his play weren't so disagreeable. I left it feeling that I had spent the evening with a group of corpses that had had little to recommend them when they were alive. Villainy in the theater is a splendid, stimulating force, but this cold second-rateness seems to me the negation of drama. Where is the suspense, if no soul is worth saving? Sex and death and money preoccupy Williams's characters; in the face of death, the sex is regulated to get the money.

This is bitter, but in itself it does not make a bad plot for a moral fable. What ruins it for me is my inability to care whether anyone in the company sinks or swims. Let them die, let them breed, let them grow fat on the wealth—it is none of my business and I don't have to watch. I put it thus personally because I realize that all around me other observers are cheering.

I think they may be cheering the brutality, in the belief that it expresses a concern for humanity. Certainly the performances which Elia Kazan has extracted from Ben Gazzara, Burl Ives, Barbara Bel Geddes, Mildred Dunnock, and the rest are technically powerful. They snap at and slash one another like dogs, and if you could believe in them as people it would be inexpressibly shocking. Williams is not a trivial man and it is evident that he wishes to instruct. But he has a diabolical gift for laying bare the circumstances of humanity and this time I think he has carried it to the point where the humanity disappears. Without love and hope, discussion of vice and virtue becomes academic.

Music

B. H. Haggin

THOUGH I had no opportunity to hear the Berlin Philharmonic play Tchaikovsky's Symphony No. 5 under von Karajan in Carnegie Hall, I have a Decca record with its performance of this work under Fricsay, in which its playing shows it to be still the superb orchestra I heard in London in 1928, with especially fine strings and brass, and a first horn whose playing of the solo in the second movement is astounding in its beauty of tone and phrasing. And on the other hand I have heard a friend's Angel record with a performance of the work by the Philharmonia Orchestra in which von Karajan's over-deliberate tempos and studied effects—exaggerated expansions and diminutions of sonority and accelerations and retardations of pace—completely destroy the natural flow of the music and falsify its expressive content. I might add, therefore, that Fricsay's pacing and shaping of the work on the Decca record is excellent.

In Mozart however von Karajan is a musician of taste, as he demonstrates on Angel 35092 with the sensitive playing he gets the Philharmonia to do in Mozart's Horn Concertos K.412, 417, 447, and 495. There is beautiful melodic writing in all these works, even the slightest of them, K.412; but what in addition makes K.447 the most impressive of the four is the development section of the first movement, with its startling and dramatic shifts of key; and the smaller-scale K.417 also has wonderful pages in the development of its first movement. I hadn't expected ever to hear the solo part of K.447 played more beautifully than by Mason Jones on the WCFM record; but Dennis Brain, the soloist in these Angel performances, produces a tone that is more legato and more supple, with which he achieves phrasing that is more calmly sustained and more subtly detailed.

Von Karajan's performance of Beethoven's "Eroica" Symphony with the Philharmonia on Angel 35000 also is straightforward and effective for the most part. That is, with the steady tempo that he maintains in the first movement all the way through the dissonant climax of the development he creates a powerful effect of continuous tension—only to destroy it momentarily by slowing down for the new theme that enters after that climax; and a broadening out in the syncopated staccato chords near the end of the recapitulation has the same result. Von Karajan isn't responsible for the drop in volume at the end of the recapitulation that makes the forte D flat proclamation and fortissimo C major proclamation at the beginning of the coda so feeble; but only he can be responsible for the orchestra's strangely indecisive attacks in those two tuttis. These details in the first movement, and the broadening out at a couple of points after the fugato in the slow movement, are what I would question in the otherwise straightforward and effective performance. And a little too much resonance costs the excellent recorded sound something in clarity of definition.

Epic SC-6004 has given me another hearing of Mahler's gigantic Symphony No. 8, the so-called "Symphony of a Thousand"; and again I find that it doesn't work for me as other symphonies of Mahler do—though I am aware of beautiful moments. Eduard Flipse conducts an excellent performance by the Rotterdam Philharmonic, the Combined Rotterdam Choirs, and unidentified soloists.

Nor do the excellent performances that Stravinsky conducts of his "Symphonies of Wind Instruments," his Octet, and "L'Histoire du soldat" on Columbia ML-4964 persuade me to like these pieces more this time

READ MANAS

the 8-page weekly of current comment—on science, religion, education, philosophy—with substance-providing reviews of whatever books and articles [illegible] to the editors to be shaping future thought and lighting new directions.

$5 a year

For 3 free sample copies, write

The Manas Publishing Company, P.O. Box 32112
El Sereno Station • Los Angeles 32, California

Announcing Publication Of

THE CRADLE OF THE PENITENTIARY
by
Negley K. Teeters

This book, sponsored by the Pennsylvania Prison Society, tells the story of the Walnut Street Jail at Philadelphia (1773-1835), first penitentiary in the world.

The author, Professor of Criminology at Temple University, has written many books in the field of penology.

150 pages Illustrated $3.75

Send orders to:
PENNSYLVANIA PRISON SOCIETY
311 S. Juniper St., Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Don't sit back
STRIKE BACK!
Give to
AMERICAN CANCER SOCIETY
Contributed by THE NATION
As a Public Service

PUBLICATIONS

NEW BOOKS FROM THE USSR

(In English)

MAXIM GORKY

MOTHER

Handsomely bound and illustrated edition of the famous novel. 415 pp—$1.50

I. YEFREMOV

STORIES

Contains eight of the author's best adventure stories. Profusely illustrated in color. Handsomely bound. 260 pp—$1.00

VILIS LACIS

THE FISHERMAN'S SON

One of the best Soviet contemporary works to reach this country. This very interesting novel depicts the courageous lives of the Latvian fisher folk. Describes with deep affection the austere Baltic scenery. Illustrated. 580 pp—$1.50

MARIETTA SHAGINYAN

JOURNEY THROUGH SOVIET ARMENIA

Handsomely bound, profusely illustrated travelogue describing the magnificent scenery, climate, history and the rapid social and industrial development in Soviet Armenia. A wealth of information in an easy novel reading form. 215 pp—$1.50

FREDERICK ENGELS

DIALECTICS OF NATURE

Well bound. 496 pp—$1.00

F. KONSTANTINOV

ROLE OF ADVANCED IDEAS IN DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIETY

87 pp—20c

On sale at both of our locations are the leading newspapers and magazines from the USSR and the federated Soviet-Republics, in Russian, English, Ukrainian, Byelo-Russian, Armenian, Georgian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Estonian, Moldavian and Finnish.

A large new shipment of Soviet Recordings, wide choice of offerings, folk and classic compositions, LP and regular.

Ask for our complete catalog "E-55" and "Records"

FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.

55 West 56 Street
New York 19, N. Y.

822 Broadway
New York 3, N. Y.

GRamercy 3-2018--19

MOVIES, when enjoyed intelligently, are a rewarding life-long hobby. FILMS IN REVIEW is the foremost magazine dealing seriously with all aspects of motion pictures. Send 50c for sample copy containing analysis of Marlene Dietrich's career (with 20 photographs). Or better, get it free by subscribing—US, $3.50; Canada, $3.75; all other countries, $4. FILMS IN REVIEW, 31 Union Square, New York 3, N. Y.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT. A GRAPHO-BIOGRAPHY, by B. Naef and R. S. Hearns. A new approach toward the understanding of F.D.R.'s personality development by analyses of his handwriting covering a period of 56 years. Reproduction of 12 manuscripts and listing of their graphological elements. Available at $1.50 thru R. S. Hearns, Almond Rd., Vineland, N. J.

BRITISH BOOKS—All Subjects—direct from London to you. Bargain catalogues free. Transbooks, Box 22-N, Brooklyn 26, N. Y.

SOCIALIST BOOKS. Catalog, literature, Free New York Labor News Company, Dept. M, 61 Cliff Street, New York 38, New York.

BERTRAND RUSSELL: Man's Peril from the Hydrogen Bomb. 10 for 25c; singles FREE. Wellington's, 346 Concord, Belmont, Mass.

"HOW TO GROW A PEACE GARDEN"—The story of a flower and an idea that reached around the world. 50c postpaid. Mary Phillips, R. F. D. 1, Lemont, Illinois.

ART

FLORALS by Andresen Halsey. Water colour or Pastel. 7¼"x10". State choice and main flower wanted. Background, greenery, etc. supplied. $5.00 each, postpaid. Unframed. Remit by Money-Order. Checks cannot be cashed. Money-back guarantee. Return in good condition! Room 23, 1125 S. W. 12th Avenue, Portland 5, Oregon.

AUDIO

HI FIDELITY
RADIO-PHONOGRAPH
sales, installation and service
VECTOR LABS
217 3rd Ave. ■ N. Y. C. 3 ● GR 3-7686

PERSONALS

AIR CONDITIONER — Top Rated 1954 Model. Regularly $319.95. PRE-SEASON SPECIAL $169.95. Standard Brand Dist., 143 Fourth Avenue (13th & 14th Sts.), N. Y. GR 3-7819. 1 hour free parking or 2 tokens.

VETERAN, Harvard Law student, desires summer job in Europe. Chauffeur, guide, anything. Available May 15, Box 393, % The Nation.

Send Your Friend A Free Copy

HERE's an easy way to introduce *The Nation*—the magazine you read and respect—to some friend. Simply fill out the coupon below and we will send a sample copy to him with your compliments.

The NATION
333 Sixth Avenue
New York City 14, N. Y.

Please send a free copy of *The* Nation with my compliments to the person named below:

Your Name ....
Address ....
City .... Z State .....

To ....
Address ....
City .... Z State ....

To ....
Address ....
City .... Z State ....

To ....
Address ....
City .... Z State ....

4-9-55

than before. The North West German Radio Orchestra plays in the first piece, and two assembled groups of American players in the others.

In the performance of Bloch's "Schelomo" by the Hague Philharmonic under van Otterloo on Epic LC-3072 the solo cello part is played by Tibor de Machula with a dry tone that gets to be unpleasantly shrill in its upper range. The Lalo Concerto in D minor is on the reverse side.

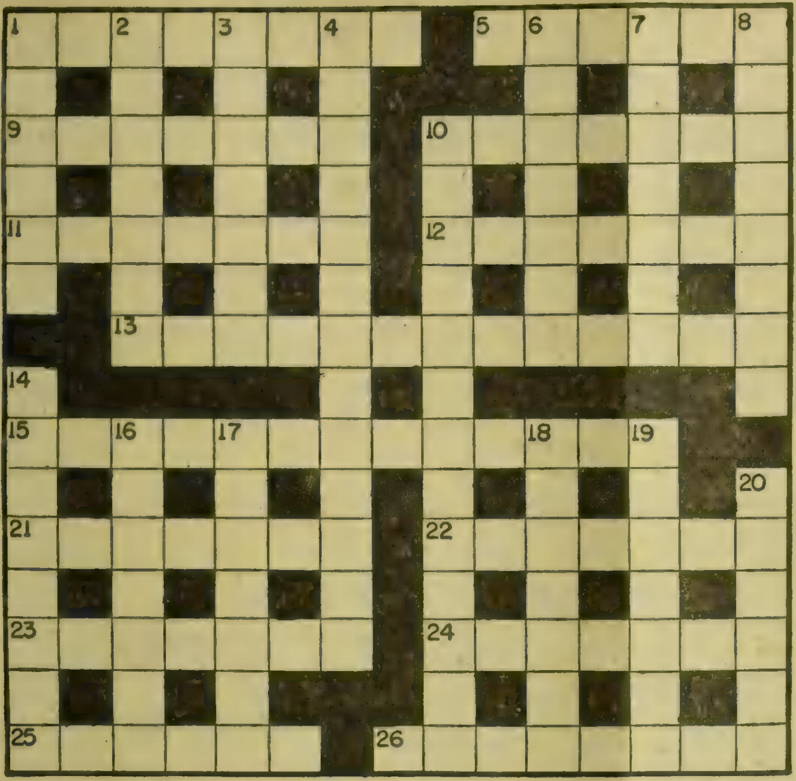
I used to enjoy Walton's "Portsmouth Point" Overture when Koussevitzky played it in the twenties; but listening to it played by the London Philharmonic under Boult on London LL-1165 I find it as thin as the "Scapino" Overture and "Siesta," which also are on the record. On the reverse side are the lovely Bach pieces richly scored by Walton for the ballet "The Wise Virgins," and played beautifully.

MGM E-3160 offers Alan Hovhaness's "Khaldis," a concerto for piano, four trumpets, and percussion, played by Masselos with a chamber group under Izler Solomon; and Masselos's performances of several of Hovhaness's pieces for piano. They are written in the musical language that Hovhaness has fashioned for himself out of Armenian and other Asiatic sources—a language that is a medium of expressive communication for him, but is for me as exotic as its sources. I am, then, emotionally uninvolved; and listening on the outside, so to speak, I can only note this piquant sonority here, this striking effect there. Excellent performances.

Epic LC-3093 offers the Dutch composer Willem Pijper's "Six Epigrams" for orchestra and his Piano Concerto, played by the Amsterdam Concertgebouw Orchestra under van Beinum with Hans Henkemans as soloist in the concerto. These works are in a modern idiom that I find unpleasantly unmeaningful; but Henkemans's Violin Concerto, played by Theo Olof on the reverse side, held my attention and interest with a rich-textured writing that is evocative of the past—in this case the not too distant past of Chausson and others of his period—but has the impress of a mind of the present; and also with the assured mastery of the operation. Excellent performances.

Crossword Puzzle No. 614

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 They look out for attempts to latch onto foreign money. (8)
5 A feathered friend I'm bringing back with part of the cage. (6)
9 Turn around over 100 times in the race. (7)
10 Gets, so I find, upset (but not about other people). (7)
11 Piece of music, not always French. (7)
12 You might find this pin real sweet. (7)
13 Excoriate and search out pleasure for youth. (4-3-2-4)
15 Olive might have made it necessary, but got breeding. (8,5)
21 Got up to drink in the garden. (3,4)
22 Be in state, by the sound of it, for a neighborly president. (7)
23 Shakespeare bewept such a state. (7)
24 Monkey around with the vegetables, and you might have to the proprietor. (7)
25 The American were 10 down in the first war. (6)
26 The man who "jumped into a bramble bush" didn't have any dress. (4,4)

DOWN

1 Uncle? Just look around the plant! (6)
2 Walker certainly wouldn't make a logical governor of a Greek province! (7)
3 Take a step again—it's one way to get tired! (7)
4 Cue no great men might give, but 10 across probably wouldn't need it. (13)
6 Look in a language of Luzon for it. (7)
7 Delay, with or without the pie. (7)
8 Asks for an advance, like a queen around the top. (8)
10 See 25 across. (13)
14 Gets ready to sail with the actors so very loud! (5,3)
16 Mercy! That's what they used to do in case of treason! (7)
17 Is nothing recent let alone? (7)
18 Priests' insignia. (7)
19 Chase on the surface. (7)
20 Discover things in the hole? (6)

ANSWER TO 613

ACROSS: 1 RICKRACK; 8 ROTATOR; 9 ANNUALLY; 19 TROTSKY; 14 INLAY; 15 AND 19 SIMPLE MAJORITY; 17 BOLOS; 22 AND 31 THREE-BASE HIT; 23 REPAST; 24 AND 12 STEAMSHIPS; 26 MASHER; 28 SHOAL; 30 PARASITE; 32, 13 AND 29 THE ROYAL ROAD TO ROMANCE. DOWN: 1 REASSESS; 2 CONFIRMS; 3 READS; 4 CELERY; 5 HOARD; 6 CARTONS; 7 WORKMAN; 10 TALOS; 11 OTIOSE; 16 LEHMAN; 18 LETHE; 20 STILWELL; 21 OTTOMAN; 22 TAMALES; [illegible] BROACH; 7 SCRIP; 28 STAIR.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York

RESORTS

50 Miles to FOREST HOUSE
Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes. All sports.
FOREST HOUSE
Lake Mahopac, N. Y. • Tel. Mahopac 8-3449

RESTAURANT

BALALAIKA
157 West 56 Street
New York City
Gypsy Orchestra
Dining — Dancing
Two Shows Nightly
Banquet Department
For reservations call PLaza 7-2334

REAL ESTATE

TAX-EXEMPT INDUSTRIAL SITES
54 Acres — Jersey City
for lease to tenants who may erect their own tax-exempt buildings, or we will build 20,000 to One Million square feet for lease to acceptable tenants.
L. N. ROSENBAUM & SON
565 Fifth Ave., New York 17

FORUMS

LOS ANGELES UNITARIAN FORUM
Speaker:
CAREY McWILLIAMS
Editorial Director, *THE NATION*
Author, "Mask for Privilege", "Witch Hunt", Etc.
"CIVIL LIBERTIES: OUR OUTLOOK NOW"
Friday, April 15, 8 P.M.
Admission $1.00
2936 W. 8 St., ½ Block E. of Vermont Avenue

SYMPOSIUM
THE ROLE OF PSYCHIATRY IN PRESENT DAY SOCIETY
Iago Galdston, M.D.
Ex. Sec., N. Y. Academy of Medicine
THE ROLE OF PSYCHIATRY IN ADJUSTMENT TO LIFE
Samuel Silverman, M.D.
Author: "New Approach to Origin of Cancer", etc.
PSYCHOANALYSIS
Harry Waton, Lecturer
Author: "Key to the Bible", etc.
Nola Studios, 1657 B'way (nr. 51 St.), N.Y.
Sunday, April 17, 2:30 P.M.
Auspices: SPINOZA INST. OF AMERICA
Box 149, Murray Hill Sta., New York
Admission $1

Advertising Rates

CLASSIFIED
74c a line (6 words)
Three-line minimum
•
CLASSIFIED DISPLAY
$7.42 per inch (minimum)
Remittance must accompany all orders
•
The NATION
333 SIXTH AVENUE
New York 14, N. Y.
CHelsea 2-8400

Printed in the U. S. A. by Southern Farmer, Inc., P. O. Box 509, Montgomery, Ala.

TEN YEARS AFTER ROOSEVELT'S DEATH

The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee

CALLS YOU TO A CONFERENCE

on an Appeal to Congress for

A REBIRTH OF FREEDOM

Carnegie Hall, New York City
April 16, 1955

Featured Speaker

SENATOR WILLIAM LANGER

Program

FORUM 1: ORTHODOXY, HERESY AND THE INDIVIDUAL CONSCIENCE

Royal W. France, Moderator
Dr. Glenn L. Archer — Separation of Church and State
Rev. Wayne White — Eliminating the protest from Protestantism

FORUM 2: LABOR AND LIVELIHOOD UNDER TYRANNY

J. Raymond Walsh, Moderator
Frank Donner — Informers as Tools
Norman Redlich — The Fifth Amendment

FORUM 3: PASSPORTS, THE RIGHT TO TRAVEL, AND WORLD UNDERSTANDING

Leonard B. Boudin, Moderator
Prof. H. H. Wilson — Barriers to Understanding
Prof. Derk Bodde — The Danger of Isolationism
Prof. Thomas I. Emerson—Illegal Restrictions on Travel

FORUM 4: CONFORMITY VS. CREATIVITY IN ART AND EDUCATION

Dr. Broadus Mitchell, Moderator
Paul Draper — The Punishment of Independence
Mrs. Goldie Watson — Must Teachers be Informers?
Mrs. Rose Russell — What is Happening to the Schools?

FORUM 5: THE POLITICS OF FEAR

I. F. Stone, Moderator
Dr. Marynia Farnham — "Loyalty Neuroses"
Louis L. Redding — The Louisville Travesty
Mrs. Dorothy N. Marshall — Combatting Fear in California
Daniel S. Gillmor — Punishment without Trial

Afternoon Session (2 p.m.—4:30 p.m.)

THE PEOPLE'S RIGHT AND DUTY TO SPEAK UP

Harvey O'Connor, Chairman

Symposium of the moderators of the morning forums

Address by Senator William Langer

EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMM., 421 7th Ave., NYC 1—OXford 5-2863

________I would like to register for attendance at the April 16th Conference $2.00
STUDENT RATE $1.00

________I would like to be an Associate of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee $3.00

Of the morning forums, I prefer to attend No.________.

NAME ____________________

ADDRESS ____________ CITY ________ STATE ______

AP 18 '55

S. O. S. BY FRANCOIS MAURIAC

BURLINGAME
PUBLIC LIBRARY
Burlingame, Calif.

THE Nation

April 16, 1955
20c

Let's Talk About Peace

by Senator Estes Kefauver

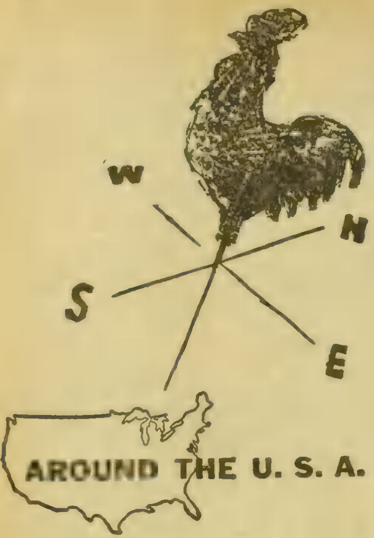
Quemoy — or Asia? The Choice Is Ours

by O. Edmund Clubb

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

Mr. Bevan Remains *Michael Foot*

Britain Without Churchill *H. K. Smith*


W
N
S
E
AROUND THE U. S. A.

Spring in California Stirs the Grass Roots

Fresno, California

IT'S spring on the West Coast, and the grass roots are sprouting along with other growing things. This was evidenced at the second annual convention of the California Democratic Council, which was attended by more than a thousand delegates from Democratic clubs throughout the state. Born of necessity to counteract the party blurring that results from cross-filing, the Council seeks to build party consciousness by work in individual precincts, and the purpose of the convention was to hammer out a program.

It was a working assembly, indulging in a minimum of glad-hand carousing and a maximum of idea exchange and creative effort. Committee meetings were thronged and continued till dawn. The exhaustive discussions kept the convention in session five and a half hours beyond the scheduled time for adjournment. Even after the closing banquet on Saturday night a meeting of the by-laws committee attracted a standing-room-only audience, festively dressed but seriously debating the technical points that would put spine into this still amorphous body.

The tone was set, interestingly enough, not by the keynote speaker, National Committee Chairman Paul M. Butler, but by the 1954 nominee for Governor of California, Richard Graves. Butler, in calling for party unity, urged the delegates to "work with the regular organization." Graves took exception to this and contributed a passionate and brilliant analysis of the role of the Democratic clubs and their members—whom he called the conscience of the organization—in guiding a truly democratic party to victory. He was given a tremendous ovation, as was Edward Roybal, the 1954 candidate for Lieutenant Governor, who was nominated without the blessing of the "regular organization." Samuel Yorty, hand-picked nominee for the Senate in 1954, was accorded only perfunctory applause. That is not to say that there was a rift between delegates and leaders. Rather, the "sleeping giant"—to use Roybal's expression—was flexing his muscles and indicating that he intended to be heard.

The temper of the delegates could also be gauged by the speeches of politically astute aspirants for positions in the Council. All emphasized their liberal record, their dedication to the club movement, their interest in F. E. P. C., labor, civil liberties, and peace. As though there were no current madness, no cringing and expunging and disowning, liberal records and liberal convictions were proudly proclaimed.

FLOOR fights were frequent. There was little rubber-stamping. Committee reports were challenged, returned for revision, amended. The credentials committee ran the gauntlet almost immediately when it brought in an extensively documented recommendation against seating a Berkeley delegation on the ground that it was not a bona fide club and its roster was padded. After lengthy and heated debate the committee was instructed to reconvene and reconsider. The revised report, which recommended that part of the delegation be seated, elicited tremendous applause. For most of those present it was the symbol of a problem resolved democratically.

Another dramatic contest occurred when the political-action program was offered for approval. Among the items were election reform, an end to cross-filing, apportionment of state taxes on the basis of ability to pay, state-supported child-care centers, F. E. P. C., and opposition to "bluff and bluster" foreign policy. Also included was a declaration on civil liberties upholding the right of criticism, the right to express unpopular opinions, and the right of dissent. Several of the caucuses felt that the general statement was not sufficient in view of the fact that the California legislature is now considering the Burns and Chapel bills, which propose to revoke the license of any business or professional man who refuses to answer political questions before any legislative committee.

An effort was then made to raise this issue by way of resolution, but by a curious parliamentary maneuver resolutions were ruled out. An amendment criticizing the bills was therefore offered to the program committee's report, and a large proportion of the delegates stayed on into the last late hours to get this passed. It was a hot fight, with the final vote overwhelmingly for the amendment and against the bills. It is interesting to note that this was accomplished although Senator Hugh Burns, who introduced one of the bills, hails from Fresno and delivered the welcoming address at the convention banquet.

Yes, it's spring in California, and perhaps the grass roots will put forth such positive policies and programs that a Democratic slate can be elected in this state where, despite a preponderantly Democratic registration, Republican victories are the rule.

NANCY REEVES

[*Nancy Reeves, member of the New York and California bars, is a free-lance writer on legal and political subjects.*]

Reprints Available

DEPORTATION DELIRIUMS

by Laurent Frantz

In response to many requests, this powerful article by Laurent Frantz has been reprinted. Prices for the eight-page pamphlet are: 10 cents per copy; $1 for 11 copies; $7 for one hundred. Send your orders to: Reprint Department, The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14.

VOLUME 180, NUMBER 16
NEW YORK, SATURDAY, APRIL 16, 1955

THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

Let's Talk About Peace . . *by Estes Kefauver*

THE Congress has written a blank check for the President in dealing with the Formosa situation. It was done at his request and principally to demonstrate the unity of the nation. But the fact that the Formosa resolution exists places a burden and responsibility on the President of the United States which I expect he will one day regret he has. There are forces in his Administration so powerful and apparently so eager for a war with China that they are becoming almost impossible to resist. That the United States should be plunged into war over Matsu and Quemoy ought to be unthinkable. Yet there are those in high places who are plotting to bring such a war about, whatever the risks.

President Eisenhower has himself wisely limited the final decision as to the United States action. But the conclusion is inescapable that the present war party is attempting to create a situation in which the President would have no choice but to follow them.

These plotters tell us that we can fight a limited war with China without risk. They tell us that we can fight a limited war with precision atomic bombing and get away with it. There is one school which wants to blast and destroy China's industrial capacity. There is another, apparently more official school which merely wants to use atomic weapons against China's airfields.

In either case we are told that Russia will not come to the aid of its ally, China, because of fear of massive retaliation on itself. If this conclusion is based on intelligence reports rather than wishful thinking, it should be pointed out that in the Korean war, just before the entry of the Chinese Communists, either our intelligence was wrong or our interpretation of that intelligence was wrong. It should be pointed out that in the Indo-China war either our intelligence was wrong or our interpretation of that intelligence was wrong. Now, as to Russia's intentions, our intelligence, if that is what it is, can well be wrong again.

Russia is bound to Communist China by strong treaties. We know that treaties are a matter of convenience to Russia, and that if it deems it in its interest not to abide by them, it does not abide by them. But in this instance Russia's interests and those of Communist China are bound together. If Russia stood idly by while we destroyed the industry of China or even its air force, it would mean the end of Russia's hold on all its satellites. It would very probably weaken the control of the Communist leaders at home.

It is said that Russia does not now have the means of delivering atomic or hydrogen bombs on this continent, and that it would thus be paralyzed by fear of bombs that Russia knows we are now capable of delivering. I do not know that Russia cannot deliver bombs on this continent, and I doubt that anyone else knows, other than the Russians. But if it cannot, there are plenty of places vital to our interests where it is perfectly capable of delivering them.

IF QUEMOY and Matsu have become important, it is in large part the doing of military leaders in this Administration. They have encouraged the Formosan Chinese to commit a large portion of their armed forces and equipment to the defense of those islands.

I may say at this point that while we may have so-called precision atomic weapons, a possible enemy may not. If we attack with these so-called precision weapons, he may feel inclined to attack with the only kind available to him. One or two of these falling on Formosa may make debate over its defense academic.

The remarkable thing about this plotting and planning for war is that the plotters and planners must know that the vast majority of the American people are against them. The mood of America, no matter how warlike some of our leaders wish to make us seem, is deeply pacific; and, as a matter of fact, we know that we are not going to have any allies, or substantial allies, if we get into a war over Quemoy or Matsu.

In the Washington *Evening Star* of today (March 30), on the front page, appears an article by Crosby B. Noyes, European correspondent of the *Star*. It states:

> European reaction to the lively possibility of war in the Far East encourages two reasonable predictions: that our European allies will not fight to defend Chinese offshore islands from Communist attack. That war in the East will not bring about a major blowup in the Western camp.
>
> The second possibility may be beyond our control.

The article states further:

> There is also a strong tendency [among the latest European governments] to question the argument that defense of the Matsus and Quemoy is necessary to prevent the crumbling of anti-Communist morale throughout Southeast Asia. On the contrary, it is

---

SENATOR ESTES KEFAUVER, whose speech in the Senate on March 30, 1955, is reprinted above as a "guest editorial," serves as a member of the Armed Services Committee and the Committee on the Judiciary.

In This Issue

ARTICLES

Let's Talk About Peace
by Senator Estes Kefauver 317

Great Britain Without Churchill
by Howard K. Smith 319

Washington in Focus
by Max Freedman 320

Quemoy—or Asia?
The Choice Is Ours
by O. Edmund Clubb 321

Mr. Bevan Remains:
Rank-and-File Victory
by Michael Foot 323

S. O. S.:
To the Youth of France
by Francois Mauriac 325

Peace-Time Conscription:
Who Wants It?
by John W. Swomley, Jr. 326

Labor Merger:
Repercussions in Canada
by Sylvia Wiseman 328

BOOKS

Words Are Not Good Enough
by R. J. Kaufmann 330

A Free Enterpriser's Story
by Harvey O'Connor 331

New Books in Brief 332

FILMS by Robert Hatch 333

MUSIC by B. H. Haggin 335

LETTERS 336

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 615
by Frank W. Lewis opposite 336

AROUND THE U. S. A.
Spring in California Stirs
the Grass Roots
by Nancy Reeves opposite 317

Editorial Board

Freda Kirchwey	Editor and Publisher
Carey McWilliams	Editorial Director
Lillie Shultz	Director, Nation Associates
Victor H. Bernstein	Managing Editor
J. Alvarez del Vayo	Foreign Editor
Martin Solow	Assistant to the Publisher
Harold Clurman	Theater
B. H. Haggin	Music
Robert Hatch	Films
Gladys Whiteside	Copy Editor
Caroline Whiting	Assistant Literary Editor
Alfred Maund	Editorial Assistant
Mary Simon	Advertising Manager

Contributing Editors: Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus, Keith Hutchison, H. H. Wilson, W. Macmahon Ball, Maxwell Geismar, Bruce Catton.

The Nation, April 16, 1955, Volume 180, No. 16

The Nation, published weekly by The Nation Company and copyright, 1955, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879 at the Post Office of New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879. Reentered as second class matter at the Post Office, Montgomery, Alabama. Printing Office 1603 Reuben Street.

Subscription Prices Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12, Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1. **Change of Address:** Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs, Information Service, Dramatic Index.

suggested that open intervention of the United States to save the islands would have a disastrous effect on the neutral states in far more critical areas. So far as Formosa itself is concerned, the thought is that if the Nationalist regime cannot survive loss of the offshore islands it is probably too shaky to survive long anyway.

Some people wonder at the great popularity of President Eisenhower. They express amazement that an Administration which obviously has not done very much can have such a popular leader. I believe the explanation for the President's popularity is precisely that he has not done very much. The American people are tired of war and they want a period of uninterrupted peace and quiet. The source of the President's strength appears to lie in the fact that he is not rocking the boat. I believe that the President senses this fact; if not, he had better be briefed on it. Such a briefing could well be given to the Pentagon and the State Department as well.

Although the President may not seem to be rocking the boat, the tragic fact is that in his Administration American foreign military policy has degenerated into rule by fear. The tremendous good-will shown toward our nation and our people at the end of World War II has been dissipated into the mists of history. Nobody in the State Department or the Pentagon ever talks any more about good-will or neighborliness.

Yet the simple truth is that the world cannot afford another great war. Not a standard of value that we know could survive one, even if a few pockets of people could manage to hold out against blast and fire and deadly radiation. If we get involved in a "little war" over Quemoy and Matsu, and if we then use atomic weapons, it is difficult for me to see how we can avoid a chain reaction of explosions around the world.

IT IS time we started talking, for a change, about peace. We should put in a deep, dark closet all Secretary Dulles's bellicosity. I am encouraged that, at last, exploratory talks looking toward a meeting of the great powers have begun. At that meeting, if it takes place, the discussions will doubtless not be as free and as frank as they might have been before Secretary Dulles began the era of kiss-and-tell diplomacy; but we ought to talk about peace whenever we get the occasion.

It is often said that the American people have always liked the Russian people but never liked their governments. There is also a long history of friendship and understanding between the American people and the Chinese people. We have never had any difficulty in getting along with them as a people. The people of America—and I know it very well—have a hope for peace as long, as wide, and as deep as any on earth.

These things are true. It is time that the men in the Kremlin took them into account. It is time that the men in Peking took them into account. And it is time for the men of the Pentagon, the State Department, and the White House to take them into account, too.

Great Britain Without Churchill

By HOWARD K. SMITH

London

AS SIR WINSTON is widely held to be the world's greatest statesman, an opinion this reporter certainly shares, you would expect his abandonment of power to have important consequences. Actually when you sift all the probabilities, the material effects appear likely to be few or none at all. Certainly the top level of British politics will lose some richness. But Churchill remains a member of the House, entitled to exercise his great oratory whenever he wishes. As an elder statesman still in active life, his wisdom will no doubt be sought and given as often as ever.

The British are masters of quiet, gradual, sometimes almost invisible change—and no change in recent years has been more resistless though less observed or talked about than the shift of personal power within the Conservative Cabinet. When the Conservatives came back to power in 1951, Churchill enjoyed his old unchallenged dominance. There was still validity to the story that he once answered a critic by saying, "I am not an autocrat. I do not dictate to my colleagues. I simply state my opinion about what should be done, and after due consideration they naturally agree with me." That was the situation in 1951, but steadily in the succeeding years Churchill's power in party and cabinet has been sapped away, usurped—if that is not too strong a word—by his younger colleagues led by Anthony Eden. It is probably fair to say that for some time Churchill has been almost as much a figurehead so far as policy-making is concerned as his Queen, Elizabeth II. Frequently he has been required to accept domestic policies with which he had little sympathy and foreign policies which he publicly abhorred. For example, abandonment of the Suez Canal base last year amounted in Churchill's view to the scuttling of empire. But Eden insisted that the act was necessary to his foreign policy, and R. A. Butler, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, insisted it was necessary to his economic program. So it was done, and grudgingly accepted by the old imperialist, Winston Churchill.

THE question now naturally arises: What kind of man is it that has been running British foreign affairs and, as the new Prime Minister, will decide all British governmental policies? Anthony Eden has been in the public eye for thirty years, but, curiously, not a great deal is known about him. As an accomplished diplomat he has built a kind of facade, a public personality, which has prevented gaze into his private life or real personality. Though he comes of what is known as a good old family, he is financially a poor man. Unlike most British politicians he has no characteristic hobby or avocation outside politics. He has never earned his way in the hurly-burly of private life but has always been a professional politician and has spent most of his political years in the rarefied atmosphere of the British Foreign Office. Despite the smile and the hail-fellow manner, he is an exceedingly shy man. Some say he lacks self-assurance. He cannot be called brilliant in comparison with the man he is about to displace. And he has no outstanding talents. His speeches are frequently full of platitudes.

Yet the opinion polls indicate that Eden is the most popular person in British politics today. Though Churchill is slightly better loved by a few more Tories, Eden is admired by enough Tories, Liberals, and even Laborites to get a higher mark. He is an extremely hard-working, conscientious public servant. He keeps his politics on a high level, a quality that is greatly appreciated in Britain. Above all, he has shown himself to be probably the most capable regulator of foreign affairs now alive. Single-handed, he saved the Geneva conference on Indo-China from collapse last year. He brought the Western alliance through a severe crisis when France rejected the treaties to rearm Germany last autumn. The new treaties, which France has ratified, were largely Eden's personal creation. In an age when the wise exercise of diplomacy may make just the difference in the world's survival, Eden's assumption of the reins here gives assurance to the British public and probably to the public of the nations of Western Europe.

Eden arives at the summit at a moment when his particular skills will be most needed. French ratification of the treaties—giving West Germany sovereign independence and the right to rearm—marks the end of one phase and the beginning of another in current history. New hopes have arisen. Premier Bulganin of Russia has spoken favorably of the possibility of new talks with the West. Molotov has invited the Austrian Chancellor to discuss a peace treaty, at long last, for that occupied country. At the same time, new dangers loom. The Communists in East Germany have put new restrictions on travel to and from Berlin. In the non-Communist half of Indo-China civil conflict is weakening the non-Communist forces there. The prospect of war in the Formosa Strait, increased by Communist concentrations opposite the offshore islands, has been emphasized by our far too talkative admirals in Washington. All over the world a new balance of power is seeking to establish itself. The transition from the old balance to the new will be extremely delicate. What is called for now, more than ever, is skilful diplomacy, and that is the quality in which the man scheduled to be the new Prime Minister here has hitherto excelled.

HOWARD K. SMITH, a contributing editor of The Nation, *is European director of the Columbia Broadcasting System in London.*

Washington in Focus

by Max Freedman

WHEN the Supreme Court was hearing the segregation cases last year there was one exchange between leading counsel on both sides that touched the central dilemma. Mr. John W. Davis cautioned the opponents of segregation to beware of the perils of hasty reform which might provoke a revulsion that would endanger many of the social gains won by Negroes in recent years. Mr. Thurgood Marshall replied that Mr. Davis was simply trying to persuade the court that it is unwise to interfere with any wrong provided its pedigree is sufficiently old. By a unanimous verdict the Supreme Court last May ruled that segregation in public schools is unconstitutional. But the issue raised by Mr. Davis still awaits adjudication. The court must still decide on the most orderly transition from the segregated schools to the unified system.

Three distinct points of view were brought before the court. Mr. Marshall and his colleagues argued for the swiftest transition to the nonsegregated system, for a start on a broad front by September of this year, and for the completion of the unified system by the outside date of September, 1956. The Southern states pleaded for delay, for a system of local variations which would respect the differences between various communities, and for a recognition that the problem required something more than a judicial decision for its solution. The Department of Justice, assuming a midway position, told the court that no community had the right to defy the court's ruling by claiming to exercise a local option, that even the claim of "popular hostility" had to yield to the compulsions of constitutional right, but that the court should avoid prescribing any single formula by which segregated schools would be abolished.

The court was told by opponents of segregation that there is no merit to the Southern claim that "local mores and customs justify delay which might produce a more orderly transition." The Fourteenth Amendment, as they saw it, was designed for the express purpose of providing protection against the pressure of local customs in conflict with the Constitution. They argued that church groups and others in the South who are trying to win general acceptance of the court's decision of last May "cannot be effective wthout the support of a forthwith decree" from the Supreme Court. Finally, they warned the court that gradual adjustment might lead to delays that might prove interminable; and that any uncertainty or weakness in the attitude of the Supreme Court now would at once become the signal for an obstinate rear-guard action in defense of segregation.

THE clearest case for delay was put by Virginia, which said quite bluntly that it does not foresee "a complete solution at any future time." So long as the unified system is resolutely opposed, by an united majority it saw no solution either by court decree or by executive order.

The proper procedure according to Virginia was to return the cases to district courts in accordance with "very general instructions to enforce the decisions of this court while permitting the preservation of the local school system."

The Department of Justice reminded the Supreme Court that its decision last year recognized the importance of psychological and emotional factors affecting colored children forced to endure segregatd schools. In similar fashion it called on the court to recognize that "psychological and emotional factors are involved—and must be met with understanding and goodwill—in the alterations that must now take place in order to bring about compliance with the court's decision." In discussing the problem of "popular hostility" the department spoke with great frankness. It said this hostility must be faced with understanding but "it can afford no legal justification for a failure to end school segregation." The department was opposed to the proclamation of any outside date by which the unified system would become universal and mandatory. It was afraid that the interval between now and any such date would be used to build up resistance to the unified system rather than to prepare honestly for it.

The Department of Justice made an argument which will count heavily with the court when it pointed out that the Constitution, while prohibiting segregation, does not compel the adoption of any specific type of non-segregated system. It advised the court to rule that racial segregation in public schools is unconstitutional and that all provisions of law requiring or permitting such segregation are invalid. It next suggested that the cases be turned back to the lower courts, which would require within ninety days a plan for ending segregation as quickly as is feasible. If a satisfactory plan is not submitted to the lower court, it would direct the admission of Negro children to non-segregated public schools at the beginning of the next school term. School authorities would be obliged to submit detailed reports to the lower courts showing what progress is being made toward the unified system. In turn, the lower courts would inform the Supreme Court of the measures being taken to comply with the Constitution.

No one studying the massive briefs before the court or listening to the involved argument can cherish the illusion that everything was settled last May 17 by the great decision of a unanimous court. But at no stage has the court shown any tendency to be impressed by the repeated claim that it would expose itself to a generation of litigation by forthright action. The decisiveness of the court's ruling rang round the world. There is nothing to suggest that it will act with less courage and wisdom now.

QUEMOY — OR ASIA?

The Choice Is Ours . . *by O. Edmund Clubb*

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER warned Congress on January 24 that there was developing in the Formosa Strait a situation which "seriously imperils the peace and our security." Congress hastened to grant him extraordinary authority, and the Senate promptly approved the United States—Formosa treaty of alliance. By the end of March the attention of the world was focused on the Nationalist-held offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu, which Admiral Carney, Chief of Naval Operations, reputedly estimated would be attacked by the Chinese Communists about mid-April. (He has since denied making such a prediction.) The crucial question was: should the United States thereupon go to war in behalf of the Nationalists?

Quemoy and Matsu, respectively about three and twelve miles from the China mainland, at the beginning of 1950 were links in an island chain stretching from the Chusan Archipelago off the mouth of the Yangtze south to Hainan Island, in the Gulf of Tonkin. The chain then constituted the defeated Nationalists' last line of defense in front of their island refuge, Formosa. The Communists captured Hainan and the Chusan group soon after; subsequently, other islands fell one after another into Communist hands, until at the end of 1954 only about twenty were left under Nationalist control; in the past three months several more have been lost or abandoned, notably Yikiangshan, Tachen, and Nanki. The chain is shattered, and there now remain only a few beleaguered points like Paichuan, Yinshan, and Quemoy and Matsu.

The Communists hold the initiative, and can be expected to select what seems the most propitious occasion to advance toward their strategic objectives. When Premier Chou En-lai on February 3 rejected the bid of the U. N. Security Council to help end hostilities around the offshore islands, he safeguarded China's freedom of maneuver.

Peking's signature of a truce agreement would have left the Nationalists in physical possession of the offshore islands and attested to the legality of their occupation of Formosa, with no quid pro quo. The United States is bound by the U. N. Charter and other treaties to refrain in its international relations from "the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations" (as the pertinent proviso reads in the S. E. A. T. O. pact), and the United States—Formosa treaty specifically delimits Taipei's jurisdiction to Formosa and the Pescadores. If Peking wanted peace in the Formosa Strait, it had only to forego attacking.

So Peking continues to assert its claim to title over Formosa. But its ambitions do not necessarily lie where the tumult is. The questions of the moment are (1) whether Quemoy and Matsu are really the Communists' immediate objective; (2) whether Peking intends, after the hypothetical capture of those two islands, to seize Formosa by direct assault; and (3) whether Formosa is, at this particular stage of Asiatic affairs, actually Peking's chief objective.

Mao Tse-tung is one of the foremost exponents of the doctrine of "protracted war." In a lecture series on the subject in 1938—the Sino-Japanese war was then one year old—he laid down the strategy to be followed for the defeat of Japanese militarism. Two prominent concepts were: disregard for territory as such in favor of advancing the overall war position, and emphasis on the importance of human power and psychology in the military equation. "Armament is an important factor in war but not the decisive factor," said Mao. "Man, not material, forms the decisive factor." Further, "War cannot be divorced from politics for a single moment." The strategy once directed against the Japanese invader will now be used, with appropriate modifications, in opposing American power along the China coast.

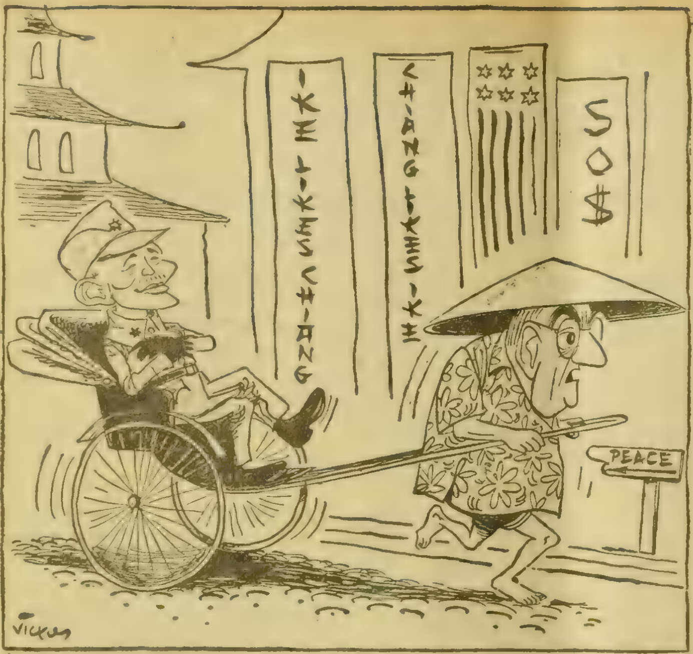
The offshore islands, comprising a few rocky acres, have little intrinsic value. Quemoy and Matsu hamper access to the ports of Amoy and Foochow, but it can hardly be argued that they are imposing starvation on the parent continent. If they were once viewed as possible springboards for a mainland invasion, that day is gone; and they are not stepping-stones on the route to Formosa. In sum, those islands are not vital for China and therefore presumably have no special priority in Peking's strategic plan.

FOR Peking's geopoliticians the impelling overall issue is not even the conquest of Formosa but the winning of non-Communist Asia to the Communist side. In steadfast pursuit of that end, they practice the ancient principle of "divide and rule." They aim at separating the United States from its allies and from its potential support in Asia and at pinning the Titan down when isolated.

To contend that Chinese skills are inadequate for the intellectual task is on the evidence inadmissible. Peking has been steadily advancing its political power and today enjoys high prestige in Asia. Korea, Tibet, and Indo-China have recently felt China's might. Geneva, New Delhi, Rangoon, and Ulan Bator were milestones on the road over which Chou En-lai progressed last year in the service of "New China." Delegations from leading capitals of Europe and Asia made their appearance at Pe-

---

O. EDMUND CLUBB served for twenty years in the Far East as an officer in the United States Foreign Service.



Courtesy the New Statesman and Nation (London)

king in turn. The visits all testified to China's new world position, but it was perhaps certain diplomatic exchanges between India and China that held the greatest portent for Asia's future.

For the "Five Principles" enunciated jointly by Chou En-lai and Prime Minister Nehru last June are making their mark. The fifth of those principles, "peaceful coexistence," embodies the deep desire of Asians to be at peace. Coexistence will be a major theme at the Afro-Asian conference opening April 18 at Bandung, Indonesia. Nehru's speech of March 31 strongly condemning the West's creation of military alliances in Asia strikingly highlighted a current tendency in Asian thinking. That trend runs counter to a simple anti-communism stated in starkly military terms.

The Communist leaders assiduously exploit this situation. Peking and Moscow contend in unison that the United States plans war in Asia but that China is a supporter of world peace. Chou En-lai took that position when he rejected the U. N.'s overture regarding hostilities in the Formosa Strait. The Peking *People's Daily News* on February 5 and March 7 editorially beat out the same theme: "In line with their consistent stand of working for relaxation of Far Eastern tensions, the Chinese people will support all genuine international efforts to ease and eliminate the tension created by the United States in the Formosa area and other areas of the Far East." The Chinese Communists will present themselves at the Bandung conference as men of peace, badgered by a "warmongering Western imperialist."

Americans will of course find that pose preposterous, but they are not the target audience: Peking plays to Asians, who find the portrayal plausible. Worse, our Occidental allies are unsympathetic, and unbelieving, when American officials claim that the "crisis" in the Formosa Strait is entirely of Peking's making. The United Kingdom, Canada, and France have all officially shied away from the suggestion that the offshore islands are worth a major war; in fact, they have unmistakably indicated that if the United States fought over Quemoy and Matsu, it would fight alone. Japan, worth a dozen Formosas, likewise balks at being embroiled in a war in its present weakened condition.

This situation holds out to the Communists the hope of another diplomatic advance—one that might conceivably influence the disposition of the offshore islands. Mao Tse-tung is professedly a disciple of the famed Chinese strategist of the fifth century B. C., Sun Tzu, who held that "to fight and conquer in all your battles is not supreme excellence; supreme excellence consists in breaking the enemy's resistance without fighting." Should Peking fail to win Quemoy and Matsu by political methods, the dangers of the American position would become critical. Peking would then be under a tactical compulsion to keep the pot of trouble boiling. By maintaining tensions in the Formosa Strait, it could keep international alarm at a level conducive to China's gaining more concessions.

BUT the danger of armed conflict in the Formosa Strait is real and not wholly simulated for political purposes. The offshore islands, once road blocks, are themselves now subject to being blockaded. Airfields are being constructed in the region. Fast Communist torpedo boats have been showing up in neighboring waters in increasing numbers. When the typhoons of June and July bring heavy seas to the Strait, it is probable that the Communists will step up operations against the Nationalist outposts.

The Communists would presumably not assault the Quemoy and Matsu strong points first but would cut off their supplies and subject them to a softening-up process while eliminating secondary Nationalist positions. But once the main action had begun, the United States could not extricate itself with any credit from the venture. It would be faced with the harsh ultimate choice of intervening to rescue the Nationalist garrisons or letting them go down with the transparent explanation that "we never actually *said* we would fight for Quemoy and Matsu"—when all Asia feels that the United States has threatened war. We could claim no victory of principle if we made a retreat only under fire.

The United States could of course elect to "go it alone" into war with China. But China has a champion—the Soviet Union. It would seem poor wisdom to gamble the fate of the American nation on an assumption that the 1950 Sino-Soviet treaty of alliance does not mean what it says. It is admittedly conceivable that the U. S. S. R. would not counter an American thrust at the China coast with blows against our positions in Okinawa, Japan, the Philippines, and the United States itself—though it is also conceivable that it would. But in any event other patterns of warfare are in use in the twentieth century. German, Italian, and Soviet military elements engaged in the Spanish civil war of the 1930's; the U. S. S. R. sent air units to fight for China against Japan in 1937-39; from 1950 to 1953 Chinese "volunteers" en masse warred against the U. N. forces in Korea. In this way, at least, major elements of the Soviet armed forces, and especially of the Red air force, would almost certainly participate in the fighting on Chinese battlefields, in the Formosa Strait, and over Formosa itself. And if the United States, having leaped into the Chinese civil war, should be confronted with "volunteer" men and material from Moscow, would it strike the first blow also against the U. S. S. R., as being one more "privileged sanctuary," and plunge a horror-stricken world into the holocaust of its deadliest, final war?

IT IS contended that the United States must persist in its present course to demonstrate to Asia that it is not a "paper tiger" and to sustain the flagging morale of Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalists. Neither purpose is mentioned in Congress's empowering resolution. No one would maintain, presumably, that the national interest should be sacrificed on the altar of "face"; and it is written in history that the national interest is sometimes best served by a timely retreat. A fair sampling of Asian opinion might in any event indicate that the majority of friendly Orientals would admire the United States more for a conciliatory spirit at this juncture than for a martial posture on Quemoy.

The Nationalist morale is naturally shaky. It has now depended for five years on Generalissimo Chiang's perennial promise that the exiles would return to their mainland homes within a measurable period by force of their own arms. That hope is now dead, whether or not Nationalist troops are on Quemoy and Matsu. Sitting it out until World War III is the last desperate gamble—but it too threatens to become a stale stratagem. Soon after the Indo-China truce became effective the Peking Communists stepped up their bombardment of Formosa's nerves by means of division, infiltration, and subversion. The cement that has heretofore held the jarring elements of the Nationalist regime together is now loosening. But not for want of Quemoy and Matsu.

The United States by strenuous efforts has extended its "first line of defense" to the China coast only to find that the position is politically untenable. Out on a limb over Quemoy and Matsu, the United States neglects its tried alliance with Great Britain, and ignores the most profound sentiments of Asia, in worry over Formosa's political health. Doggedly professing true-blue anti-communism, it subserves a primitive Communist tactic and widens the gulf between it and the coalition which is its strength. Hypnotized by the predicament of islands that Chiang Kai-shek refuses to evacuate, it fails to note that a whole continent is slipping out of reach of American influence. Sensitive to every minute feature of logistics and atomic power, it remains impervious to the deeper currents of Asiatic thought. It has failed to understand that the Communist target is not the Chinese offshore islands, or even Formosa, but the hearts and minds of Asians.

In weighing these developments and charting China's course, Mao Tse-tung probably again refers back to his ancient mentor, Sun Tzu: "O divine art of subtlety and secrecy! Through you we learn to be invisible, through you inaudible; and hence we can hold the enemy's fate in our hands."

MR. BEVAN REMAINS

Rank-and-File Victory . . *by Michael Foot*

London

FOR weeks on end the case of Aneurin Bevan has dominated all political discussions here and most of the headlines in the British press. Even the affairs of Princess Margaret were pushed off the front pages. News about Sir Winston Churchill's retirement, Mr. Dulles's revelations about Yalta, won their brief moment of publicity but made little impact in comparison with the Bevanite row. What was it all about? No one can really think that the dispute was solely over the personal conduct of one man. More by instinct than political analysis the press and the public seemed to agree that the controversy touched the roots of British politics today.

The spark which was alleged to have set the whole bonfire ablaze was a question posed by Mr. Bevan to Mr. Attlee, leader of the Labor Party, in the Commons debate of March 2. Bevan asked whether Mr. Attlee agreed with what appeared to be the government's official view—that the hydrogen bomb should be used first by the Western powers against any form of aggression, despite the devastating consequences that Great Britain must expect in a hydrogen-bomb war. The bulk of his speech had been devoted to a skilful indictment of the government's failure to obtain high-level talks with the Soviet leaders. So effective was the attack that it brought Sir Winston Churchill to his feet to confess for the first time the reasons for this failure. Most people who heard the speech were chiefly impressed by the earnestness

---

MICHAEL FOOT is a Labor Member of Parliament and joint editor of the London Tribune.

of Bevan's plea for a supreme diplomatic effort to check the madness of an H-bomb arms race and his exposure that the government, while standing on its formula about "negotiation from strength," was refusing to negotiate at the precise moment when we possessed the superior strength.

WITHIN the next few hours the rumble of other questions was heard in the corridors of the House. Had not Mr. Bevan made a direct challenge to the leadership of Mr. Attlee? Had he not asked a question which should have been asked privately? And had he not caused the gravest embarrassment to the Labor Party by making his vote dependent on the reply?

Mr. Bevan has denied emphatically that any threat to Mr. Attlee was intended. He asserts that he was doing no more than exercising his right and duty as a Member of Parliament. But whatever view is taken of this incident, it is impossible to believe that the most momentous crisis to arise in the Labor Party in years was provoked by a single question in the Commons. The truth is that a section of the Labor leadership had resolved on a showdown with Bevanism and felt this to be a heaven-sent opportunity.

Against the advice of Mr. Attlee himself, Labor's Shadow Cabinet in the House of Commons resolved to act—and to act quickly. They decided on a Monday that at a special meeting of the Parliamentary Labor Party on the following Wednesday the demand should be made for the "withdrawal of the whip" from Mr. Bevan. (To "withdraw the whip" is to put a member outside the parliamentary party with which he has been identified. He is then denied information concerning the party's positions and policies.) They clearly calculated that a week or two later this punishment would be followed by the more dramatic measure of expulsion from the Labor Party itself. They must have known that such action would provoke considerable commotion inside the party, since for several years past the constituency Labor parties have shown themselves overwhelmingly Bevanite in sympathy. However, it was obviously calculated that the big trade-union vote would come to their rescue. "Cut out the cancer now before it gets worse," was their theme. A few of these leaders had long held the view that Mr. Bevan was actually an electoral liability for the Labor Party. Only by drastic action could the swing toward Bevanism in the constituencies and the trade unions be halted and turned back.

Aneurin Bevan

Their plan, if such it was, misfired. Mr. Bevan was suffering from influenza, and common decency required the execution date to be postponed for a week. The interval was long enough for M. P.'s to taste the feeling of their constituents. When the vote in the Parliamentary party eventually took place, the leadership made the issue one of confidence in itself. Even so, 112 Labor M. P.'s voted against the withdrawal of the whip to 141 for it, and an amendment seeking to modify the punishment was only defeated by the narrow majority of 14. In other words, the Shadow Cabinet carried the vote of confidence in itself only by the votes of its own members.

This was a violent shock to the Parliamentary party leaders, who had reckoned on a majority of at least fifty to sixty. Outside in the country the opposition was even fiercer. Constituency Labor parties and trade-union branches poured forth protests. Their views were backed by the findings of a Gallup poll. The poll, it should be noted, tested the opinion not only of the active Labor workers in the constituencies but of the whole mass of Labor voters. Of these, 53 per cent were against expelling Mr. Bevan, 24 per cent in favor. Among Liberal voters a majority was against expulsion. Only among Tory voters was there a solid opinion favoring expulsion—52 per cent against 21 per cent.

The scale of the protest exceeded anything that had been forecast, and this no doubt was the decisive factor when the National Executive Committee of the Labor Party met to settle the issue of expulsion. At its first meeting the expulsionists, led by Mr. Gaitskell and Mr. Morrison, pressed their demand so hard that it was defeated by only one vote. Mr. Attlee saved the situation by requiring that the defendant should be allowed to state his case before he was executed; in other words, he carried by one vote a proposal that a subcommittee of the Executive should meet with Mr. Bevan. When the Executive met a week later, the expulsionists were obviously discomfited by the assurances that Mr. Bevan had given to Mr. Attlee personally and by the way in which he had turned the accusation against his accusers. The demand for expulsion was withdrawn. Mr. Attlee clearly regarded Mr. Bevan's assurances as being quite satisfactory, and though this view was not shared by the intransigent right-wingers who had worked for the final showdown, the incident has been closed, with Mr. Bevan still safely in the Labor Party. Few will doubt that the Executive feared a defeat for themselves at the annual conference of the Labor Party if they proceeded with the expulsion; in other words, the massive protest from party members all over the country had had its effect, and Mr. Attlee, who had opposed the expulsion throughout, instinctively interpreted the desires of those who sustain the Labor Party in the country.

Those who support Mr. Bevan naturally conclude that he has emerged from the clash stronger than he was when the right-wing leadership decided to put the issue to the test. In fact, it is difficult for anyone to doubt that this is the right conclusion. Hitherto the heads of the two or three most powerful trade unions in the country have dominated the Labor Party in conjunction with the right-wing leadership of the Parliamentary party.

Their decrees have always proved effective in the end. For example, last year they succeeded together in committing the Labor Party at its annual conference to outright support of West German rearmament, though the opposition to this course among the rank and file was strong and persistent. It is hard to believe that the process which might lead to Aneurin Bevan's expulsion was unleashed without the connivance of the trade-union leaders. Indeed, on the very day when the members of the Parliamentary Party met to discuss the issue, they could read in their newspapers the demand from one of the most powerful of these leaders that the move to get rid of the Bevanite "encumbrance" should be ruthless and final. Instead, Mr. Bevan has been kept in the Labor Party, and whatever the result of the general election which everyone now agrees is imminent, he will doubtless command a stronger following in the Parliamentary party than ever before.

ON WHAT grounds, then, is it claimed that this argument goes to the roots of British politics? The struggle within the British Labor Party was never a contest for the leadership between Mr. Attlee and Mr. Bevan, as many American newspapers have suggested. The argument was always about policy. A section of the right-wing leadership has sought for years to force down the throats of the British Labor movement policies that it would not swallow. The aim of the right wing was to make British socialism mildly reformist in its domestic aspirations and bipartisan in foreign policy, accepting the Churchillian thesis of agreement with the United States at all costs. Bevanism marked the revolt of the rank and file of the Labor Party against these tendencies. It would have happened even if Aneurin Bevan had never been born. The attempt to victimize Bevan as a political figure brought to a climax the discussion about the way British socialism should go.

The fact that the maneuver against Bevan has failed is a sign that the British Labor Party retains its Socialist impulse and its desire that Britain play an independent role in guiding the nations toward a world peace based on firmer foundations than the mere recognition of the need for coexistence.

S. O. S.

To the Youth of France . . *by Francois Mauriac*

Paris

A GLOOMY silence weighs on this country, which seems, in appearance at least, to be again prostrate. Only the commercial class is indulging in mass uprisings, and only because of its quarrels with the public treasury.

The papers publish coldly, without comment, the speech made by Alfred Coste-Floret at Metz, on March 6, in the presence of the Attorney General: "Mendes-France was too much to the right. . . ." Or again: "Before him, Algeria was calm." Coste-Floret, this Popular Republican, even had the impertinence to say, according to an agency dispatch, that the Mendes-France ministry was the farthest to the right of the legislature!

How interpret the silence that greets such words? I doubt very much whether it is the silence of contempt. Public attention, since the fall of the Mendes-France Cabinet, has turned away from such problems, even from those of North Africa, which the government will, nevertheless, have to solve in agreement with the majority supporting it. So let us look at what one of the leaders of that majority, Jean Crous-saud, writes: "It is necessary to reverse our policy in North Africa. We of the A. R. S. [dissident ex-Gaullists] are determined to push the question of North Africa to the fore, ahead of every desire for ministerial continuity or political stability." If that is what portends, on what forces can we still count in this country?

From certain indications one might think that our society is rotting at the top. I have long clung to my illusions about the so-called middle-class virtues. The attachment to its privileges of the upper middle class was compensated, I tried to persuade myself, by a tradition of honorableness, if not honor, by a strict integrity in everything that concerned money. But did I really believe it? In the silence of last Sunday, prey to an unspeakable bitterness, straying from book to book in my library, I leafed through the worn copy of a little volume which was my bedside book as an adolescent—"Under the Eyes of the Barbarians," by Barres. Today it is forgotten or has become incomprehensible to my juniors.

I saw that already in 1905 I had underscored some lines which Barres must have written when he himself had just reached the age of manhood: "Their convictions, all their sentiments, these are the court mantles which hang debased and slack, not on the awkward loins of bureaucrats but, even greater disgrace, on unworthy souls." In the same period I had also marked these words which the young Barres put in the mouth of a certain type of man: "We have, in the bottom of our pockets, esteem, fatherland, and all the offices."

We are not suffering, therefore, from a new evil. These half-century-old quotations should reassure us—the evil is not mortal since we are not dead. But facing these men who have the fatherland, esteem, and all the offices in their pocket, who hold fast to them and are resolved to give up nowhere, neither in France nor overseas, who constitute a formidable conspiracy of all-powerful interests, controlling Parliament, the minis-

---

FRANCOIS MAURIAC is a distinguished French novelist.

ters, and a good part of the press—facing them, to whom, to what, shall we have recourse?

TO YOUTH. We are turning toward youth. But whom do we mean when we say, "Youth"? Does not the word cover a myth?

No, you are not a myth, you exist, youth of my country, though you wear several faces. And I make this confession of faith in order not to lose heart: I believe that the youth of the "young employers" movement, of the Christian workers, of the Marxist workers, and the students of all creeds, in spite of differences of class, of interest, and of doctrine, have in common that virtue which is lost with age, the virtue of disinterestedness.

It is a great mystery that as the hour approaches when man must leave everything behind, he closes his hands with increasing avarice over the possessions which, after all, he will not take with him on that journey without return.

Capitalist youth, working youth, student youth, French youth, you who feel with more passion than can a very tired old man the shame of this great country delivered over to a greedy and blind conservatism, the more blind as it is greedier, can you show our masters that we are not resigned to tolerating everything? Disarmed as you are, for them to take fright it would suffice that you cry out. Your silence reassures them.

It is up to us, I know, to give you a rallying point. Some of us are studying problems of this kind and preparing for the near future. So do not be discouraged. Do not lose interest in the political adventure, for through it your destiny is being determined and therefore the destiny of France itself—and not only of France but also of the races overseas for whom we have the responsibility before history and before God.

"Cain, what have you done to your brother?" This question goes beyond the individual; it is addressed to a great people like ours in the measure that we hold weaker peoples under our sway.

The more the professional politicians disgust you, the less have you the right to refuse to interest yourself in their acts. If the youth of France remains silent, they will dare anything.

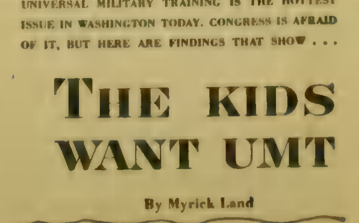
PEACE-TIME CONSCRIPTION

Who Wants It? . . *by John M. Swomley, Jr.*

ARE we being accurately informed or are we being misled by published reports that the majority of people favor universal military training? The reports suggest that if Congress were responsive to public opinion, U.M.T. would be adopted at once. The strong opposition to U.M.T. which undoubtedly exists has been concealed in most accounts of public-opinion polls. A case in point is a recent article in *This Week,* which is distributed by a large number of Sunday newspapers throughout the country as their magazine supplement. Entitled The Kids Want U.M.T., the article declared that in a poll on U.M.T. taken in 1954 by the Institute of Student Opinion 66 per cent of the high-schoolers were flatly in favor of U. M. T. and only 26 per cent opposed it when they were asked: "Under present world conditions do you favor the general principle of compulsory military training for all fit young men?" The article did not even hint that in the same poll 52 per cent of the high-school students polled were against the kind of U.M.T. now before Congress and only 30 per cent were for it. The question which brought this response was: "Would you favor compulsory training for six months followed by seven and a half years in the Ready Reserve provided it was required of all fit young men?" To another question, "Do you favor the plan as recommended by the National Security Training Commission?" 50.54 per cent of the students polled answered "no," 37.52 per cent answered "yes," and 11.94 per cent had no opinion.

The author of the article, Myrick Land, asserted that 'the institute's 1954 poll on universal military training was one of the biggest it had ever taken. The ballots were marked by 48,399 high-school students in forty-eight states." Yet a table giving "Results of Polls on Universal Military Training Conducted by the Institute of Student Opinion under the Sponsorship of *Scholastic Magazine*" shows that it was the smallest of the institute's five polls on the question. Since Mr. Land is on the staff of *Scholastic Magazine, This Week* apparently thought it unnecessary to check his facts.

When the question of U. M. T. came up immediately after the war, a Gallup poll showed a majority in its favor on the basis of a simple question that did not describe the measure before Congress. The National Opinion Research Center, however, noting that the public divided on two expensive programs—federal aid to education and


UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING IS THE HOTTEST ISSUE IN WASHINGTON TODAY. CONGRESS IS AFRAID OF IT, BUT HERE ARE FINDINGS THAT SHOW . . .

THE KIDS WANT UMT

By Myrick Land

Headline in This Week, *January 11, 1955*

JOHN M. SWOMLEY, JR., is the director of the National Council Against Conscription.

U. M. T.—conducted its poll accordingly. Its journal, *Opinion News,* said in the issue of August 1, 1947:

> That what the public thinks about peace-time conscription depends somewhat on the way a problem is presented is suggested by results of a question asked in the May, 1945, N.O.R.C. survey. . . . When the alternative was raised, 56 per cent of the people said they thought an annual appropriation of two billion dollars would be better spent on regular education than on military training. When results were narrowed to include only those expressing a definite opinion one way or the other, 69 per cent would rather have the government underwrite regular education and 31 per cent would prefer to have the money go to an army and navy training program. The Center asked: "If the government had two billion dollars a year to spend, would you rather have it spent on a program of better regular education in the schools or on a program of compulsory military training in the army or navy?"

The results were as follows: Of all persons interviewed 56 per cent favored having the money spent on regular education; 25 per cent voted for military training; 11 per cent favored neither or both; and 8 per cent were undecided. Of those with a definite opinion 69 per cent favored regular education and 31 per cent military training.

IN EVERY opinion poll there is the problem of what percentage of the people are informed on the question. For example, the New York *Herald Tribune* of October 22, 1947, reported that "30 per cent of the population of the representative city of Cincinnati have never heard of the United Nations," according to a poll taken there. More than half of those who had heard of it had a mistaken view of its function.

The Gallup Poll's recent releases on U. M. T. have given no clue to the number of people informed about the proposed system and about its penalties and reserve obligations. In the January, 1955, Gallup release, 75 per cent were reported in favor, 22 per cent opposed, and 3 per cent undecided. One assumed that everyone knew about the proposal. If, however, even 25 per cent of the American people were uninformed about it, Gallup's figures would mean that 75 per cent of 75 per cent, or only about half the people, favored it.

The Gallup Poll asks, "Would you favor or oppose requiring every able-bodied young man in this country when he reaches the age of eighteen to spend one year in military training and then join the reserves?" If those who answer think of such a one-year program as being shorter and therefore preferable to the present two-year draft plus reserve duty, the vote can hardly be an indorsement of the bill Congress is actually considering.

In this connection, Dr. Angus Campbell of the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan wrote:

> It will be noted that the response to the usual polling question tells very little about the respondent's understanding of the question. He can proceed through a polling answering yes and no in very much the same manner a college student goes through a true-or-false examination. There is no way of knowing . . . whether his answer is merely a random choice based on no understanding whatever.—Journal of Social Issues, November, 1946.

Interpretation of a poll is much more important than the mere figures. It is important, for example, to know *why* some persons favor peace-time military training. The August 1, 1947, issue of *Opinion News* stated that in the N.O.R.C.'s most recent survey the 65 per cent who favored compulsory military training were asked: "What are your main reasons for thinking that?" Of those replying "23 per cent mentioned personal improvement of the soldier, including better health, education, improved morals and citizenship, and physical training; 20 per cent named military reasons such as preparedness and national defense; . . .16 per cent considered both of the above reasons; 6 per cent mentioned other reasons." According to these figures, only 36 per cent of the people wanted compulsory military training for the reason which the President's Commission on Universal Training held to be its sole justification—national defense. Congress would not seriously consider a program costing two or three billion dollars a year whose chief support came from people wanting the armed services to enter the field of moral, educational, and health improvement. Congress would be much more likely to spend the money for aid to education, public-health services, and other existing programs which unquestionably benefit youth.

It is also important to know how intensely people feel about the matter. Dr. Campbell says:

> Unelaborated yes and no answers . . . disguise the degree of intensity with which the respondents hold the attitude they express. It makes a great deal of difference if public support of a proposal is the "I don't know much about it and I guess it might be a good idea" kind or the "Absolutely, we ought to do it; it's a good thing for thus-and-so reasons" variety.

It would appear from this that the mere number of those in favor of a measure does not justify legislative action. If the rank and file of the great church, farm, labor, and educational groups do not reject the stand of their leaders against universal military training, that means either that they themselves are opposed to U.M.T. or that they do not feel strongly in favor of it. On the other hand, the continued vigorous opposition to peace-time conscription in the face of the barrage of army propaganda for it indicates intensity of conviction.

That the strength of a minority's conviction should be considered was emphasized by Lindsay Rogers, Burgess professor of public law at Columbia, in *Harper's Magazine* for November, 1941:

> But before a democracy acts, it must know something more than whether a plurality or a majority desires action. Decisions that are reached have to be accepted, and without a broad basis of consent, democracy does not work. Hence when they are wise, majorities do not rush ahead to have their way until they have inquired into the basis of consent. . . . Until a poll tells us about the eagerness of those who wish that something be done and about the indifference or bitterness of those who don't want it done, it will not chart opinion or register sentiment.

What the public thinks is important. But public opinion on a complex and controversial political question is not easy to gauge. Is it most correctly reflected by the polls, the results of which seem to favor conscription, or by the stand of the nation's large church, farm, and labor groups, which have gone on record again and again against peace-time U.M.T.?

LABOR MERGER

Repercussions in Canada . . *by Sylvia Wiseman*

[*Canadian unions are important components of the international unions which are the backbone of both the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. What effect, then, will the merger of the two federations have upon the labor picture in Canada? Will the Canadian federations also merge? Will the end result be still closer ties between American and Canadian labor or the growth of an independent Canadian labor movement? Sylvia Wiseman, who discusses these questions in the article below, lectures on labor economics at McGill University.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Montreal

CANADA is the only advanced industrial state in the world which has a labor movement largely composed of "international" unions with headquarters in another country. The history of Canadian labor has been shaped by this fact.

As far back as the 1870's branches of American unions outnumbered either Canadian or British locals. But important as the internationals were, the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, the first permanent Canadian labor federation, had at first no formal connection with the American Federation of Labor. Not till fifteen years after its founding was official contact with the A. F. of L. established—through an exchange of fraternal delegates. The T. L. C. originally aspired to include all Canadian labor, whether autonomous or international, and to prevent any divisions among its various affiliated groups. In this it failed. The now-famous Berlin, Ontario, convention decided on the expulsion of the Knights of Labor, already expelled by the A. F. of L. in the United States, and the exclusion of all national unions if internationals of the same craft existed. After this the T. L. C. represented international A. F. of L. unionism in Canada.

The issues of unity, Canadian autonomy, and relations with the A. F. of L. and the internationals reappeared many times in the following years. Purely Canadian organizations were often denied a place in the T. L. C. because an international was already established in the same field. The most spectacular case of rivalry was that between the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees and an international railway union. The Canadian Brotherhood was first in the field and had joined the T. L. C. when the international had only a small membership in Canada. A major Canadian union, it demanded full autonomy, with a Canadian president equal in rank and salary to that of the president of the international. But the A. F. of L. raised the familiar cry of dual unionism, and in 1921 the Canadian Brotherhood was expelled from the T. L. C. Twenty years later its president, A. R. Mosher, became the first president of the Canadian Congress of Labor, Canadian counterpart of the C. I. O.

The suspension of the C. I. O. unions by the A. F. of L. in the States in 1936 placed the Canadian labor movement in a dilemma. On the one hand, to unseat the delegates of the C. I. O. unions would make the split a *fait accompli;* on the other, to disregard the action of the A. F. of L. would undoubtedly cause many powerful internationals to withdraw from the T. L. C. In the end the C. I. O. unions were officially expelled—action upheld by the 1939 convention.

The new Congress, the C. C. L., proceeded to organize great numbers of workers in the mass-production industries and by its competition forced the older Congress to intensify its own efforts. But its formation did not solve the particular problem of the position of the Canadian unions within the international organization. Conflicts over this issue arose rather frequently. A recent example was the case of the Teamsters in Quebec. In 1953 the elected business agent and other officers of Local 106 in Montreal were summarily dismissed by order of Dave Beck, president of the International. This move was explained in a press report as "part of a new overall setup planned by Beck for Canada." The response of the ousted Montreal officials was to form a purely Canadian local in Quebec. They charged that there had been unwarranted interference by the American Teamsters' executive in the affairs of the Quebec union.

The rivalry between the Canadian Seamen's Union and the Seafarers' International Union also became the focus of a struggle between T. C. L. and A. F. of L. over the autonomy of the Canadian federation. In an open letter to the membership of the T. L. C. in 1949 President (now retired) Percy Bengough asserted that the demand of the A. F. of L. Executive Council for changes in the constitution of the T. L. C.—specifically, the institution of a block-voting system—would have made "the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada a stifled appendage of the American Federation of Labor." The demand was withdrawn several months later when the Canadian Seamen's Union was suspended.

MR. BENGOUGH'S letter ended with the phrase "Cooperation yes—domination no!" This expresses the present mood of many Canadian unionists. Once again decisions are being taken in the United States which will change the form and nature of the Canadian labor movement. The desire for a unified labor body is strong in most sectors of organized labor here. A no-raiding pact was signed late in 1954 between the T. L. C. and the C. C. L. In March of this year a unity committee of the two congresses, meeting in

Ottawa, drew up a tentative program for merger. In a number of provinces T. L. C. and C. C. L. organizations cooperated in the election campaigns. The conventions of both bodies last year showed strong rank-and-file support for unity; at the C. C. L. convention there was an unsuccessful move to take back the unions—U. E., Mine-Mill, etc.—which had been expelled after their expulsion from the C. I. O. Merger would be welcomed in Canada by most organized-labor groups, but it would not automatically solve the fundamental problem of how Canadian and American workers can pool their economic strength while remaining autonomous and free to formulate their own policies on national issues.

A number of controversial issues would have to be faced immediately by a unified Canadian labor congress. While the T. L. C. has followed the traditional non-partisan pressure-group line of the A. F. of L., the C. C. L. has since 1943 adopted the C. C. F. party as its political arm. The new unified congress, when it is formed, will have to decide whether it is to be politically non-partisan, support the C. C. F., or—a remote possibility at the federal level—favor a new third party. The tradition of non-partisan action cannot be imposed. There have been many expressions of discontent with the opportunism and lack of principle which mark pressure-group activity. Furthermore, if unemployment continues to grow in Canada as rapidly as it has grown in the recent past, the unions will have to make effective political demands for a comprehensive full-employment program. In several industries, such as textiles and electrical goods, severe competition from American producers has directed attention toward tariff controls and import quotas as ameliorative measures. The internationals have found it difficult to urge such policies since they conflict with the national interests of their American membership.

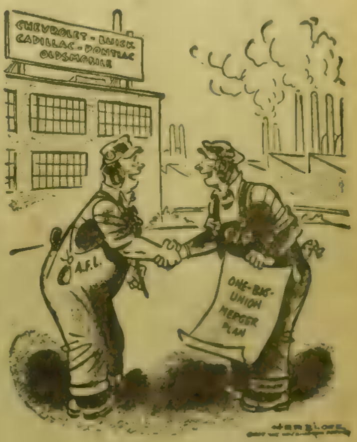
The St. Lawrence Seaway is another contentious issue. The A. F. of L. has come out in opposition to the project; its internationals in Montreal have been silent in the general debate on the subject. Cooperation in political action at the federal level with such independent groups as the Catholic Confederation of Labor will also have to be considered.

A UNITED labor movement will be hardest to achieve in the province of Quebec. There are three important labor bodies in Quebec—the Quebec Federation of Labor (T. L. C.—A. F. of L.) with 200,000 members, the Quebec Federation of Industrial Unions (C. C. L.—C. I. O.) with 40,000, and the independent Catholic Confederation of Labor with slightly more than 100,000. In the past few years the C. C. L.—C. I. O. has engaged in joint political and educational activity with the Catholic Confederation. The T. L. C., on the other hand, has been outspoken in its hostility to the Catholic Confederation. In the fall of 1954 an extensive strike of plumbers in both A. F. of L. and Catholic syndicates was disrupted by the Washington office of the A. F. of L. Plumbers, which ordered the strikers to go back to work across a picket line set up by the Catholic syndicates. The order was backed by a threat to withhold strike pay. Many of the A. F. of L. unions settled separately under the "conciliatory" auspices of the provincial Premier, although there was to have been a joint settlement with the Catholic unions. The latter learned of the A. F. of L. action from the press.

The political differences between the T. L. C. and the C. C. L. are much sharper in Quebec than elsewhere in Canada. The conflict has been manifested especially in the relations of the two groups with the provincial government. The joint demonstration of the C. C. L. and the Catholic syndicates against Duplessis' recent anti-labor legislation was repudiated by the provincial T. L. C. The C. C. L. this year was denied a representative on the Quebec Labor Relations Board, although the appointment had been promised by Duplessis himself in 1950. The Premier stated that a labor body which was engaged in fighting the "padlock" law—an anti-Communist bill sponsored by the Duplessis government at present *sub judice* in the Supreme Court of Canada—could not be trusted to apply the labor laws of the province. There is, however, provision for a T. L. C. representative on the Labor Relations Board.

Further evidence of the provincial government's diverse attitude toward the two congresses has been provided by the experience of the Steelworkers in the new copper-mining area of the Gaspe. The Steelworkers have repeatedly declared that their organizers have been harassed and arrested without charge and their meetings broken up, while A. F. of L. organizers and meetings have been given the "unofficial" protection of the provincial police. A newspaper item last year stated that according to the Steelworkers a member of the provincial police had admitted that his orders were "to keep out the C. I. O. and help the other fellows."

Merger in the United States will undoubtedly be followed by similar action in Canada. The vast majority of Canadian workers desire unity, knowing that it will stimulate new organization and make possible more effective political action. Many trade-union leaders, however, in Canada as in the United States, want to preserve craft predominance and will insist on the supremacy of jurisdictional claims over all other interests of labor. These problems will be faced in both countries. In addition the united organization in Canada will have to deal with the role of Canadian labor in the continent's labor movement. The Canadian movement will then be capable of cooperating with its counterpart to the south and at the same time of expressing fully the national interests of its own membership.



"What's Good for General Motors..."

BOOKS

Words Are Not Good Enough

ROUGH WINDS OF MAY. By Nancy Hallinan. Harper and Brothers. $3.95.

THE PLACE OF JACKALS. By Ronald Hardy. Doubleday and Company. $3.50.

VIOLENT SATURDAY. By W. L. Heath. Harper and Brothers. $3.

THE TRAP. By Dan Jacobson. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.95.

By R. J. Kaufmann

PERHAPS—one thinks when reading four first novels back to back—people write nowadays because they are too articulate. These four are like many other current novels in their reverence for the ineffable, for the feelings which humble the mere speaker. They chastise prose by confronting it with the wordless urgency of poetic situations and then fall silent. They seem glad that there are some things they cannot express.

The hero of Miss Hallinan's novel is a sentimentalized "painting animal"—a kind of Sickert-cum-Cezanne called unhappily by the nickname Fatuncle. Its central character is a sixteen-year-old girl who, in the figure of the title, weathers the tempests of mid-adolescence as the book toils through England's gradual winter into the soggy but restrained spring of pristine comprehension. I suggest thus that the book is rather too long—by a third at least; the recall is total, the details cherished, everything is named only to stop where understanding awaits. I do not mean the book is not clear; it is, and it has a good basic fable of the girl modeling for her painter uncle, who behind his unromantic exterior and his tough disregard for the bourgeoisie owns a romantic purity so uncompromised as to make him a suitable teacher of the world's routine treacheries and perversions. She goes to him out of a British middle-class girlhood so repressed that her own rather heady fantasies are not even very troubling to her. Education into a sufficient insight to start maturity takes time, and is painful. The transition is fairly interesting, but the author says too much about the minor terms.

Miss Hallinan is sensitive—she sees things, hears speech, and incidentally has a keen if squeamish nose—but she is wasteful; sixteen-like, she predramatizes experience and is too tender of the recollected minutiae. She obviously admires most the bluff extra-verbal integrity of her painter hero, who says, not very thrillingly: "At about six or seven I realized I couldn't figure anything out. . . . So I gave it up. It was better not to try, but draw things on paper." There he is, fat, compulsive, sub-social, gifted and lonely—admired because he has to avoid language in his hard and skilled way. An interesting hero; like the priest-hero of "The Place of Jackals" by the young Britisher, Ronald Hardy, he has his own struggle and his own silence.

ROGET, the priest of Hardy's novel, a peasant from the grape country of southern France, goes from the cloisters to the hectic and pagan luxuriance of Indo-China, where as a non-combatant he is an irritant reminder to the moribund French garrisons on the jungle frontiers of the ordered life they are doomed to die fighting for amid the fecund irrelevance of obscene, non-Gallic, vegetable and human disorder. Roget and Colonel Lejeune, his commander, representing respectively the religious and the secular intellectual traditions of modern France, battle with cruelty and suffering almost, as it were, to save themselves from each other. It is a good struggle, seen with intelligence and power by Hardy, who can describe the smell and soul-rot of fear with memorable force. Again, the book's hero, the priest Roget, learns the wordless litany of physical courage after the pre-human threat of the jungle has overshadowed and dimmed his faith. His word—the priest's role, the *logos*—is irrelevant; only his existential courage to act reclaims him. Words are not good enough for art or faith renewed.

THE setting is different and the language clear and plain when we track back to Morgan, Alabama, to follow a small-town bank robbery through the careful, cinematic eyes of the young Arkansas novelist W. L. Heath. His book is compact, firmly plotted, and, particularly in the last half, exciting. It is at once conventional and fresh enough so that it can be expected to make a good and a successful movie. Heath traces, through the preceding three days, the converging lives of the spectators, victims, and participants in the climactic bank robbery and in doing so presents, if a little thinly, a clear cross-sectional review of a smallish Southern mill town. The book in its essential dramatic lineaments is superior to this rather wooden sociological transcript. The central character, Shelley Martin, the quietly presented heroic thwarter of the bank robbers, is the new factor in our oncoming fiction—the good man, not important, not eloquent, not defeated, full of a wordless *pietas;* the quiet family man, virtually unsentimentalized, who becomes a murderer (in justice's cause) so that life may go on. Words are not there for him to express his active feelings nor are they desired, for if he spoke them he might be compelled more firmly to remember what he momentarily became in order to do this necessary social act. Words are not good enough for art, faith, or self-abnegation.

THE last novel—really a short novella—goes even farther toward non-speech. "The Trap," by the young South African, Dan Jacobson, is a tight little parable. An Afrikaner has a dry, rocky, lonely and windswept farm. He works hard. His wife is nearly mad; they have no children. He is a good, thoughtful, wordless man who means always to treat others well. His trusted colored foreman first frames another Kaffir on the farm to prevent the discovery of his own sheep stealing and then

---

R. J. KAUFMANN is a member of the English Department of Wesleyan University.

is himself betrayed by his white accomplice. It is a hard, unadorned tale of the snuffing out of human relationships in the mean conflict of the races. When the white boss, sickened and wordless, drives his work-hardened fists into the face of the manacled Kaffir, we have the absolute image of that most awful form of futility—non-communication. Words are not good enough for art, for faith renewed, for obligatory heroism or human relations. Our hearts not our lips are silent, or at least so we read in these four first novels.

A Free Enterpriser's Story

INDUSTRIAL VOYAGE. By P. W. Litchfield. Doubleday and Company. $4.50.

By Harvey O'Connor

IN HIS autobiography Paul Litchfield, the Goodyear tire and rubber man, sketches a success-and-failure story aimed to warm the cockles of any free enterpriser's heart. Litchfield is an engaging type, and his unvarnished prose—for this is not an "as-told-to" concoction—is absorbing as he recounts how he came to make the first Goodyear automobile tire back in 1900 and how he pioneered straight-edge, non-skid, and cord tires. Litchfield revolutionized long-distance transport by the simple expedient of taking trucks and busses off hard rubber and on to pneumatics. He has but one big failure to admit—Goodyear's efforts to develop the non-rigid dirigible balloon into an instrument of mass transport, and that he blames on Harold Ickes's veto of helium gas to the Germans before World War II.

Litchfield aimed at a quality product, pressed hard to develop new techniques and products ahead of the market, expanded into New England textile mills, and planted cotton in Arizona and rubber trees in Sumatra to feed a pioneering, booming industry.

Brilliant as a production genius, Litchfield reveals the profound incomprehension of most American business giants when he gets away from his conveyor lines. A warm-hearted man who wanted to do the fair thing by his employees, he set up a labor department "to act as the representative of the men" and was called a "socialist" by some of his competitors. He was astounded in 1913 when the I. W. W. tied up Akron, not to better wages and conditions but "to seize power." The Wobbly chieftain referred to as Bill Hayward was met at the Akron railroad station by a posse of deputies organized by the rector of Litchfield's church and told to go back where he came from.

After World War I, Litchfield figured that "it might work out better if the men elected their own representatives," and so the Goodyear Industrial Assembly was created, its actions subject only to the veto of the plant manager and the board of directors. To his regret this was outlawed by the Wagner Labor Relations Act.

For the other side of Litchfield's labor policy, one needs to consult the hearings of the La Follette Committee (pp. 2939 ff. and 6453 ff.). When summoned to explain the Goodyear spy system, Litchfield through his lawyers first pleaded illness, although he was well enough to address a meeting of New York industrialists. Secondly, his lawyers pleaded that he knew nothing of the undercover network that screened his plants. When that failed, they frankly confessed that Litchfield's reputation as a humanitarian employer would be ruined and a fine old gentleman would be publicly humiliated. Senator La Follette answered: "If he's been humiliating his workmen with espionage for twenty years, he deserves his day in court to explain." Litchfield got it, whether he wanted it or not, but declined to remain to hear his employees offer their own version of what went on deep in the Goodyear plants.

Litchfield pens a full chapter on how unionism is the school for com-

---

HARVEY O'CONNOR is the author of "Mellon's Millions," "The Guggenheims," "The Astors," "A History of the Oil Workers International Union," and "The Empire of Oil," to be published next fall.

Soviet Civilization

by **Corliss Lamont**

Second Edition — New and Enlarged — Just Published

With an Epilogue by Dr. Lamont, summarizing Soviet developments during the past two years; and with an introduction by James Aronson, noted journalist.

EVENTS IN RUSSIA have moved with startling rapidity in the more than two years since *Soviet Civilization* first offered Americans a lucid, multi-sided account of the Soviet Union.

Now, in this enlarged edition, Dr. Lamont brings his extensive knowledge and unhampered insight to bear on what Soviet developments portend for Americans.

Is no-existence the only alternative to co-existence? How much has Soviet policy changed and is American policy keeping pace? What role is Russia playing in international relations?

Among the Timely Topics

Evaluating Soviet Russia • Soviet National and Racial Minorities • Soviet Russia and Religion • Contrasts between Soviet Socialism and Fascism • Soviet Foreign Policy • Co-existence or No-existence • Atomic Energy for Peaceful Use

Comments on the first edition of this monumental work

"His reputation for intellectual integrity ought to be enough to earn him a hearing." —Charlotte, N. C., News

"If this book were read by ten million Americans it could have a profound influence on the shape of human destiny." —Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild

"Most shocking and stimulating is the sub-chapter 'Incitements to War against the USSR' which contains well-documented evidence of the American attitude—both public and private—against the Soviet Union." —Durham, N. C., Herald

480 pages . . . $5.00

PHILOSOPHICAL LIBRARY, Publishers 15 E. 40 St., Desk N, N. Y. 16

munism and has won too much control over the lives of workers—a dreary mess of homilies when his own story of how Goodyear managed to achieve coexistence with the United Rubber Workers might have made fascinating reading.

Litchfield didn't know what hit him when the depression of 1920-21 struck. The bankers moved in, the Seiberlings moved out, and Litchfield barely survived. That was enough, of course, for he moved up to the presidency in 1926 and then freed Goodyear of banker control. Once again depression hit in the 1930's; Litchfield's explanation is that people forgot "the age-old principles of thrift and saving for a rainy day." Hoover had the answer but wasn't permitted to work it out. Instead, there came a decade of "socialism" infiltrated by communism. Litchfield concludes, with Thomas Jefferson, that that government is best which governs least, a maxim to the liking of economic royalists.

"Industrial Voyage" is a first-rate book so long as its author sticks to what he knows—rubber; otherwise platitudinous.

New Books in Brief

Shouting Contest

ECONOMICS AND THE ART OF CONTROVERSY. By John K. Galbraith. Rutgers. $2.50.

The gist of this little book's argument is that controversy over economic questions in America has become largely a shouting contest between Tweedledee and Tweedledum. On such topics as the coexistence of organized labor and private enterprise, government responsibility for economic stability, and the present leaning toward the welfare state, Professor Galbraith declares: "The political parties have come to share the same strategic goals and to divide only on tactics." True; all too true. But whether this reflects harmony or paralysis, enlightenment or stultification, we are not told. A more important question, also left unexamined, concerns the context in which the substance of argument has diminished, though the sound may continue. That context has been the years since 1941—years encompassing war, post-war, and cold-war stimuli to the economy, and, politically, years placing sharp penalties on those who would dissent from the middle view, those on the left, that is. Has anyone ever denied that such years bring health to a capitalist economy and a relative absence of internecine warfare? Professor Galbraith, as a well-trained economist, might more profitably have spent his and our time in estimating the likelihood that high levels of employment can be maintained with a significant slackening of armaments expenditures. He might have asked himself, and informed us, what meaning should be attached to the recent spate of "right-to-work" bills; what different meaning might be given to the Taft-Hartley Act in a period of unemployment. He might have allowed his eyes to wander beyond our borders. He might, then, have written an important book.

The Maclean Mystery

THE MISSING MACLEANS. By Geoffrey Hoare. Viking. $3.75.

If we assume—what is probable—that Donald Maclean disappeared into Russian custody in June, 1951, and that his wife and three children followed him in September, 1953, a number of questions crowd forward. Was Maclean a Soviet spy in the British foreign service? Did he flee to Russia or was he summoned? Did he take Guy Burgess with him, or did Burgess take him? What tempted Melinda Maclean to follow? Where are they now?

Geoffrey Hoare answers none of these questions. He simply offers an orderly recapitulation of what the newspapers printed when the flights were news. It is a thin tale, for British officialdom has not been forthcoming.

In his travels as correspondent for the *News-Chronicle*, Hoare ran into the couple several times and became fairly chummy with them. His attempt to make them seem attractive and important people does credit to his loyalty, but he is not persuasive. He says, offering little evidence, that Maclean was a junior diplomat of almost unlimited promise. What he reveals is a bright and petulant young man who took disastrously to drink as relief from the burden of homosexuality and his dissatisfaction with Anglo-American foreign policy. Melinda Maclean was an over-indulged American girl who enrolled at the Sorbonne as an excuse for living in Paris and married her fascinating Englishman in an emotional flare-up during the invasion of France. She was herself planning a divorce at the time she disappeared.

Why she followed her husband is the crowning enigma of their case. Hoare offers some amateur psychological hypotheses which cannot be proved or disproved. It is irritating to follow him for 250 pages to the conclusion that the Maclean mystery is thoroughly baffling.

Unorthodox Archaeologist

MAN ON EARTH. By Jaquetta Hawkes. Random House. $3.75.

Jaquetta Hawkes, a Cambridge-trained archaeologist, is the author of several unorthodox books on the periphery of her specialty. None is more unorthodox than this sketch of evolution as seen by a rebel against the usual assumption that the whole process has been blind, mechanical, and determined by the laws of a physical universe. Biologists have tended to dismiss as "mere literature" the heretical tradition to which Darwin's own coworker, Wallace, gave some support and which has been kept alive by Bergson, Samuel Butler, and Bernard Shaw, but there have been recent signs that even some biologists are not quite so sure of everything as they once were. Mrs. Hawkes goes the whole way by declaring flatly that the desire, the will, and the intelligence of the evolving organism itself contributed to the process and that consciousness, not mere survival, has been one of the ends toward which life has been struggling. There are strong poetic and mystical overtones to her writing which will infuriate still more those who will accuse her of "vitalism," "teleology," and all the other deadly sins of the positivist theology. But she lets in some fresh air where it is much needed.

Mighty Hunter

THE TEMPLE TIGER AND MORE MAN-EATERS OF KUMAON. By Jim Corbett. Oxford. $3.

More tigers, more jungle lore, and more scenes of village life, with a few leopards for good measure, by the redoubtable Colonel Corbett who for many years spent a considerable part of his time answering calls from remote communities where a tiger had adopted the reprehensible habit of killing domestic animals and men. Readers of his four previous books will know what to expect—a remarkably straightforward masculine style, a vivid picture of the hunter's technique and, often between the lines, glimpses into village life as well as into the character of an interesting man. Colonel Corbett is a sort of Kiplingesque hero without the slight air of humbug which hovers about the character as Kipling described it. He knows the jungle, he lives by a code in his dealings with natives as well as with tigers, and if he has no doubts about the white man's burden he is genuinely kindly, helpful, and generous in his dealings with "natives." This latest volume includes the stories of a charmed temple man-eater which not even Colonel Corbett ever succeeded in killing and of the Panar leopard which was credited with the death of four hundred persons before the Colonel laid it low.

Washington's Writings

THE WASHINGTON PAPERS: Basic Selections from the Public and Private Writings of George Washington. Edited by Saul K. Padover. Harper. $5.

The strong, sober, steadfast mind of George Washington is accurately mirrored in this 400-page selection from his voluminous writings. The most famous documents are all included as a matter of course, together with enough else to make the collection fresh and interesting. Farming, war, and the principles and problems of the new, experimental republic are nis subjects; he writes about them with a due sense of their importance and with a high-minded respect for himself and his reader.

Films

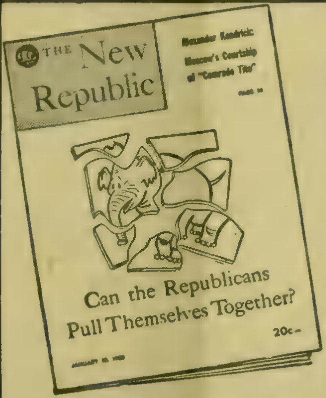
Robert Hatch

THE wide-angle screen is the most overtouted boon to mankind since chlorophyll toothpaste. Its proportions are ill adjusted to human eyesight, and a great deal of ingenuity is now being spent on finding ways to fill the awkward width without forcing moviegoers to snap their heads left and right like spectators at a tennis match.

For panoramic landscape, however, the shape is dandy, and any action that involves chases or stampedes shows up to great advantage. This new gadget may revive interest in the old-fashioned Western, and if it does it will justify all the fuss and expense of its installation. The horse opera was one of Hollywood's first inventions—there are some who argue that it is Hollywood's only invention—and the formula has never been beaten for popular entertainment.

"Man Without a Star," in which Robert Mitchum plays a drifting cowboy, is a hopeful straw in this wind. Mitchum hates barbed wire, and he is gradually wandering north from Texas toward Canada, trying to keep his high-heeled boots free of this new-fangled entanglement. But the picture tells of one time in his life when respect for honor and fair play forces him to string the stuff; also of how he teaches a green youngster to rope a calf and draw a gun, and of the unconventional wages a beautiful ranch owner (Jeanne Crain) pays him to be her foreman.

Mitchum can play a banjo, drink whiskey by the tumblerful, turn a herd of stampeding cattle, and, riding full gallop, drop a villain at a hundred yards with every shot from his Colt. He fights effectively with his hands and teeth, and both horses and women take to him on sight. Connoisseurs of the Western will not



Last Chance

. . . to get acquainted with the exciting, new

New Republic

at this half-price rate for ten issues!

New Republic • 1826 Jefferson Place, NW
Washington 6, D. C.

Yes . . . send me the next ten weeks of the New Republic. My $1 is enclosed.

NAME..

ADDRESS..

CITY..........................STATE..................

(THIS OFFER GOOD UNTIL APRIL 25)

$1

to Nation readers

IF YOU ACT NOW

Religious Advertisements Approaching Climax

Restoration of Social Justice to Belief in God necessary for Defeat of Communism.—Why is the communist movement always ATHEISTIC? Because, in the time of Marx, religious power helped to end American slavery; and the same religious power can help to end communism today. Communism is afraid of Religion. According to communistic imagination, Labor is at the mercy of privately-owned Capital, which "monopolizes" Industrial Machinery, and therefore has power to oppress and "exploit" Labor.

Labor and Capital Both Exploited by corrupt Fiscal Power.—Laboring people are forced to compete for jobs in overcrowded cities by two very unnatural conditions:—(1) Corrupt *overtaxation* of Productive Enterprise, and (2) corrupt *undertaxation* of Land. This fundamental economic and social *injustice* was begun by the machinations of British Landed Aristocrats, hundreds of years ago. Undertaxation of Land gives an artificial selling and rental "value" to Land. In this way, Land acquires unjust and dangerous power over Private Enterprise at the very moment that Private Enterprise itself is being corruptly overtaxed.

Corrupt Fiscal Power inherited from Britain.—Overtaxation of Productive Enterprise is reflected in artificially HIGH PRICE OF GOODS. And at the same time, undertaxation of Land gives Land an INFLATED PRICE, which is reflected in SOARING RENTALS. Unperceived and silent, this fundamental INJUSTICE operates at the very basis of our civilization, and must be counteracted by an aroused public opinion, leading speedily to appropriate legislation, as in New Zealand; Sydney, Australia, etc.

Churches cannot Go into Politics, but can Restore Social Justice to Religion, and Challenge Communism.—Organized religion can promote and intensify the present world-wide social awakening. It can do so by reasserting the social emphasis of the Hebrew prophets, endorsed repeatedly by Jesus. This is already being done by quite a number of clergymen and by the resolutions passed by some church organizations.

* * *

Two circulars, entitled (1) *Bulletin of Bible and Hebrew History,* and (2) *Restoration of Social Justice to Belief in God,* will be forwarded to you if you send postage in the amount of six cents, as partial coverage of mailing cost. Write clearly, or better, print name and address inside and outside your envelope. If no stamps are sent, no circulars will be forwarded.—L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, New York.

ADVERTISEMENT

approve of his offhand efficiency with the latter, or of his tendency to savage a beaten enemy, but otherwise he is the ideal lonesome cowhand come back to save the West from law, sobriety, and modern improvements. Next time I hope we may have a stagecoach and some disgruntled Sioux.

"TO PARIS WITH LOVE" enjoys the advantages of being photographed in that city and of having Alec Guinness in the cast. It largely wastes the double opportunity. The picture is a puzzle because it keeps looking as though it ought to be amusing and yet you are not amused. Something to do with the insipid dialogue, heavy-handed direction, and frightful toniness of the principal characters. It is a kind of snob's tour of gay Paree—an excursion which Guinness could have made hilarious if the script and the director had given him a chance. As it is, he plays his meager part—a wealthy Scottish lord who finds himself involved in some excessively refined naughtiness—with more thought and invention than the job is worth. You can get some satisfaction by observing how ingeniously he props up the character with small but brilliantly circumstantial incident, but it would be untrue to say that this is worth the price of admission.

THE exhibitors of "One Summer of Happiness" are saying discreetly that they offer the film for adult viewers. They have also induced an extremely respectable clergyman to indorse it. These quite unnecessary precautions are to make you suppose that the Swedish import is exceedingly heating to the blood; only the very imaginative will be troubled by that kind of discomfort. "One Summer of Happiness" is a gloomy and not very perceptive study of adolescence—my current standard for a perceptive study of the subject is "The Game of Love." There is one scene of nude bathing, photographed as always in poor light, but this episode has long been a trademark of the Scandinavian studios. Otherwise the mood is more gauche than gaudy.

The story concerns a young university student who falls into a holiday affair with a solemn country girl in a community oppressed by a pleasure-hating clergyman. A great deal is made of this preacher's puritanical bullying, but it has nothing to do with the central tragedy. The girl is killed quite by accident and arbitrarily—to make the picture "significant." The boy and girl (Folke Sundquist and Ulla Jacobsson) are attractive and look as though they could describe young love with considerable sweetness and poignancy. But they are either very inexperienced actors or stiff with overdirection.

"THREE CASES OF MURDER" is three examples of British silliness put out in one package in the hope that if you don't like one of them you may go for another. Of course, if you go for none of them, you are out of pocket. Orson Welles appears as Citizen Kane, member of Parliament, in one of these efforts—the one by Somerset Maugham, I believe—and a man named Alan Badel appears in all three. He commands a wild eye and looks like one of the damned—forced to appear forever in Grade B English thrillers.

Music

B. H. Haggin

FLAGSTAD, here on a personal visit, broke her retirement for two appearances with the Symphony of the Air and Edwin McArthur. If I were to speak only of what was to be heard at the second concert I would report that once again there was the shock, when she began to sing, of the loss in vocal beauty since the last time; then the amazement as the voice gained in luster of lower notes and power of higher ones, as it went with complete assurance wherever the phrase required it to go, and as it operated with complete flexibility in the inflections the phrasing required it to make. With all this, certainly, there was a loss since the last time: one noted that when the voice rose to a soft high note it produced that note carefully as a head tone; that climactic high notes, though astoundingly clear and powerful, were less powerful this time. Nevertheless it was true this time as last that even with what it had lost, the singing—the lustrous lower notes, the clear and powerful high ones, in the sustained phrases so exquisitely and touchingly inflected by musical feeling and taste—would have been considered remarkable if it had been done by a woman of thirty; and one heard it being done by a woman of sixty.

That brings me to what there was to see. It was five years since the concert in which I had last seen Flagstad without stage costume, make-up, and wig; and there was an additional shock from the changes in her appearance: the graying blond hair now totally gray; the head and shoulders slightly hunched together; the face shadowed and impassive. All this as she stood waiting and listening; then, when the moment came for her to sing, one saw her face amazingly become animated, transfigured by what produced the beautiful phrases one heard. And this made the occasion moving in the way Toscanini's concerts had been in recent years, when one had seen the manifestations of increasing age and then heard the manifestations of continuing great musical powers.

Nor was this the only way the occasion recalled Toscanini. I wrote once how everything he did in working with an orchestra was equal to each momentary situation but never more than equal to it, and how this economy in the operation of those extraordinary powers was a form of honesty in relation to the situation that made the performance, in addition to everything else, a moral experience which I found intensely moving. There was a similar honesty in the singing which employed the beautiful voice in the simplest, most direct way to produce a beautiful statement of the musical phrase—an honesty especially impressive to someone with Tebaldi's self-indulgent vocal manipulation still fresh in his memory. And it added a similar affecting moral beauty to the musical beauty of the unforgettable performances.

As for the orchestra, though a number of new faces were to be seen in the string sections, it played again with marvelous beauty and refinement of sonority and execution, except for some poor woodwind-playing in the opening phrases of the Prelude to "Tristan und Isolde." This was something McArthur didn't deal with as efficiently as he did with the matters of communicating his tempos to the orchestra and gearing its playing with the singing.

VANGUARD'S "Elizabethan and Jacobean Music" (Bach Guild 539) offers music and performances that make it an outstanding record. There are songs by Dowland and other composers, of which Dowland's "From Silent Night" and Parsons's "Pandolpho" are especially fine; and instrumental pieces which include Jenkins's superb Pavan and Fantasia and a charming Morley Air for viols, the engaging "My Lady Hunsdon's Puffe" for lute and Farnaby setting of a Johnson Alman for harpsichord—with Farnaby's

BOOK MANUSCRIPTS INVITED

If you are looking for a publisher, send for our free, illustrated booklet titled To the Author in Search of a Publisher. It tells how we can publish, promote and distribute your book, as we have done for hundreds of other writers All subjects considered. New authors welcomed. Write today for Booklet 103. It's free.

VANTAGE PRESS, 120 West 31 St., New York 1
In Calif.: 6253 Hollywood Blvd., Hollywood 28

To New Authors

We will publish, promote, advertise and distribute your book. We are rated officially among the largest leading publishers in the U. S. Our successful plan insures prompt publication. Manuscript reports in [illegible] week. No obligation.

Send for free Brochure [illegible] for details.

Pageant Press, Inc. 130 W. 42nd St., N.Y.

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE

Buy Your Books

through THE *Nation*

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular retail price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the retail price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D.'s outside the United States When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to

Miss O. LePach

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
333 Sixth Ave. New York 14, N. Y.

Variations on "Up Tails All" the only piece I find uninteresting. The counter-tenor of Alfred Deller is agreeable, his inflection of it beautifully sensitive; and the singing is admirably supported by Desmond Dupre's lute and, in "From Silent Night," the viols. The playing of the viols on this record is in fact the first I have ever enjoyed; and that is true also of Gustav Leonhardt's playing of the harpsichord.

Oiseau-Lyre OL-50020 offers Schutz's "Weihnachts-Historie" ("The Christmas Story") sung by German soloists and the Kantorie der Dreikoenigskirche, Frankfurt, with the Orchestra of the Collegium Musicum under Kurt Thomas. The work has lovely writing for the chorus and the solo soprano, in addition to long stretches of recitative for the tenor. In the old R. E. B. performance the soprano part was sung by Charlotte Bloecher with an exquisite purity of tone and style that is not achieved by the soprano in the new performance, who sings well but with tremulousness in her upper register. The other participants are excellent; and the performance is conducted effectively.

PUBLICATIONS

SOCIALIST BOOKS. Catalog, literature, Free. New York Labor News Company, Dept. M, 61 Cliff Street, New York 38, New York.

BRITISH BOOKS—All Subjects—direct from London to you. Bargain catalogues free. Transbooks, Box 22-N, Brooklyn 26, N. Y.

ANEURIN BEVAN states his beliefs: "In Place of Fear". 213 page cloth book, 65c. Wellington's, 346 Concord, Belmont, Mass.

OUT-OF-PRINT BOOKS. Let us find them for you. OSTER'S, Dept. C, Box 111, Times Square Station, New York 36, N. Y.

MS HITS HOME
MS
GIVE TO
MULTIPLE SCLEROSIS
c/o LOCAL POSTMASTER

Contributed By The Nation
As A Public Service

Letters

The Squeeze on Farmers

Dear Sirs: Since the end of World War II there has been a kind of spotty farm prosperity that has obscured the general trend toward a weakened farm economy. For a time the market price of hogs was about 100 per cent of parity; prices of cattle, soy beans, and potatoes have also been sporadically quite high owing to temporary shortages. Farmers who have been able to take advantage of specific favorable market situations have made out fairly well, but others are already facing depression conditions.

During the past several years the general trend has been toward lower farm prices while farm expenses have remained high. We can best visualize the squeeze on farmers if we consider two hypothetical farmers, X and Y, and look at their income-outgo picture from 1951 to 1954.

Farmer X is a small farmer who made a gross income of $7,000 in 1951 and had an expense outgo of $4,000, leaving him a net income of $3,000 for that year. In 1954 Farmer X made a gross of only $5,500, and his expenses were still $4,000 if not higher, leaving him only $1,500 net income.

Farmer Y is a middle-sized operator with a year-round hired man and with a larger investment in land and machinery. In 1951 Farmer Y made a $15,000 gross and had expenses of $9,000, leaving him a net income of $6,000 for that year. But in 1954 Farmer Y's gross income dropped to $12,000, with expenses still at $9,000, leaving him only $3,000 in net income.

These figures are fairly typical of the income-outgo picture for small and middle-sized farmers. Even in 1954 with some crops still supported at 90 per cent and with a high cash market for soy beans much of the year, the net income for farmers like X and Y was already inadequate by current American standards. It is clear that an expected 10 per cent drop in farm prices under flexible parity in 1955 will result in a net income cut of over 35 per cent for both X and Y. With the current high level of expenses under mechanized farming, it is clear that either X or Y could be thrown badly in debt if their gross income were cut in half as a result of drought, insects, or floods, as could easily happen.

Middle Western farmers are deeply conscious of the bleak future. A sense of desperation already exists in many families. At the moment, Secretary Benson is roundly hated. Last fall farm voters swung sharply to the Democratic column; but there is already disillusionment with the Democrats now that several Democratic leaders have indicated that they will wait until 1956 (election year) to try to alter Secretary Benson's flexible farm program.

The touch-and-go character of farm sentiment suggests the need for liberals everywhere to support economic equality for farmers. In return, farmers should be invited to participate in the fight for civil rights, for achieving full employment, and for other liberal goals. Liberals need to get behind an economic program for both farmers and labor to give substance to the phrase coined and forgotten by Eisenhower—"prosperity without war."

JAMES M. YOUNGDALE
Benson, Minn.

Associated Authors

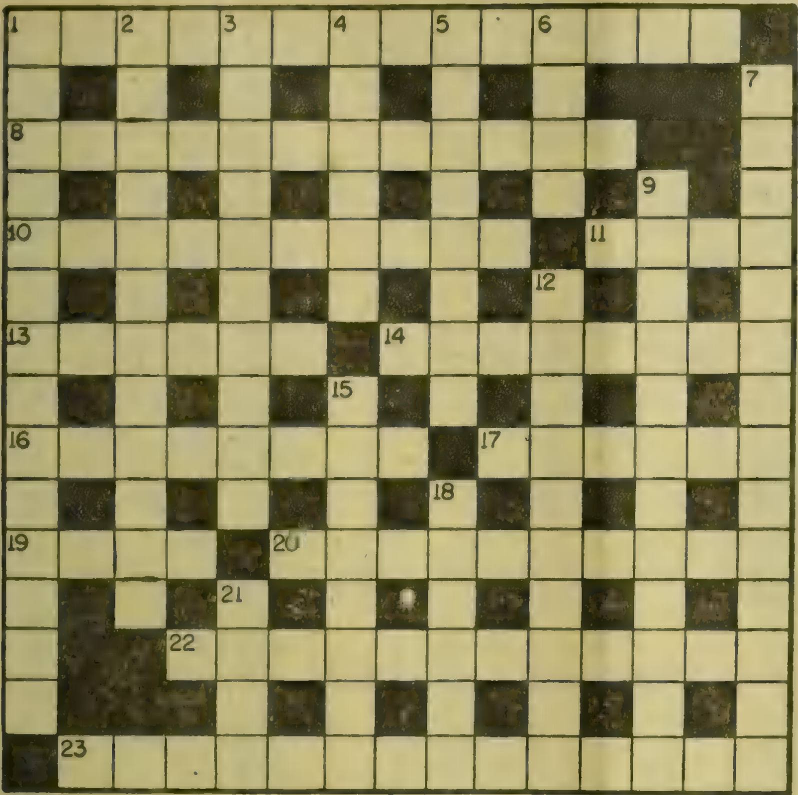
Dear Sirs: Kay Boyle's fine "Declaration for 1955" in your January 29 issue, following upon the two interesting articles by John Aldridge (October 16 and 23), deserves much thought and discussion by all who cherish literature and culture. It is certainly true that "we who write in America are in grave difficulties now"—difficulties of a moral, social, and literary nature. There are added difficulties for those of us who are "new writers" of liberal and humanist convictions. Not only do we suffer the restraints of commercialism, conformity, and thought control, but we are also effectively cut off from our audience now and—by that token—from the possibility of literary growth. If what we want to say is neither commercial nor capable of being fitted into the tight niche of "experimental" writing, we find ourselves facing quiet strangulation.

The recognition that this is more than a passing or individual experience prompted a group of young authors recently to seek a practical solution. The result was a cooperative publishing group made up of writers and book lovers, Associated Authors. Its object is to bring worth-while books to life at prices the average reader can afford and to overcome the alienation of the writer from his audience by a series of reading-out-loud events and discussions of the books prior to their publication. Inquiries may be addressed to me at P. O. Box 274, Cooper Station, New York 3.

GERDA LERNER,
New York Associated Authors

Crossword Puzzle No. 615

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 What some people put on in winter with a liver disorder? (4, 6)

8 Tax which gets mixed up with a high finish. (6, 6)

10 Does the song imply one might find the first feathering by an old one? (10)

11 Did Revere really cry to them? (4)

13 Being aware of no high sound? (6)

14 Went back on the track with a rush, when the returning vehicle is in. (8)

16 This might feel like canvas with a sort of string for holding it together. (8)

17 Such platforms must have steps. (6)

19 Zwieback. (4)

20 Ravel could have been made by this. (10)

22 A few minutes after the lover's quarrel? (6,2,4)

23 Circumflexes, perhaps. (7,7)

DOWN

1 In the old days, it would certainly be a brief candle! (4-6,4)

2 The plane's motion is erratic, but you don't have to follow it. (12)

3 Reputedly like old hickory? (10)

4 Salutation to one under the protection of Henry's wife? (6)

5 Helical. (8)

6 Liquid form of 21. (4)

7 You might accept their work as a matter of habit. (5,9)

9 Foreknowledge. (12)

12 Original trip to copy! (10)

15 It's a scheme to get royalty on board! (8)

18 Game in puzzle form. (6)

21 Vegetable form of 6. (4)

ANSWER TO 614:

ACROSS: 1 SENTRIES; 5 MIDRIB; 9 SEMITIC; 10 EGOISTS; 11 MORCEAU; 12 PRALINE; 13 HIDE-AND-GO-SEEK; 15 ACQUIRED TASTE; 21 TEA ROSE; 22 OBREGON; 23 OUTCAST; 24 APPEASE; 25 FORCES; 26 EYES LEFT. DOWN: 1 SESAME; 2 NOMARCH; 3 RETREAD; 4 ENCOURAGEMENT; 6 ILOKANO; 7 RESPITE; 8 BESPEAKS; 10 EXPEDITIONARY; 14 CASTS OFF; 16 QUARTER; 17 ISOLATE; 18 STRIPES; 19; ENGRAVE; 20 INVENT.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept. The Nation. 333 Sixth Avenue. New York 14. New York

RESORTS

50 Miles to FOREST HOUSE

Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes All sports.

FOREST HOUSE

Lake Mahopac, N. Y. ● Tel. Mahopac 8-3449

THE PINES. Modern year-round retreat for adults in the Blue Mountains of Pennsylvania Dutch Country Continental cuisine. Intimate group of congenial people. 95 miles from N. Y. C., 60 miles from Philadelphia. Write: Mrs. Ann Wunthal, Danielsville, R. D. 1. Tel.: Bath Te 7-6501.

REAL ESTATE

TAX-EXEMPT INDUSTRIAL SITES
54 Acres — Jersey City
for lease to tenants who may
erect their own tax-exempt
buildings, or we will build
20,000 to One Million square feet
for lease to acceptable tenants.
L. N. ROSENBAUM & SON
565 Fifth Ave., New York 17

AUDIO

HI FIDELITY
RADIO-PHONOGRAPH
sales, installation and service
VECTOR LABS
217 3rd Ave. ■ N. Y. C. 3 ● GR 3-7686

BOOK PLATE

UNIQUE PROJECT . . your own BOOKPLATE designed by the artist expressly for you. Write for folder. William Lauritzen, 1310 Bolton Road, Pelham Manor, N. Y.

PERSONALS

PRE-SEASON SPECIALS—Outdoor Barbecue $7.50; Insulated Bag $3.49; Saron Contour Chair $23.95; AIR CONDITIONERS! Yes! At lowest prices ever. Standard Brand Dist., 143—4th Avenue (13th & 14th Sts.), N. Y. GR 3-7819. 1 hour free parking or 2 tokens.

BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES

$70 weekly guaranteed—home, spare time. Simplified mail Bookkeeping. Immediate income — easy! Auditax, 3465ZW, Los Angeles 34.

DOCTORS . . LAWYERS . . TEACHERS . . and other *Nation* readers

Where will they spend their vacations this year?
Why not tell them about your resort in the pages of

THE NATION

RESORT CLASSIFIED DISPLAY
$7.42 per inch, one insertion
Generous discounts for multiple insertions

Write or phone today for further information.

ADVERTISING DEPARTMENT
***The* NATION**
333 SIXTH AVENUE
New York 14, N. Y.
CHelsea 2-8400

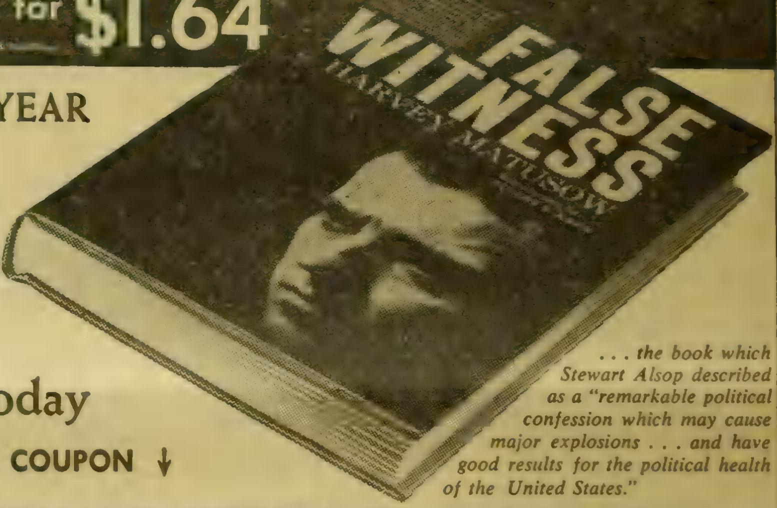
Printed in the U. S. A. by Southern Farmer, Inc., P. O. Box 509, Montgomery, Ala.

Join Liberty Book Club Now

AND GET THE MATUSOW REVELATIONS FREE

Your enrollment book PLUS False Witness—Both for $1.64

Plus 25¢ for postage & handling



FALSE WITNESS
HARVEY MATUSOW

. . . the book which Stewart Alsop described as a "remarkable political confession which may cause major explosions . . . and have good results for the political health of the United States."

SILAS TIMBERMAN
PHILOSOPHY OF PEACE

HOW TO GET 12 GOOD BOOKS A YEAR

Liberty Book Club is the only book club you can join today to obtain good books for your library, and, at the same time, influence the culture and thinking of our times. For Liberty is not just another bargain-basement book club (although you can see that it brings you substantial and valuable savings in low prices and free premium books). Our members join Liberty partly to see to it that those "dissenting, unorthodox" books (which the American Library Association says "it is in the public interest to make available"), get the wide distribution they might not otherwise get in these times.

Join Liberty Book Club Today

FILL OUT AND MAIL THE COUPON ↓

A Funeral for Sabella
ROBERT TRAVERS
THE ECSTASY OF OWEN MUIR
Jefferson in Power
B. TRAVEN
THE REBELLION OF THE HANGED
Benjamin Quarles
THE NEGRO IN THE CIVIL WAR
MY MISSION TO SPAIN
Rose and Crown

LIBERTY BOOK CLUB, 100 West 23rd Street, New York 11, N. Y.

Please enroll me in Liberty Book Club and send me as my first selection the book I have checked. Please send me FREE OF CHARGE the paper-bound edition of FALSE WITNESS by Harvey Matusow and bill me for the regular selection price of $1.64 (plus 25¢ for postage and handling). I understand that the $1.64 pays for both books.

I understand that forthcoming selections will be described to me in advance in the *Liberty Book Club News* which I will receive each month free of charge. I may decline any selection I do not want merely by returning a printed form.

My only obligation is to accept four (4) selections or alternates the first year I am a member and I may resign any time after accepting four such books.

If I am not completely satisfied I may return my first shipment within seven (7) days, and both membership and bill will be cancelled.

☐ **Silas Timberman**
☐ **My Mission to Spain**
☐ **The Ecstasy of Owen Muir**
☐ **The Philosophy of Peace**
☐ **Rose and Crown**
☐ **The Rebellion of the Hanged**
☐ **A Funeral for Sabella**
☐ **Jefferson in Power**
☐ **The Negro in the Civil War**
☐ **'Tis Folly to be Wise**
☐ **The Law of the Vultures**

NAME (please print) ....

ADDRESS ....

CITY .... ZONE STATE

L 100

THE GUARANTEED ANNUAL WAGE

BURLINGAME
PUBLIC LIBRARY
Burlingame, Calif.

THE Nation

April 23, 1955
20c

A New Socialist Program

by G. D. H. Cole

Sedition Circa 400 B.C.

by Alexander Meiklejohn

Franco Baits A Trap

by Elena de la Souchere

Creeping Security

by Harvey O'Connor

EVERY
WEEK
SINCE
1865

AROUND THE U. S. A.

Montanans Look at Their Indians

Bozeman, Montana

THE people of Montana are beginning to take notice of the Indians in the state, long a badly neglected minority group. In the first week of last November some thirty citizens organized a caravan to visit the Fort Peck Indian reservation and spent three days there as guests of the Fort Peck Tribal Council.

In April, 1954, an Institute on Indian Affairs sponsored by the state university had attracted about three hundred people, both Indian and white. In the closing session a Committee on Human Relations was set up and was charged with the responsibility, among other things, of visiting those Indian reservations which cared to receive them and observing conditions at first hand. Tribal leaders from the Fort Peck reservation were the first to issue an invitation. The committee members, after consultation with the Indians, asked experts in various fields to accompany them on the trip.

The group gathered at Poplar in the northeastern part of Montana. Poplar is at about the geographical center of the state's Indian population and is the seat of the agency. In this town of about 1,300 people the line between Indians and whites is sharply drawn. For instance, the Presbyterian Church has two buildings and two pastors—one for the whites and one for the Indians. The church justifies the existence of the Indian mission on the ground that it can better serve the needs of the Indians in this fashion; the Indians, the mission minister says, will not attend the church where the white people go.

Two tribes of Indians live on the Fort Peck reservation—the Sioux and the Assiniboine. Although closely related ethnologically and linguistically, the two tribes have never got along well since the establishment of the reservation in the 1870's. Each has resented the presence of the other. The Sioux are concentrated along the eastern boundary and the Assiniboine along the western. The reservation is eighty miles long.

THE caravan first visited the Sioux, and the members were invited to stay in the Indians' cabins that night. Most of these were mud-chinked log hovels approximately ten by fourteen feet in which sometimes as many as nine people lived. Some new homes were found, modest substantial structures with clapboard siding. Beside one of them meat was seen drying on racks—exposed to the air in the age-old Indian fashion.

After an evening's discussion with the Indian residents the group went to the Assiniboine settlement, where much the same type of life was observed. The land is potentially rich but needs water which the proposed dam on the Missouri River could provide—a project unfortunately shelved in the last session of Congress.

By the third night the visitors and the Indians were talking about common goals, but nothing concrete could be developed. A group of full-blooded older Sioux demanded the withdrawal of federal supervision over Indians with less than one-half Indian blood. The younger mixed-blood Indians felt that termination of supervision should be based on the competency of the individual rather than on the degree of blood. Thus there was conflict between the older and the younger Indians as well as between the two tribes. One elderly Assiniboine reviewed the history of the treaties and the degeneration of his people as the United States government repeatedly failed to live up to its obligations. He spoke fervently in his native tongue, stopping now and then to correct his interpreter when his thoughts were not being rendered into English to his satisfaction. Like all Indian men of his generation, he could understand and speak English but preferred to express his ideas in his own language.

On the last morning the caravan toured the oil fields north of Poplar. It was learned that but one oil well had been developed on tribal land, although various individual Indians have successful wells on their allotments.

THE caravan members came from all parts of the state and from many different occupations. Among them were the president and the dean of students at Northern Montana College, a social-science professor and four of his senior students from Montana State University (550 miles away), an assistant director of extension courses and a professor of English from Montana State College, a sanitarian and a physician from the state Board of Health, two doctors representing the Montana Medical Association, the Coordinator of Indian Affairs in the office of the state Superintendent of Public Instruction, a case worker from the Girls' Vocational School, the vice-president of the Montana Farmers Union, a Lutheran minister who acted as chairman, two business men, the area director of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the associate editor of the *People's Voice*, Montana's labor newspaper.

An executive committee has been appointed to meet within a short time in Helena, the state capital, to study the findings and possibly to arrive at acceptable goals and recommendations. Whether these recommendations can be carried out is only speculative. But, at least, a group of Montana citizens, largely at their own expense, spent three days in learning about a problem that has too long lain unrecognized.

VERNE DUSENBERRY

[*Verne Dusenberry, assistant professor of English at Montana State College, has made the Indians of Montana his chief interest for many years. He was adopted by the Flatheads seventeen years ago and spends part of his vacation every summer on Indian reservations.*]

VOLUME 180, NUMBER 117
NEW YORK, SATURDAY, APRIL 23, 1955

THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

The Guaranteed Annual Wage

THE YEAR 1955 is likely to be known in labor annals as the year of the guaranteed annual wage (G. A. W.). The United Automobile Workers made it a principal demand as they started contract negotiations with General Motors and Ford early this month. To the U. A. W. leadership, the guaranteed wage is "gospel and dogma," the union's major new demand. If granted by either of the two giant automobile firms, it is almost certain to be conceded on an industry-wide basis and may then spread to other industries. But opposition to the plan, reports the *Journal of Commerce,* has "crystallized among top management," a statement borne out by the recent comment of Lemuel R. Boulware, General Electric's voluble vice-president and tough labor-relations chief, that labor "couldn't be barking up an emptier tree."

The U. A. W. plan consists of two parts. The first provides for a guarantee of forty hours' pay for every worker for each week he is called to work. This safeguard against irregular employment was won by the packing-house workers some years ago and by the auto workers in a recent Willys contract. It has the added incidental advantage of making it impossible for an employer to stagger part-time employment in a manner that safeguards his own preferred merit-rating for payroll-tax purposes while disqualifying workers from receiving unemployment compensation.

The second part of the plan, dealing with the G. A. W. as such, guarantees each employee with seniority the equivalent of his full-time weekly take-home pay for a period equal to half the total number of weeks he has been on the company's payroll. The guarantee is limited to one year. Since initial seniority status under U. A. W. contracts is acquired after three-months work within a period of six months, the plan would cover virtually the entire personnel covered by the contract. Employees who have been on the payroll for one year would be guaranteed against loss of income for six months; those who have been on the payroll for two years or more would be assured of their income for a full year.

The plan, carefully drawn up to cover all kinds of contingencies, is extremely complicated. *The Nation* will bring its readers a detailed analysis of it in an early issue; here only a few of its major implications will be discussed. Firstly, it is obvious that an employer would rather pay a worker for working than for not working; the pressure will be on him, therefore, to spread his production schedule in such fashion as to avoid wholesale layoffs. Secondly, specific provisions give the employer a direct stake in the unemployment-compensation problem which today only labor has. The plan implies that the laid-off worker's guaranteed income will be comprised of two elements: his unemployment compensation plus the guaranteed-wage contribution from the employer. Together these payments must equal the full weekly take-home pay of the worker at the time he was laid off. It is clear, therefore, that the larger the unemployment compensation, the smaller will be the employer's contribution, a fact which may incline the employer toward more liberal and better administered unemployment-compensation systems. The worker, too, would favor the largest possible percentage of his guaranteed wage to be in the form of unemployment compensation. Wages are taxable; compensation is not.

Under the plan, the laid-off employee must accept other work if available, in which case he is entitled only to the difference between the weekly wage from his new job and the amount of his guaranteed wage. The whole plan would be administered by a joint board, headed by an impartial chairman, which would establish its own standards of "suitable" employment and would adjudicate disputes "without regard to any standard that may be provided in state-unemployment compensation laws"—a commentary on the extent to which labor feels aggrieved by the present administration of these laws.

THERE is nothing new about guaranteed-wage plans, which were quite common in the 1920's. But labor's experience with early versions was not altogether happy. Some were used to thwart unionizing drives; others were used as "bait" for the speed-up; still others weakened unions by creating rifts among the workers. Low-seniority employees often felt they were being denied wage increases in return for a guarantee which applied only to high-seniority personnel. High-seniority workers, in turn, often felt that they were denied wage increases because of a guarantee which they might never need. Certain "traditional" plans which have been in operation for some years—such as those at Proctor and Gamble, George A. Hormel, and Nunn-Bush Shoe Company—have been sponsored mostly by firms making consumer staples which are less vulnerable to seasonable variations and depressions than the automobile and

In This Issue

EDITORIALS:

The Guaranteed Annual Wage 337
The Shape of Things 339

ARTICLES

Washington in Focus
by **Max Freedman** 340

Franco Baits a Trap:
The "Monarchist" Trick
by **Elena de la Souchere** 341

Walter White:
A Coworker's Tribute
by **Henry Lee Moon** 343

A New Socialist Program:
Why the Old Has Failed
by **G. D. H. Cole** 344

Creeping Security:
A Report by Savants
by **Harvey O'Connor** 347

BOOKS

Sedition Circa 400 B.C.
by **Alexander Meiklejohn** 349

Readable but Incomplete
by **Mark Gayn** 352

Selected New Books:
European Politics
by **Frederick L. Schuman** 353

About Asia
by **O. Edmund Clubb** 353

THEATER by **Robert Hatch** 354

RECORDS by **B. H. Haggin** 355

LETTERS 356

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 616
by **Frank W. Lewis** opposite 356

AROUND THE U. S. A.

Montanans Look at Their Indians
by **Verne Dusenberry** opposite 337

Editorial Board

Freda Kirchwey — Editor and Publisher
Carey McWilliams — Editorial Director
Lillie Shultz — Director, Nation Associates
Victor H. Bernstein — Managing Editor
J. Alvarez del Vayo — Foreign Editor

Martin Solow — Assistant to the Publisher

Harold Clurman — Theater
B. H. Haggin — Music
Robert Hatch — Films
Gladys Whiteside — Copy Editor
Caroline Whiting — Assistant Literary Editor
Alfred Maund — Editorial Assistant
Mary Simon — Advertising Manager

Contributing Editors: Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus, Keith Hutchison, H. H. Wilson, W. Macmahon Ball, Maxwell Geismar, Bruce Catton.

The Nation, April 23, 1955, Volume 180, No. 17

The Nation, published weekly by The Nation Company and copyright, 1955, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879 at the Post Office of New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879. Reentered as second class matter at the Post Office, Montgomery, Alabama Printing Office 1603 Reuben Street.

Subscription Prices Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12, Three years $17 Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1. **Change of Address:** Three weeks' notice is required for change of address which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs, Information Service, Dramatic Index.

steel industries. With the growth of unions in the 1930's, many guaranteed-wage plans were either abandoned or rejected by organized labor.

From this experience it is clear that any G. A. W., if it is to serve labor's interests, must meet certain specifications. It must be incorporated in a firm contractual guarantee enforceable by a strong, independent union. It must guarantee substantially full weekly wages. It must cover substantially all the labor forces involved, lest it create divisions within the union. It must also be based upon contractual rights to job security with adequate provision for their enforcement. By and large, the U. A. W.'s plan meets these requirements.

THE CRUX of the practicability of a sound G. A. W. is the ability of the paymaster to withstand a depression, particularly in sensitive industries such as automobiles. A study made by Murray W. Latimer in 1947 showed that, at a cost of approximately 7.5 per cent of their actual payrolls, automobile manufacturers could have guaranteed about 95 per cent of the full-time earnings of all their workers during the recession years 1937-1941. The U. A. W. plan proposes to limit liability for the employer to a percentage of the payroll sufficient to cover current obligations for guaranteed wages and to build up a reserve fund. The percentage is not stipulated in the plan but is left subject to negotiation. Business circles estimate that the employer's initial contribution would be from 7 to 12 cents an hour per employee.

Obviously the successful operation of a guaranteed-wage plan is best assured if it can be introduced at the inception of a reasonably long period of steady employment. The working force could then acquire full rights and a reserve fund be accumulated. On the other hand, it is likely that only when serious unemployment threatens will union members be prepared to back up a demand for the G. A. W. by strike action, if necessary. These considerations suggest that the U. A. W. is raising its demand at a difficult time. In the face of estimated sales of 6,000,000 car this year—the estimate was made by G. M.'s president—the auto industry has been producing cars since January first at a rate which, if maintained, will exceed 8,000,000 for the year. The industry is apparently building up large inventories as a hedge against prolonged union negotiations. In any case, it looks as if production will drop by one-fourth or one-half for the last six months of 1955. Any reasonable employer contribution to a G. A. W. which started during a period of relatively low production would be inadequate to maintain full guaranteed payments, unless a substantial reserve were set up in advance or standard work-hours reduced. Under these circumstances it is possible that the union may be put under strong pressure to settle for a G. A. W. plan that would not embody the safeguards that past experience has shown to be advisable.

Interest in the G. A. W. has been building up for a long time, stimulated by many factors. Sensational reports on the short-run effects of automation have disturbed labor; the International Union of Electric Workers-C. I. O. estimates that 110,000 workers in the electrical industry lost their jobs in the twenty-one months ending last November 30 primarily because of the increased use of automatic equipment. There has been a serious decline in the ratio of unemployment benefits to wages; the average worker who loses his job today receives only 30 per cent of his weekly wages as unemployment compensation and even these benefits are exhausted in nineteen weeks. Linked to automation and other improvements in production techniques is labor's growing dissatisfaction with so-called "productivity" increases. According to Dr. Seymour E. Harris, the average cutback in man-hours in the period 1923-1949 was twice as great for production-line workers as it was for all other jobs. Basically the U. A. W.'s insistence on the guaranteed wage foreshadows a determination in planning an orderly schedule of production. In terms of human welfare, there is really no answer to the production-line workers' contention that what's good for Harlow Curtice, and the business-office force, is also good for him.

YET it would appear that the shorter work week, rather than G. A. W., is the direct answer to automation short of a constantly stepped-up production. Shorter hours provide employment for more people; guaranteed wages protect employe earnings but do not create jobs. Indeed it may be argued that automation is more of a threat to G. A. W. than the guaranteed wage is a safeguard against the ill effects of automation. The A. F. of L. has generally favored the shorter work week over G. A. W. as a remedy for unemployment. But early in February the Railway Employees Department decided to sponsor a demand for G. A. W. and George Meany, president of the A. F. of L., has endorsed it, a circumstance which should strengthen the U. A. W.'s bargaining position. None of this excludes early demands for a shorter work week, to which the auto workers themselves give a priority second only to G. A. W. It is possible that the U. A. W., if it cannot get a guaranteed-wage plan with proper safeguards, may decide to throw its weight behind the alternative.

Regardless of the outcome of the current negotiations, the demand for G. A. W. is the most important item on labor's agenda at the moment. Despite persistent rumors that U. A. W. has a "prearranged agreement to agree" with the Ford Motor Company—an agreement which might force General Motors into line—the build-up in employer resistance indicates that a battle is developing which could have important consequences for the economy and lead, as Doris Fleeson has suggested to a "political revolution of sorts" in 1956.

The Shape of Things

The Death of Einstein

With the death of Albert Einstein, all of us have died a little, for he represented what is noblest in the human mind and spirit. It is a supreme irony that this man of saintly impulse, who sought to unlock the universe for the betterment of mankind, should have succeeded in unlocking the atom for what could be mankind's destruction. He dedicated the last years of his life to averting this catastrophe, and, man willing, it will yet be averted. He left us a key which opens two doors; ours is the choice.

The Nation will bring to its readers an appreciation of Einstein, the man and his work, in an early issue.

The "Deed" We Wanted?

Although the Soviet government has at last performed the "deed"—the exact deed—that President Eisenhower called for as an earnest of its genuine desire to end the cold war, nobody seems very happy about it except the Austrians. The treaty terms Chancellor Raab brought home from Moscow are more generous at almost every point than Austria and the West expected and were ready to accept—even including the demand for Austrian neutrality. But Western officials are moody and skeptical. Having got what they said they wanted, they now show alarm over the motives behind Moscow's unwelcome compliance. They suggest that Russia's proposal to restore Austrian sovereignty, pull out the Occupation armies, release war prisoners, and scale down economic demands in return for a guaranty that Austria "will not join any military alliances or permit military bases on her territory" is nothing but a maneuver aimed at the Germans. That it has this purpose can hardly be doubted. For West Germany, still basically unreconciled to rearmament and division, is reacting with enthusiasm; opposition forces, especially the Socialists, are already demanding a deal as attractive as that which Dr. Raab has accepted and which the West, if no booby-traps are later discovered, will also have to accept.

Indeed the Vienna-Moscow agreement is a sharp challenge to the whole policy embodied in the Paris treaties—and a threat to the Adenauer government. In one brilliant maneuver Russia has confounded Washington's strategic concept of diplomacy "through strength"—with Germany the chief focus of European military might.

But to those who have passionately looked for a crack in the East-West deadlock, the proposed treaty offers new hope. Not only does it strengthen resistance to a rearmed Germany in the Western alliance. It also revives the idea of a tier of neutral democratic nations, reaching from Sweden to the Alps, as a barrier to hot war in Europe.

Failure of a Policy

The State Department hailed the Iraqi-Turkish pact as a triumph of American policy in the Middle East; in fact it was a proof of failure. Mr. Dulles's objective from the start has been to unify the Arabs in a pro-West alliance. But the pact has split the Arabs instead of uniting them. Because of it Egypt, furious with Iraq, is shepherding Syria and Saudia Arabia into a new bloc neutralist in everything except enmity for Israel and Turkish-Syrian relations are at a new low ebb. India, already irritated by Western aid to Pakistan and the SEATO pact, has been pushed farther into the opposition camp. We are boasting of a policy which divides not our enemies but our potential friends.

What else can we boast about in the Middle East? Peace? There is probably more bloodletting, in proportion to populations involved, along the Arab-Israel borders than in the Formosa Strait. Justice for peoples? Ambassador Abba Eban, Israel's representative at the U. N., told the Security Council on March 23:

> Egypt considers and proclaims that there is a "state of war." In the name of that "state of war" Egypt asserts a "right" to perform hostile acts of her own choice against Israel. On the other hand, Egypt claims immunity from any hostile response emanating from Israel. This is the doctrine of unilateral belligerency; and it has no parallel or precedent in the jurisprudence of nations.

On March 6 a State Department spokesman declared that Israel could not be included in any defense pact with the Arab states until tensions were resolved. But far from alleviating tensions, the West's maneuvering has simply created new ones. Turkey and India, once friendly to Israel, are rapidly becoming less so, not because of anything that Israel has done, but because Turkey is now influenced by Iraq and India is courting "neutralist" Egypt.

What we see emerging in the Middle East is not a policy but the shambles of one. We are serving neither our own strategic interests nor the interests of international morality. The only resolution to the Middle East problem has been pointed out many times in these columns: an Arab-Israel peace. The Israelis want it; the Arabs must be induced to seek it.

Washington in Focus

by Max Freedman

AFTER months of self-imposed silence, Mr. Adlai Stevenson's return to the national scene has evoked gratitude among all who cherish clarity of speech when it expresses courageous thought. It would of course have been better if Mr. Stevenson had spoken before Congress became the partner of the Administration in its Formosa policy. But the balance of forces was against him.

As presented, the Formosa resolution was designed to have the American government speak with one voice in warning the Peking government of the dangers of aggression. The leaders of the Democratic Party in Congress, regardless of their private anxieties, had decided they had no alternative but to endorse the resolution to confirm this display of national unity.

A challenge by Mr. Stevenson at that stage might easily have produced an indignant recoil in Congress and spoiled his power to influence later events.

When he pointed to the hazards of the present policy, he had on his side the second thoughts of many people who have grown more critical of the drift of American policy. One significant detail will point the contrast. When Senator Morse criticized American policy in the Formosa area and sought a clear statement of American objectives toward Quemoy and Matsu, it was possible for Senator Knowland, speaking with the evident approval of most of his colleagues, to denounce the Oregon Senator in harsh and unmeasured terms. That scene could not be repeated today. No longer is it possible to smother doubt and anxiety by an invocation of the sacred name of national unity.

Mr. Dulles made a curious comment on Mr. Stevenson's speech. He rebuked Mr. Stevenson for ignoring Nationalist China and for suggesting, according to Mr. Dulles, that the United States should publicly prod friendly governments on the necessity of a diplomatic settlement in the Formosa area. Mr. Dulles is wrong on both points. Mr. Stevenson never advocated a public arraignment of Allied policy. He has no wish to dispute the eminence of Mr. Dulles in this unfortunate art. The views he expressed on Quemoy and Matsu have won the support of most diplomats in Washington. It is probable that American deference to the wishes of the Allies would mean that the offshore islands would come under the authority of Peking. Does that mean that Formosa would be abandoned? Not in the least. Mr. Stevenson really proposed a method of gaining new members for the Formosa security pact and strengthening its effectiveness. For he argued that the Free World cannot allow Formosa to be captured by communism without sustaining an injury to its own interests and security. Once the United States heeded the advice and warnings of its allies on Quemoy and Matsu, it would be much easier for the State Department to get greater agreement on the importance of Formosa.

Besides, there are strong practical

reasons for this approach. If Chiang Kai-shek felt that his position on Formosa was being weakened beyond repair, he would almost certainly refuse to evacuate Quemoy and Matsu without fighting.

Even while concerned with the security of Formosa, just as he was eager to avoid a war that might start over Quemoy and Matsu, Mr. Stevenson succeeded in putting this whole problem in a new and helpful framework. He urged that the ultimate adjudication of Formosa's destiny should be made by the United Nations. He has thus returned to the theme first proposed by President Truman when he ordered the Seventh Fleet to protect Formosa, but lost in the shoals of later confusions. There would be a merciful abatement of anxiety in friendly governments all over the world if Mr. Dulles accepted Mr. Stevenson's advice and no longer made Formosa's future the morbid monopoly of the State Department.

Finally, Mr. Stevenson performed his greatest service in urging that American policy be determined now, calmly yet resolutely, instead of waiting for President Eisenhower to make up his mind after Communistic China has actually struck the first blow, in conditions of battle and excitement that preclude farsighted political wisdom. Confronted by a speech of such power, it was merely silly for Mr. Dulles to suggest that Mr. Stevenson was the echo of the State Department's wisdom.

UNINTENTIONAL irony marked the quarrel between Mr. Dulles and Mr. Corsi. Mr. Dulles was speaking on the tenth anniversary of Mr. Roosevelt's death. There was something squalid about this controversy conducted against the memory of a President always responsive to suffering. At the 50th anniversary of the Statute of Liberty Roosevelt praised the immigrants who came to America speaking many tongues but a single language—the universal language of human aspirations. In the splendor of this vision the puny strategems of Mr. Dulles looked peculiarly unpersuasive.

The irritated Mr. Corsi soon filled the land with his anger. But it would be a mistake to have the debate turn on the rights and wrongs of individuals. The important thing now is to tear the bigotry out of the McCarran-Walter law and get the refugee-relief act working.

ENDING the system of school segregation will not be easy. The Supreme Court always knew that, and its task looked no simpler after the arguments from the Southern states and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. But no one sensitive to justice and human dignity could have heard without shame and compassion the association's argument that the final overwhelming indictment of racial segregation is provided by the figures on Negro disease and illiteracy paraded by some of the Southern states.

FRANCO BAITS A TRAP

The "Monarchist" Trick . . *by Elena de la Souchere*

Paris

THE precariousness of the dynastic arrangement which was supposed to open an era of stability for Spain is pointed up by the crisis through which the Franco regime is now passing—the sharp opposition of the Falange and the monarchists, the unbalanced economy, the delay in carrying out the Spanish-American pact; the last, by all appearances, was the reason for the resignation of Mr. William, chief of the American economic mission in Spain. The deterioration of the economic situation and the increasing deficit in the balance of trade—which reached $100,000,000 in 1954—are forcing Franco to ask for new credits at the very time that the American government is complaining of the slowness with which work proceeds at the bases, of the supplementary payments demanded by Spanish contractors working on the Torrejon-Barajas airfield near Madrid, and of the delay in expropriating the right of way for the Saragossa-Cadiz pipeline.

Francisco Franco

Giminez Arnau, director of economic cooperation, in a speech delivered at the dinner given by the Barcelona Chamber of Commerce in honor of Mr. de Lequerica, former ambassador to Washington, underlined the insufficiency of American aid. He was answered by a State Department spokesman who said that the Iberian bases had lost some of their strategic importance since the pact was signed. Similar charges and counter-charges were made in the course of the negotiations which preceded the conclusion of the pact, but the American government was not deterred from its purpose. And certainly it has today no intention of giving up its Iberian jumping-off platforms.

While during the negotiations the

ELENA de la SOUCHERE is on the staff of the Paris **Observateur.**

lessened value of the bases was emphasized by the United States for bargaining purposes, the reappearance of the same argument today is a sign of serious disagreement. The anxiety of the Franco government is clear from the effort it is making to meet the most definite of the American demands by declaring the construction of the bases to be a work of "urgent necessity and of public utility." At a recent ministerial council the leaders of the regime admitted that the military problems posed by the application of the pact were easier to resolve than the economic. In fact, the most serious disputes between Madrid and Washington have arisen over economic issues. The position of the United States challenges the very nature of the planned Franco economy. It is not surprising, therefore, that Spanish-American relations have become more tense since the recent dynastic arrangement, which, far from setting Spain on the road toward a progressive "liberalization," is today thought of in Madrid as a way of perpetuating under a new label the totalitarian rule of the Falange.

THE economic-liberalization clauses included in the pact with a view to developing Spanish-American economic cooperation conform to the desires of Spanish business men. Business interests are trying to impose a policy of deflation and massive economies, which implies curbing Falangist activities and contracting the bureaucratic apparatus. Spanish and American firms have joined in a campaign to throw off the control exercised over industry by the National Institute of Industry, a Falangist agency having the right to authorize or prohibit the opening of new enterprises, to stabilize the peseta, and to abolish the multiple exchanges. Spanish and American business men are also seeking restoration of the right to engage freely in foreign trade, today controlled by the Spanish Institute of the Mint, and repeal of the law limiting private American investments in Spain to 25 per cent of the whole.

So far Franco has refused to yield to these demands. Apparently he intends to retain intact the framework of the Falange, which extends into every group of the population. And he knows that the loyalty of the organization depends on the economic privileges granted to its members. No privileges, no faithful adherents of the regime.

Losing hope of converting the Caudillo to their economic views, Spanish business circles tried to exert pressure on him by working for the restoration of the monarchy. By complying in principle and promising to bring back the monarchy in the distant future Franco has deprived them of a weapon and a banner. At the same time he has created the impression abroad that the regime is undergoing a "normalization" which should facilitate the entry of Spain into international organizations.

The projected restoration does not immediately endanger the personal power of the Caudillo since the official proclamation of Don Juan Carlos as his successor will not take place until the young prince has completed his studies, at least six years. This maneuver was favored by the Pretender. Divided between his desire to sweep away the barrier to the throne represented by Franco and his fear of dealing the regime blows which, in the present state of opinion, might open the way to a left republicanism, Don Juan hastened to accept a compromise which, at the price of his personal effacement, assured the recognition of the monarchist principle and of the Bourbon dynasty. In placing the monarchy under the aegis of the dictator, however, he is running the risk of alienating not only the masses—largely Republican in any case—but also the capitalists.

IT IS becoming clear that the monarchist solution put forward by a coalition of business interests to insure the repudiation of *dirigisme* is simply a new label on the unchanged nature of the regime. This is evident from the statement made by the Caudillo to the Falangist daily *Arriba* on the day after the arrival of the young prince in Spain. "The monarchy to be set up in our country," Franco said, "should not be confused with the kind of liberal and parliamentary monarchy which we have discarded. . . . The purpose of the restoration is to assure the continuation of our work."

The daily *ABC,* organ of the monarchists, has been forced to condemn the English type of liberal monarchy. "We reject," it said, "universal suffrage and its corollary—a sterile parliament." A National Radio broadcast also announced that the eventual restoration would not "modify the regime or alter the constant lines of its policy." In a second interview given to *Arriba* the Caudillo reiterated that the identification of the future king with the "national movement," which was the indispensable condition of his return, would "assure the continuity of the regime."

These statements are in part designed to allay the anxiety of the Falange. The reality of this anxiety is proved by the proposal to confer on the statute of the Falange the character of a "fundamental law" and thereby guarantee the structure of the party and the security of its members. Various incidents have revealed the Falange's attitude. Cries of "Death to the King!" resounded during a recent ceremony organized by the Falangist union of students to commemorate the death of their founder, Matias Montero. The head of the national university union, Jorge Jordana, resigned in protest against the projected restoration.

But only a small minority of the party shows open dissatisfaction. Franco has declared his fidelity to the Falangist principles and confirmed it by his acts. He has just increased by fifty members the number of Falangist representatives in the Cortes. He informed the preceptor of the prince that the prince would not be permitted to attend public events—races, matches, and so on — except at the side of the Caudillo, lest there be manifestations of monarchist fervor. An indirect fine of 2,000,000 pesetas was recently imposed on the monarchist *ABC* by withdrawing its supply of newsprint at the preferential price granted to the press.

Moreover, the government has so far refused to examine the demand for a review of the Madrid municipal elections made by monarchist candidates defeated as a result of fraud and violence. Hand-written copies of this demand for review are circulating secretly in Madrid. It asserts among other things that the Marquis de la Rambla, a severely wounded veteran of the Blue Division, was beaten up in the middle of the Gran Via under the eyes of impassive policemen.

Even more severe repression is practiced against Republicans. Only a few weeks ago the public learned of the assassination of the former mayor of Blanes, Catalonia. This Republican of the old school was one of those exiles who trusted in the Franco amnesty. He returned to Spain and was at once arrested. A short time afterward he was beaten to death by his guards under the pretext that he was attempting to escape.

Violence remains the law of the regime. The repressive legislation enacted at the close of the civil war is still in force and permits arrests without warrant, long imprisonment without appearance before a magistrate, interrogations without the presence of a lawyer, and the use of torture. Sixteen persons accused of reorganizing a Masonic lodge in Catalonia were recently condemned by a special military tribunal to imprisonment of from twelve to twenty years. All protests against these arbitrary acts are paralyzed by the severe laws dealing with meetings, associations, and the press.

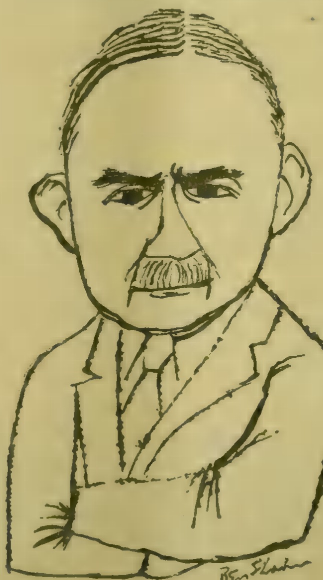
Franco spoke the simple truth in a recent interview published by *Arriba:* "Our thought is that there must not be any change." In Franco Spain nothing changes. It is possible, nevertheless, that the lying monarchist label pasted over the unchanged realities of the regime will bring about Spain's entry into the U. N. It is possible that speeding up the construction of the bases will help Franco to obtain new credits from the United States. But effective foreign aid and a true economic renovation would require the abolition of the Falangist system, and the Falange provides the apparatus of control through which Franco keeps in check the reformist push of the masses.

WALTER WHITE

A Coworker's Tribute . . *by Henry Lee Moon*

WALTER WHITE was my friend. But he was also the friend of all humankind. His great passion and motivating force was this love of people—of whatever race, color, religion, class, or national origin. It made it easy for him to win friends for himself and for the cause he represented through his long years of leadership of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

I first met Walter White at the association's tenth annual conference in my home city of Cleveland in June, 1919. The leaders of the ten-year-old N. A. A. C. P. were all present—Mary White Ovington, W. E. B. DuBois, Joel Spingarn, William Pickens, James Weldon Johnson and his blond young assistant, Walter White of Atlanta, who had joined the N. A. A. C. P. staff the previous year. I had just been graduated from high school and was attending the sessions with my father, a founder and the first president of the association's Cleveland branch. For me it was an unforgettable experience—all the heroes of my youth were there.



Walter White

Only twenty-five years old, Walter was gay, witty, and debonair. Already his daring exploits as an investigator of lynchings had won him a special niche in the hearts of those trying to wipe out this gruesome crime. He was regarded as a sort of modern-day St. George battling the dragons of lynch law and white supremacy.

I saw him last on the day of his death, March 21. He had come into the office for the first time since his return from a month's rest in Puerto Rico and Haiti. Dr. Channing H. Tobias, chairman of the N. A. A. C. P. board, and a few staff members had gathered to welcome him and to be regaled with stories of his trip. He looked well and was in good spirits. It was a chill, rainy day, but in Walter's office were warmth and camaraderie. We were all pleased to see how well he seemed. I was finishing dinner at home when I answered the telephone to hear the words: "Walter White has just died."

PARADOXICALLY, Walter White, who liked people and wanted to be liked by them, was constantly at the center of conflict, a spot he thoroughly enjoyed when the conflict raged around the cause dearest to his heart—the status of the Negro in American life. In this conflict he was a leader who never hesitated to expose himself to enemy fire, physical as well as verbal. He was always eager to take on all comers in de-

---

HENRY LEE MOON is director of public relations for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

bate, and many times in his early years of investigating and exposing mob violence his life was in real danger. No sacrifice was too great for him if it furthered this cause. Caution and selfishness were alien to him.

He could not be restrained. He worked at his job constantly. He conferred with leaders of government, of industry, and of organized labor in an unceasing campaign to level racial barriers. Wherever the fight for civil rights was going on, there would be Walter. At the first indication of trouble he was on his way to the scene: to Mims, Florida, where the N. A. A. C. P. state leader, Harry T. Moore, and his wife were assassinated by a bomb exploded in their home on Christmas night, 1951; to Cicero, Illinois, when hoodlums wrecked the apartment of Harvey Clark; to many a Southern lynch town. He was in San Francisco for the founding of the United Nations. He regularly attended national conventions of the Republicans and Democrats, seeking inclusion of meaningful civil-rights planks in their party platforms.

For seven years I worked closely with Walter White, occupying an office adjacent to his. They were busy years, for he believed in keeping the staff working at his own killing pace. We have a five-day week at the N. A. A. C. P., but this meant nothing to Walter when there was a job to be done. And in an organization like ours there is always need for action.

Walter was constantly on the aggressive, attacking the forces of bigotry with zest, courage, and imagination. He never acknowledged defeat. Even after a seeming failure he would bounce back, eager to renew the fight. He fought with all his heart but never with hatred or bitterness. I have known white Southerners to express amazement on meeting him. They had expected a fire-breathing creature with horns. They found an urbane, warm-hearted, delightful personality.

Through his wide contacts Walter White was one of the most influential persons in America. He seemed to know everybody and everyone knew him. Toward the end of 1950 the association decided to send its special counsel, Thurgood Marshall, to Korea to investigate the treatment of Negro troops. Everything had been cleared by the State and Defense departments when word came that General MacArthur, then the Supreme Commander of U. N. forces in the Far East, had turned down Marshall's application for permission to enter the theater. Marshall, Roy Wilkins, N. A. A. C. P. administrator, and I had a hurried meeting with Walter. We were ready to give up and issue a statement blasting MacArthur. But Walter demurred. "Hold on," he said. "Do we want to denounce MacArthur or do we want to get Thurgood into Korea? I know the General and I think it can be arranged." Naturally we acceded, although dubiously, and Walter sent a cable asking for reconsideration of the application. Within twenty-four hours a reply was received from General MacArthur rescinding his former action.

In his eulogy at the funeral Dr. Tobias spoke of Walter's "characteristic mixture of protest and optimism." These qualities were truly characteristic, as were his love of humanity and his enjoyment of his work. Under his leadership significant advances were made in the whole field of race relations, but none knew better than Walter White that his lifework was unfinished. It is for his successors to complete the task.

A NEW SOCIALIST PROGRAM

Why the Old Has Failed . . *by G. D. H. Cole*

London

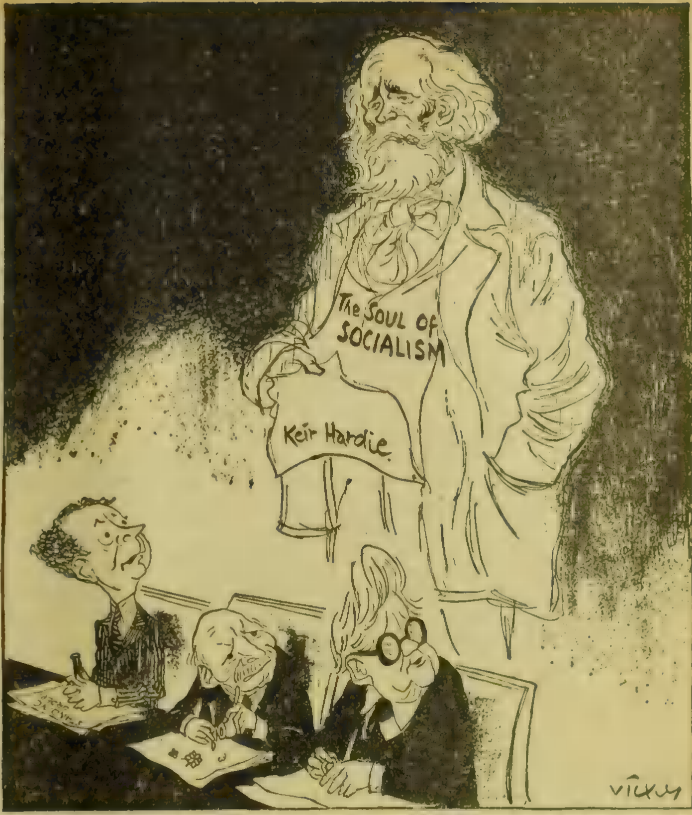
WHEN I turned Socialist in my school days socialism appeared to be essentially an international movement. There were many kinds of Socialists, but all or almost all of them had the sense of forming part of a growing international force that was destined before very long to conquer the world. Jaures, Lenin, Kautsky and Keir Hardie, Eugene Debbs and Victor Berger, Sidney Webb and Ramsay MacDonald were all members of one and the same Socialist International. Only the Anarchists and the remote Labor parties of Australasia were outside it. Socialism was then in practice mainly European, but its outlook and its ambitions were world wide, and up to about 1912 it seemed to be growing quite fast in the United States. When I joined the Socialist movement in England, it never occurred me to doubt that I was accepting an international obligation and a loyalty that transcended national frontiers. My task, as I saw it, was to play my small part in a great crusade for human brotherhood that would make an end of the exploitation of man by man and of country by country, destroying capitalism and imperialism together and putting in their place a world society set free from war and hatred to devote its energies and vast resources to banishing poverty and slavery from every country.

I do not mean that so huge a task seemed easy: I do mean that the nature of the task was not in doubt and that it was felt to demand a concerted international effort. Where are that task and that effort now? Ever since 1917 there has been no common movement. There have

---

G. D. H. COLE, professor of social and political theory at Oxford, is the author of "Fabian Socialism," "The Meaning of Marxism," "The Intelligent Man's Guide to the Post-War World," and many other books.

been rather two sharply antagonistic movements, each claiming to be the torchbearer of the true socialism but at bitter conflict about the means of advancing toward their goal and even about the goal itself. Communism and democratic socialism have spent their energies in fighting each other; and in the process communism has turned into totalitarian tyranny, while democratic socialism has renounced its old ambition of world revolution and has shrunk into a number of separate national movements for the furtherance of the welfare state. Communism, as a world revolutionary force, has not hesitated to repress all liberty of thought and action outside the dictates of a single ruling party; democratic socialism has surrendered its major aspirations in order to meet the requirements of parliamentary success and in wooing the "marginal" voter has diluted its faith till it is prepared, instead of fighting capitalism, to make common cause with capitalism against the "Communist enemy."



Courtesy New Statesman and Nation (London)

I HAVE never been able to accept as final this sharp cleavage in what I still think of as fundamentally a single world-wide movement against oppression. I am no Communist, for I detest the suppression of all free thinking which Communists not only regard as needful but seem positively to admire. I hate cruelty, centralization, rigid discipline, and the vindicative mistrust which the Communist philosophy appears to involve. I cannot, however, for that reason consent to regard the peoples of the Communist countries, or the Communists of my own or other countries, as enemies with whom I have nothing in common. I have much in common with them. I share their wish to help all the subject peoples of the world to emancipate themselves from foreign imperialist rule; I admire their planned economies and their vast achievements in economic construction; and I see them, on one condition, as advancing, however deviously, toward a classless society and an expansion of freedom for the ordinary man and woman in the affairs of everyday living. The one condition is, of course, that they escape from the ever-present peril of utterly destructive world war, fear of which poisons their behavior and forbids them the luxuries of common honesty and decent tolerance.

I am assuredly no Communist. But no more am I a Democratic Socialist if this means renouncing the Socialist revolution and reducing socialism to a set of independent national electoral movements designed to gain parliamentary majorities with the support of non-Socialist voters. I do not deny the need for parliamentary action, but I do deny that socialism means no more than a number of national endeavors to advance gradually and constitutionally toward the welfare state. Even where nominally Socialist parties have gained majority support, they have never attempted to establish socialism: even their attempts to further welfare have shown signs of petering out after their initial successes, owing to the difficulty of advancing further without disturbing the smooth working of the capitalist structure—to which they are supposed to be hostile—and the fear that by attacking it they will alienate marginal support. This seems to be the position in the Scandinavian countries, as well as in Great Britain.

The situation is much worse wherever communism has emerged to win a substantial body of support. In France and Italy the Democratic Socialists are today no more than impotent parliamentary factions with no prospect of winning political power. Moreover, in countries which are rulers of dependent empires, the Socialist parties have been quite unable to take wholeheartedly the side of the dependent peoples and have acquiesced in or even abetted the holding down of colonial nationalism by imperialist force.* I admit that the British had the sense to renounce their rule in India before they were driven out by force, but they are still, with Socialist acquiescence, holding down Malaya and Kenya. The Dutch had to be driven out of Indonesia, as the French are being driven out of Indo-China, by *force majeure;* and in neither country have the Socialists dared to side unequivocally with the colonial nationalists. It has been left to the Communists, from whatever motive, to appear as the champions of the oppressed peoples of the world.

Add to this that in Europe the Democratic Socialist parties, in their fear of Communist aggression, seem to be prepared to acquiesce in the rearmament of West Germany under conditions that will make German unification impracticable without war, and also in the arming of their countries' forces with atomic weapons and in the manufacture of hydrogen bombs on the plea that they will serve as a "deterrent" to aggression. I shall not believe without more evidence than there has been so far that these policies are in fact approved by a majority of those who vote Socialist in elections, and I feel sure they are not supported by a majority of active party workers. They are being forced on the Socialist parties by a reactionary leadership that has come to be more anti-Communist than pro-Socialist and sees nothing amiss in turning to capitalist America as its ally against the Communists.

IN THESE circumstances old Socialists such as I am—internationalists and non-Communists—find ourselves in a terribly difficult position. We are adjured, in the name of unity and of loyalty to our parties, to renounce our opposition to policies which we feel are disastrous and amount to a betrayal of socialism; and we are threatened with expulsion and ostracism unless we toe the line. I for one cannot do this without violating my fundamental beliefs; and I am led accordingly to question the entire assumption that my party has the right to my final loyalty. This loyalty I owe, not to any party or to any merely national movement, but to socialism as an essentially international cause. I know there are others in Great Britain who share this sentiment, and I feel there must be many in other countries too. The question is: What can those who find themselves in this predicament do, not so much in order to escape from it personally as to rescue socialism from the conditions that have brought it about?

This predicament could not, I think, have arisen were there not something badly amiss with socialism itself—or rather with the development of Socialist thought in face of the vast change in the problems mankind must face in order to progress, or even to survive. In my own country the Labor Party, though it reckons on returning before very long to political power, has no such clear vision of what it means, or even wants, to do next as it had in 1945. Its recent programs have been quite remarkably ineffective and even trivial. They have not proposed any substantial further step toward the supersession of capitalism or toward a classless society at home; and in international affairs they have put forward nothing even remotely of a Socialist character. So far as I can see, the situation is much the same elsewhere. The Socialist vision has faded, and the idealism with it, leaving no more behind than a mild desire to soften the asperities of capitalism and social inequality, without any frontal attack on either. It is as if full employment and a gradual development of the social-security services were enough, without any change in fundamental class relations or in the status of the worker in his employment.

What, then, is to be done? The socialism to which I was converted in my youth was the fruit of long, hard, and passionate thinking, subsequently translated into policies, not for the full establishment of a Socialist way of life, but for the first steps toward it. Socialists have been too long content to live by using up the intellectual capital they accumulated in the nineteenth century. They have stopped thinking, and have let the world situation march on a great distance without adapting themselves to its changes. What is needed is new intellectual capital, which can be only a product of fresh concerted thinking. It is evident, alas, that this will not be provided by the various national Socialist parties, which are too much preoccupied with electioneering and too much dominated by American-based anti-communism to be capable of clear thinking or of looking ahead. Besides, mass parties cannot think; they can only be influenced by the thinking of individuals or small groups of people who are prepared to think for them.

With these ideas in mind I have come to the conclusion that an attempt should be made to establish internationally a small society, or order, of Socialists who would pledge themselves to do their best to restate the essentials of their Socialist faith in terms applicable to the present world situation, and not to be deterred from following where their thoughts lead them by fear of being called "disloyal" to their national parties or of being disciplined by or excluded from them. The immediate task of this group would be not to act but to think together and to plan—to restate Socialist principles in relation to the most pressing contemporary problems, and to base on these principles a broad program of action in which the various national movements could be called upon to play their part. Each member of the group, or order, would publicize its ideas in his own country and try to induce the national leaders to take them up. All this would need time before it could produce a significant effect, but the longer it would take the sooner it should be begun.

THE principles and policies that would emerge from such a process cannot be laid down in advance. They would be the outcome of a real interchange of ideas. All that I can usefully say about them is that they would have to include at least four things: first, a clearly defined attitude toward the making and potential use of atomic weapons; second, a well-thought-out plan of campaign for a "war upon want" designed to equalize, as nearly as possible, conditions of living in all countries; third, plans for a world economic structure that will avoid the evils both of capitalism and of bureaucratic centralization and will open up for the workers in every country rapidly increasing opportunities for democratic, responsible self-government in their working lives; and fourth, the complete ending of imperialist domination, both political and economic, and the extension of self-governing independence to all peoples. There are, no doubt, plenty of other matters besides these four to be attended to; but these seem to me to have priority in the application of socialism to contemporary problems.

I do not know whether anything will come of this proposal for a dedicated World Order of Socialism, or, more modestly, for an international group pledged to do its best to work out a new Socialist program on a wide enough basis to bring the national movements together again in pursuit of a common purpose. I am myself too old and not in good enough health to play any prominent part, much less to take the lead. But believing that I see what is needed, I do not feel entitled to hold my peace, even if all I can do is to suggest to others a course of action that is beyond my personal power.

CREEPING SECURITY

A Report by Savants . . *by Harvey O'Connor*

Philadelphia

INTERNAL Security and Civil Rights in America was the theme of the annual meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, held in Philadelphia during the Easter holiday recess. It was the Academy's first venture into domestic affairs in its annual meetings in the past twenty-five years, and the interest displayed seemed to reflect the feeling that this subject is indeed the touchiest and most desperate of our time.

Complaining bitterly all the while of his abominable table manners, some of the featured speakers nevertheless managed, with a long spoon, to sup with the devil. But the more clearly others let freedom ring, the higher climbed the enthusiasm of the academicians; the decibels sank when a European savant counseled that the best way to preserve freedom was to deny it to its enemies. The impression became stronger in the course of the sessions that what M. Stanley Livingston, the distinguished M. I. T. physicist and chairman of the Federation of American Scientists, called "creeping security" is the deadly foe of freedom.

Nobody, said Eleanor Bontecou, formerly with the Criminal Division of the Department of Justice, is able to define exactly the concepts "national security" and "security risk." They are what any particular security board declares them to be. The security furor, she reported, has uncovered no spy, no Communist among federal employees, who have nevertheless been thrown into double, treble, and quadruple jeopardy by repeated scrutiny.

The morale of the entire civil service, observed Dr. Marie Jahoda of New York University, has been undermined. Dr. Jahoda headed a survey team which interviewed employees whose loyalty had never been questioned and found they had scared themselves far beyond the limits dictated even by security boards. The innocent flee where every man pursueth. Book shelves have been cleared of controversial material. Better to stay out of public activities, too. (Who knows when Senator Claghorn may point an accusing finger at the "international" Red Cross?) Join nothing—a church may be unobjectionable, but beware of the Bishop Oxnams! Some of those interviewed by the Jahoda team were suspicious; they surmised that probably it was a new cleverly disguised F. B. I. undercover trick to pry into their personal affairs.

Given the difficulty of ferreting non-existent Communists out of federal service, the informer becomes the key to "security." But, said Thurman Arnold, it is impossible to devise "fair" procedures for a system that depends on hidden informers; when a man is being tried for his associations, opinions, and character, and not for anything he has done, due process is impossible.

Mostly, the distinguished personages who addressed the Academy were content to hover on the fringes of the problem, on the errors and absurdities of the loyalty-security program. Many referred to the laughable affair of the Post Office Department "authorizing" the delivery of *Pravda* and *Izvestia* to those who were considered loyal enough to be permitted to receive them; none mentioned the far more serious infringement on freedom of the press found in the fact that New York newsstands are not "authorized" to display and sell the New York *Pravda-Izvestia,* the *Daily Worker.* It was deliciously absurd, and many speakers dwelt on it, that a second-hand piano dealer in Washington should be denied a license to do business because he pleaded the Fifth Amendment; but none touched on the significance to freedom of the fact that a hundred Communists are behind the bars, or on their way there, for "conspiring to advocate" revolution, without a scrap of evidence tying them in with an overt incitation to force and violence.

IF THE troublesome root of the security-liberty issue was skirted, nevertheless many a brave word was spoken. Joseph A. Fanelli, former chairman of the United States Board of Immigration Appeals, now a Washington lawyer, stated boldly the "absolute right" of citizens to passports. Today hundreds—thousands, perhaps—are confined to "a sort of hemisphere jail" because they cannot agree to support, while abroad, the current Dulles policies. In an era when, in the words of the prophet Micah, "hunts every man his brother with a net," Fanelli declared that "the rights of every American stand or fall, now as in time past, upon the treatment afforded the most hated citizen."

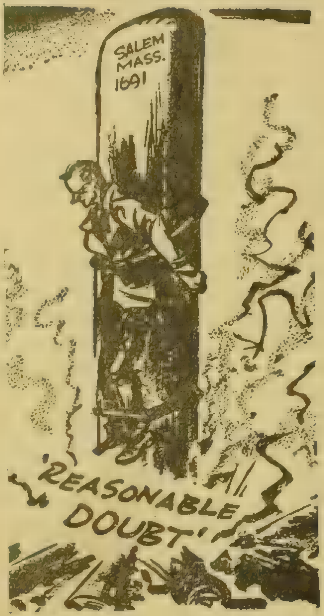
Stanley Livingston deplored the creation of "second-class citizens, unable to get suitable employment," many of them capable scientists. The

---

HARVEY O'CONNOR is chairman of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee and coauthor of "Civil Liberties in Illinois."

security charge, even when unproved, had become, he said, "the modern equivalent of the 'scarlet letter,' a brand which can never be removed."

Philip E. Jacob of the University of Pennsylvania affirmed that "good religion is a bad security risk in the modern state, whether it is a Communist dictatorship, national democracy, or church state." After reviewing four areas of conflict between church and state, he asked if we should not declare "that there are some things more important than national security and that the state may not overstep limits defined by religious belief and conscience."



York Gazette and Daily

Witch Hunts Go On

Subversion, Francis Biddle suggested, is a word that it "is impossible to define in a way that would prove useful." His own initiation, while he was Attorney General, of the list of subversive organizations, he hastened to add, was not his idea but was compelled by a Congressional mandate. The hopelessness of the hunt for "security," he said, was indicated by the Washington *Star* of March 10, 1955, when it reported that "high department officials feel that there has been no let-up in the Communist attempt to infiltrate the government, labor unions, and key industrial plants. They feel . . . that the activities of the Reds have been intensified." Such "feelings," commented Biddle, have been reported regularly every year or two for the past ten years, particularly when the loyalty program of whatever Administration happens to be in power is being questioned. Biddle estimated that 20,000,000 citizens are now under security scrutiny of some kind.

Robert M. Hutchins, associate director of the Ford Foundation, ridiculed the notion that professors are hounded for indoctrinating the innocent minds of students. Every teacher fired so far has been fired for refusal to answer questions about his political affiliations. "We are getting so afraid of ideas," Hutchins said, "that we are afraid of people who associate with people who are said to have ideas, even if they themselves have not expressed them." The issue of academic freedom, the former University of Chicago chancellor added, had been abandoned by the American Association of Universities and the American Association of Colleges; as for the American Association of University Professors, he observed that nothing less than "rejuvenation" was required if it was to be effective in bringing freedom back to the ivied halls of learning.

FIELDING a hot question from the audience as to whether a Communist should be permitted to teach, President Harold Taylor of Sarah Lawrence College ventured that a "Marxist historian" could make a real contribution. Hutchins recalled that he had known a British professor who was a member of the Communist Party executive committee. "The British," he observed, "appear to be getting value out of a scholar whom no great American university could appoint."

Adolf A. Berle, Jr., professor of corporation law at Columbia, backstopped Hutchins and Taylor with his own observations on the slow strangulation of freedom in the universities. "Be quiet, do not shout" is the rule laid down in Academe, he asserted, as corporation gifts mount up and surpass those of the foundations. The corporations, he said, are, oh, so generous, "but, but, but . . ." Instead of professors being penalized because they are controversial, Berle counseled, they might well be denied promotion unless they are. He reminded the Academy of Charles Steinmetz, through whose genius General Electric became preeminent. Steinmetz gloried in his socialism.

To Charles G. Bolte, executive secretary of the American Book Publishers Council, it seemed that the main evils of the security hunt had not been so much the casualties among books and authors as the fear that stalked libraries and schools. The superintendent who has fought off an American Legion raid on his textbooks "may limit his selections afterward to books by writers who never joined anything." The publisher who has braved the storm raised by the disclosure that one of his authors gave $10 to the Spanish War Relief in 1938 "may decide his next book doesn't fit into the list." The scholar who has seen a colleague drawn and quartered for a book on recent Chinese history may abandon his own book on contemporary problems and "start revising his monograph on court customs in the Ming dynasty."

Patrick M. Malin of the American Civil Liberties Union came out for prohibition of wire-tapping, declaring that Americans must bear the risks involved as they have borne others incident to the preservation of liberty. Telford Taylor, formerly with military intelligence in Germany and United States chief counsel for war crimes, denounced the bill recently passed unanimously by the New York State Senate authorizing the discharge of any employee pleading the Fifth Amendment. This, he said, is "outlawry pure and simple." "This proposed law is actually an effort to render unemployable all people who plead the privilege against self-incrimination." Nicholas Biddle, first president of the Bank of the United States, and Presidents Andrew Johnson and Ulysses S. Grant pleaded the Fifth Amendment, he recounted.

The academicians seemed to glow in the warmth of the inspiriting words from the platform. Upon adjournment they could trudge back to the campus--most of them are teachers—remembering perhaps the words of Joseph A. Fanelli, the passport specialist: "And so the gray pall of orthodoxy gradually settles down upon the home of the brave."

BOOKS

Sedition Circa 400 B.C.

THE STATE VERSUS SOCRATES. Edited by John D. Montgomery. The Beacon Press. $3.50.

By Alexander Meiklejohn

IN "The State Versus Socrates" John D. Montgomery presents a "case study in civic freedom." At a time when American teachers in school and college are officially and unofficially denied the independence of mind which is essential for their work, he offers a collection of writings which consider, pro and con, the refusal of the great Athenian teacher to submit to the demands of his government. Though both the title and the table of contents of the book have an external appearance of clarity and order, the material used lacks coherence. No basic issues are defined or even consecutively pursued. And yet the total massing of the papers gives a vivid sense of the misunderstandings by which a nation that intends to be free may destroy the teaching upon which its freedom largely depends.

The ruling motive of the book is that expressed in the often-quoted words of Robert Burns,

> O wad some Pow'r the giftie gie us
> To see oursels as others see us!

The wise and subtle Scottish poet, as he wrote those lines, was not desiring that we should substitute for our own well-considered judgments of our behavior the impressions which foes or friends may form about us. No one has extolled more highly than he the excellence of "the man of independent mind." But Burns knew all too well that the minds of men, and of nations, are not wholly excellent, or uninterruptedly independent. Therefore he hoped that when arrogance or fear or some other self-deceiving emotion plays upon us, we may be startled and shocked toward sane and sober reflection by discovering that other men or other nations do not see us as we see ourselves, that even our best friends think of us as engaging in activities which, when practiced by others, we regard as hostile to everything we believe and feel. It is in this mood that Mr. Montgomery calls us to reflect upon the trial, conviction, and execution of Socrates, the teacher who twenty-four centuries ago was found guilty by an Athenian court of "corrupting the youth" and "denying the gods."

ALEXANDER MEIKLEJOHN, philosopher and educator, is the author of "The Liberal College," "Freedom and the College," "Free Speech and Its Relationship to Self-Government," and other books.

The opening words of the book's Introduction are as follows:

> When the Athenians condemned Socrates to die because of his ideas, they placed themselves forever on trial.
>
> The choice they offered Socrates was between conformity and martyrdom. They left no room for freedom. Their decision was an uncompromising one, but the verdict that history has placed upon them has been even harsher. Attempting to liquidate the apparently subversive elements in their society, they were to find they had destroyed their claims to the loyalty of free men. Athens was to perish because of their failures, and surviving generations were destined ever after to share their sense of guilt. Only a few years ago a Greek court tried to clear the national conscience by reversing the ancient conviction in this posthumous tribute to free speech. The issues in The State v. Socrates remain still unresolved.

From twenty-four centuries of discussion about those issues Mr Montgomery selects nineteen controversial papers. In time, they run from Plato and Aristophanes to Popper and Toynbee. In some cases complete arguments are given. Others are taken out of wider settings. Two papers give personal estimates of the defendant in the trial; seven argue, along seven different lines, the Case for the Prosecution; six others, with the same diversity, offer in rebuttal the Case for the Defense; and, finally, four attempts are made to assess the contribution of Socrates to the moral and intellectual enlightenment of Western civilization. In this last section the question whether or not Socrates should be placed side by side with Jesus, as a source of inspiration, is seriously considered.

AS WE read the book it quickly appears that the question of the legal guilt or innocence of the historical Socrates is not, at this distance of time and circumstance, within the reach of our accurate judgment. Was he "subversive" of the laws of Athens? Was he in fact and purpose an "enemy of the state"? Mr. Montgomery's disputants differ on that issue in the main as they agree or disagree with the philosophical theorizing of Socrates and of his pupil, Plato. We do know that in a time of national danger for a terrified and desperate "democracy," the irony of the great teacher slashed through the ineptness and folly of men in power who were ill equipped for the exercise of that power. Such criticism was, as he understood the life of Athens, a proper part of the work of a teacher.

Further, in line with our own twentieth-century prosecutions of teachers for "lack of loyalty," it has been suggested that Socrates with some of his pupils was engaged in a "foreign conspiracy" against the government of Athens. Perhaps he was. Perhaps not. Neither of the two chief sources of our information raises the suggestion of treasonable guilt above the level of mere conjecture and partisan insinuation. Xenophon, the loyal but literal-minded biographer, was apparently incapable of understanding the bewildering motives and thoughts of the irony-using dialectician whom he tried to describe. Plato, the philosopher, on the other hand, entered so sympathetically into the reflections of his teacher that he made of him, not an actual person, but a symbol, an idea, an expression of the intellectual and moral beliefs upon which a just and intelligent human society might, he thought, be grounded and maintained. How far that idealization, which served the philosopher's purpose of stating abstract principles and questions, may serve also as an accurate description of a living person no one can now tell. Nor, for our present American purposes, does anyone need to know.

The question, then, which primarily justifies Mr. Montgomery's offering of these papers for current reading is not that of the facts in a specific case decided twenty-four centuries ago. It is that of the truth or falsity of a theory and practice of liberal teaching which Plato, in some undetermined measure, derived from his own teacher and which, chiefly in the Apology and Crito, he presented as a tribute to his master. "What should a teacher of intellectual freedom in a 'free' society be and do?" "What authority should his government exercise over him?" "What forms of control is such a government, by its own commitments, forbidden to exercise?" Those are the questions which Plato considers through the words of Socrates. And they are also the questions which now perplex officials and non-officials who today seek to further the deepest interests of our own society. To answer them we must make clear to ourselves the principles of idea and value by which our conduct, and hence our teaching, may be wisely done and wisely judged. What, then, let us ask, would a Platonic Socrates say and do if he were summoned by one of our legislative committees to give an account of his teaching, were told what he should believe and advocate and teach, what he was forbidden to believe or advocate or teach? He would, I think, try to explain now, as he did then, what "free" teaching is for him and how it is done.

THE purpose of teaching, as Plato's Socrates practiced it, is so to arouse and cultivate the critical intelligence of the citizens of a society that they will share actively and reasonably in making the decisions which are needed for the governing of their own lives and the life of the community. "Know thyself," he said. And to this he added, "The unexamined life is not worth living." He recognized that knowledge of the external world, of things other than the human mind and spirit, is necessary and useful for the liberal endeavor. But it is, for him, secondary and instrumental. The proper study of mankind is man. The extent to which our colleges, and especially the collegiate divisions of our universities, have departed from that insight is a true measure of their failure to meet the needs of a democratic society. The dictum "Any subject properly taught is liberal," though it gains plausibility from the word "properly," is in effect a source of disastrous confusion. It has sent our education into wanderings far removed from the highway which the democratic purpose prescribes.

The "method" of the Socratic teaching follows directly from its purpose. It is, as every one knows, that of conversation between teacher and pupils. By the use of "ironical" question and answer about urgent and significant matters, in which the teacher acts as a gadfly, pupils are provoked, challenged, criticized, encouraged into developing those powers and habits of independent judgment which are essential for the growth of a free personality, for the creating of a free community. Under another figure Socrates describes his method as that of the "midwife" who helps to "deliver" into active functioning the wisdom and sensitiveness and good-will of which human beings are capable. The method is successful in so far as the pupils establish, in their relations with one another, that same reasonable and friendly cooperation in the search for practical wisdom which they have had with their teachers. To learn that lesson is to become morally and intellectually equipped for citizenship in a free society.

With the purpose and method of teaching thus defined we can, I think, begin to see what the Socrates of Plato is talking about in the Apology and the Crito. The teacher is, for him, a public servant. What, then, is his relation to the government which is commissioned to further the general welfare? Should a government which is established "to secure the blessings of liberty" to its citizens presume to exercise control over the teaching of those citizens? Or should the teachers be free and uncontrolled in the field of their activity? In Plato's way of dealing with the apparent conflict between those two suggestions we find the intellectual attitude and procedure which have made his writing the dominating model for the "philosophical" thinking of our Western culture. When confronted with the supposed contradictories, "The state must control teaching" and "The state may never limit the freedom of teaching," he refuses to choose between them. Both seem to him, in some sense, true, as well as, in some sense, false. And the two "true" forms of belief are, he is sure, consistent with and supplementary to each other. The philosophical task is, then, so to interpret the two sets of ideas that both of them may be held valid. This is not the method of compromising. It is the method of reasoning. It is the kind of thinking by which men of philosophic mind have solved, or tried to solve, the basic and permanent human dilemmas about fact and value, body and mind, fate and freedom, oneness and manyness, and so on. These apparent, though unreal, conflicts of ideas, changing form with every change in human circumstances, are never finally resolved. The task of grappling with them is an unending one. And yet, to hold fast to both horns of these dilemmas, as Plato did, is the only kind of effort which can deal successfully with such a paradox as that between the claims of the individual freedom of a citizen and the totalitarian control of a government.

IT IS intellectual madness to find all truth on one side of such a paradox and all falsity on the other. We shall never settle such differences by hurling epithets at one another across a chasm of mutual distrust and condemnation. Nations as well as individuals, when confronted by conflicting theories, must learn to think, not merely against each other, but also with each other. Where shall we find, how shall we create, the teaching which will stimulate and guide that thinking? How can such teaching be provided and controlled and yet be independent and free? It is questions such as these which are in Plato's mind as he writes the Apology and the Crito. In the Apology he defines and urges the duty of a citizen to disobey certain laws of the community which he serves. In the Crito he pleads, with equal emphasis, the rightful claim of the government to require and to enforce obedience to its laws. It is that dilemma which is seeking solution in the case of *The State* v. *Soc-*

rates or, on appeal, of *Socrates* v. *The State.*

It does not fall within the scope of this review of Mr. Montgomery's book to attempt to follow the reflections through which Plato seeks to resolve the paradox of freedom and control. It must be noted, however, that if we wish to share in his thinking we must read not only the Apology but also the Crito. The Apology demands that even under penalty of death a free teacher-citizen shall disobey his government. But the Crito urges, with equal insistence, that even though it leads him to his death the teacher-citizen owes and must give obedience to the government. To take either horn of that dilemma without taking the other is to misconceive the basic purpose of Plato's argument. He is not a propagandist for freedom. He is a sober and well-balanced student of the political institutions by which men are both free and governed.

And, finally, Mr. Montgomery's book, as we reflect upon it, reveals how little can be gained toward an understanding of the bewildering relation between intellectual freedom and governmental control by merely matching "the case for the prosecution" against "the case for the defense." If we wish to grasp the politics of freedom we must go far deeper than that method of external controversy. We must seek for a theory of political structure and function in which freedom and control are not in conflict with each other, in which they do not strive for reconciliation by making compromises and concessions and "exceptions" to each other, but are seen to be two mutually complementary aspects of the same self-governing process. But that kind of thinking is not easy for present-day Americans.

We encounter here what is, I think, the most discouraging and terrifying feature of our current attitude and behavior. We are propagandists rather than reasoners, salesmen rather than teachers. Two centuries ago our forefathers, having learned much from suffering and injustice, were thinking into being a tentative unification of the claims of freedom and control which gave form to our plan of government. That thinking is our greatest national achievement. It was daring

Religious Advertisements Approaching Climax

Restoration of Social Justice to Belief in God necessary for Defeat of Communism.—Why is the communist movement always ATHEISTIC? Because, in the time of Marx, religious power helped to end American slavery; and the same religious power can help to end communism today. Communism is afraid of Religion. According to communistic imagination, Labor is at the mercy of privately-owned Capital, which "monopolizes" Industrial Machinery, and therefore has power to oppress and "exploit" Labor.

Labor and Capital Both Exploited by corrupt Fiscal Power.—Laboring people are forced to compete for jobs in overcrowded cities by two very unnatural conditions:—(1) Corrupt *overtaxation* of Productive Enterprise, and (2) corrupt *undertaxation* of Land. This fundamental economic and social *injustice* was begun by the machinations of British Landed Aristocrats, hundreds of years ago. Undertaxation of Land gives an artificial selling and rental "value" to Land. In this way, Land acquires unjust and dangerous power over Private Enterprise at the very moment that Private Enterprise itself is being corruptly overtaxed.

Corrupt Fiscal Power inherited from Britain.—Overtaxation of Productive Enterprise is reflected in artificially HIGH PRICE OF GOODS. And at the same time, undertaxation of Land gives Land an INFLATED PRICE, which is reflected in SOARING RENTALS. Unperceived and silent, this fundamental INJUSTICE operates at the very basis of our civilization, and must be counteracted by an aroused public opinion, leading speedily to appropriate legislation, as in New Zealand; Sydney, Australia, etc.

Churches cannot Go into Politics, but can Restore Social Justice to Religion, and Challenge Communism.—Organized religion can promote and intensify the present world-wide social awakening. It can do so by reasserting the social emphasis of the Hebrew prophets, endorsed repeatedly by Jesus. This is already being done by quite a number of clergymen and by the resolutions passed by some church organizations.

* * *

Two circulars, entitled (1) *Bulletin of Bible and Hebrew History,* and (2) *Restoration of Social Justice to Belief in God,* will be forwarded to you if you send postage in the amount of six cents, as partial coverage of mailing cost. Write clearly, or better, print name and address inside and outside your envelope. If no stamps are sent, no circulars will be forwarded.—L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, New York.

ADVERTISEMENT

and novel and experimental. So far as conflicts of ideas were concerned, it was ready and eager for a fair fight on any open field. But two centuries of frenzied and successful preoccupation with the acquisition of power and wealth have transformed our attitude toward free inquiry. It has now come about that the "free men" of the United States are not called upon to think through their political institutions, to understand and criticize them. On the contrary, we are forbidden to do so.

Our duty as citizens is, therefore, not to understand but to believe. Loyalty requires of us that we defend our principles against the attacks of "alien" ideas, not by reasoning about those ideas and our own, but by bringing to bear upon our "opponents" or "enemies" the pressures of military force, or economic advantage, or the trickeries of propaganda. And the effect of that corrupting of our minds has been to transform our intellectual heritage, from an exploring and fearless idea which led the world forward, into a timid, defensive, and hysterical dogma which holds the world back. That is why, like Athens, we hunt our teachers down as "corrupters of the youth." That is why, to make sure of their "loyalty," we demand of them a conformity and submissiveness of mind which make them utterly unfit for the work we give them to do.

Readable but Incomplete

GHOST ON HORSEBACK. THE INVISIBLE ATATURK. By Ray Brock. Duell, Sloan and Pearce, New York; Little, Brown and Company, Boston. $4.75.

By Mark Gayn

EVEN among the great men who people the history of this century, Kemal Ataturk ranks high. A poor wretch of a boy, whose first known job was to fight off crows in a Thracian field, he rose to overthrow the Sultanate, defeat all the armies of the West come to split his country, break Islam's grasp on the nation's mind and politics, and open Turkey's doors to fresh social, political, and economic winds blowing from without. Kemal was a man of extraordinary talents, vast ambitions, rare political acumen, and great curiosity. He was also a domineering man who could not tolerate opposition, a rake, a gambler, and a prodigious tippler who, almost literally, drank himself to death in 1938.

To this colorful giant Ray Brock, a one-time correspondent in Turkey, now dedicates a sprightly biography that often seems to have been written with one eye on Kemal's ghost and the other on Hollywood. Brock's device is to put himself into Kemal's mind and body and to proceed from there. This enables him not only to record Kemal's conversations with historical figures long dead but even to have Kemal, at the age of ten, mutter to himself, "I am a Turk. A warrior, son of a warrior people. That my father was a failure is of no consequence. That my mother is crude and illiterate means less." Kemal's ideas come not out of association with other men or political currents, but out of himself; so do all his decisions. He is a man of unaccountable furies, of four-letter words, and, above all, in Brock's account, of powerful sex urges. ("He paid ardent court to a dozen beauties of the foreign colony—and a gratifying number of them responded. Englishwomen, he discovered, were neither as frigid nor as unimaginative, etc., etc.") The fascinated reader may end by wondering whether it is just bad purple prose or a deliberate parody.

It is all too bad, for Kemal is still one of Europe's few great figures of whom no good biography exists. Yet the material is ample and requires only a little bit of effort to dig it up. In Istanbul's plushy Macka district one can still find retired politicians and generals who once worked, or warred, with Kemal. The archives of the People's Party have never been tapped. At the universities of Istanbul and Ankara there are scholars who have made—but never published—extensive studies of Kemal, his policies, his philosophy, and his era.

Brock sets Kemal apart from the "Young Turks." Yet Kemal was a product of the "Young Turk" revolution, and the ideas which affected them influenced him as well. Atatism, a form of state socialism which Kemal introduced in the early thirties, had, in fact, been discussed in "Young Turk" circles even before Kemal became prominent. And one of the most fascinating features of Atatism, left unmentioned by Brock, is the curious role played by a Russian emigre leftist named Parvus (A. L. Helfand) in the development of "Young Turk" political philosophy. (Isaac Deutscher's "The Prophet Armed" deals at some length with the influence Parvus exerted on Trotsky.) A few years before the outbreak of World War I, Parvus came to Turkey from Germany and made contacts with the young and rebellious officers and intellectuals. When the editors of the new "Young Turk" ideological magazine, *Tyurk Yurdu (Turkish Homeland*), asked its readers to help formulate a fresh "Turkish view of national economy," Parvus responded. His articles, which urged Turkey to end foreign controls over its economy and to create its own industry, had a tremendous impact on the "Young Turks." One of them was Kemal.

Nor was Parvus the only influence. In the early twenties Kemal was the hope of intellectuals, and many of them literally walked from Istanbul to Ankara to add to the turmoil of ideas around Kemal. His emissaries abroad brought back with them concepts of Western democracy, communism, and fascism, and traces of each can be found in Kemal's political philosophy. And no serious biography of Kemal should ignore *Kadro*, a magazine started in 1932 by some German-educated ex-Communists which helped to crystallize the later ideas of Kemal and his successor, Inonu.

It may well be that Ray Brock had come across all or some of these facts in his research. If so, he has ignored them in favor of more lurid tidbits. The product may thereby have been made more readable. But it has also made of modern Turkey's greatest man a gaily colored cardboard figure. Kemal deserves better.

MARK GAYN, author of "Japan Diary" and "The War in the Pacific," has spent some time in Turkey.

Selected New Books

European Politics

THE FRENCH LABOR MOVEMENT. By Val R. Lorwin. Harvard. $6. This first book by Lewis Lorwin's gifted son, lately victimized by government "informers" and still a faculty member of the University of Chicago, is an admirable, judicious, fully documented, and (I should guess) definitive study of French trade unionism from the Revolution to now. With remarkable insight and perspective it traces the tangled tale of the syndicates, labor disputes, collective bargaining, the C. G. T., the Force Ouvriere, and the politics of the proletariat. The most illuminating single book of recent years on contemporary France.

THE RISE OF FRENCH LIBERAL THOUGHT. By Kingsley Martin. New York University. $3.75. This revised version, edited by J. P. Mayer, of a minor classic first written in 1929 by the famous British publicist is a brilliant and witty history and critique of the thoughts and thinkers of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment, from Bayle through Condorcet. For scholars and laymen alike it remains the most useful and stimulating one-volume treatment of the political ideas which have found expression in French democracy.

THE STRUGGLE FOR MASTERY IN EUROPE, 1848-1918. By A. J. P. Taylor. Oxford. $7. This second volume of the "Oxford History of Modern Europe," edited by Alan Bullock and F. W. D. Deakin, is a highly readable diplomatic history from the end of Metternich's regime to the defeat of the Hohenzollern Reich. Professor Taylor, fellow of Magdalen College, has already won his laurels as a historian. This is his best work to date.

A HALF CENTURY OF INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS. By Frederic R. Coudert. Columbia. $4. The late senior partner of Coudert Brothers here reprinted, under the editorship of Allan Nevins and with an introduction by Philip C. Jessup, his major essays and addresses between 1905 and World War II. He was a distinguished international lawyer whose ideas and reminiscences should prove interesting to all lawyers and to many outside the legal profession.

THE EVOLUTION OF DIPLOMATIC METHOD. By Harold Nicolson. Macmillan. $2.25. In these four Chichele lectures of 1953 at Oxford a talented biographer, novelist, and historian surveys diplomacy in Greece and Rome, the "Italian System," the "French System," and the transition between the old diplomacy and the new. The total comes to less than 100 pages. But each page is urbane, sagacious, and exciting. Nicolson knows the ends and means of "sound diplomacy" and is hopeful that it will again fulfil the functions which are more than ever necessary in a time of troubles.

THE YOUNG HITLER I KNEW. By August Kubizek. Translated by E. V. Anderson. Introduction by H. R. Trevor-Roper. Houghton-Mifflin. $4. This volume is not, as R. H. S. Crossman has written, "the most important book on Hitler since 'Mein Kampf.'" This honor must go to Alan Bullock's superb biography published in 1953. Yet here is fascinating new light on the obscure formative years between the ages of sixteen and twenty, written by a naive but perceptive upholsterer and musician who was Hitler's closest friend in Linz and Vienna. The vivid story he tells helps to explain how a neurotic adolescent who never grew up acquired the will to attempt the conquest and destruction of a civilization which, even now, is perilously lacking in maturity.

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN

About Asia

PRISONERS' BLUFF. By Rolf Magener. Translated from the German by Basil Creighton. Dutton. $3.75. Rolf Magener was a fellow-internee of Heinrich Harrer, author of "Seven Years in Tibet." He and another German escaped with Harrer from a British P. O. W. camp in India in 1944, but made their way eastward instead of north, pitting their skill against both British enemy and Japanese ally to achieve escape. Magener's record of their Odyssey is

COMING APRIL 30

Special Spring Book Issue

Featuring

"What Do We Want Art to Do"

An Essay by William Saroyan

Leading Reviews Include:

"Grand Inquest" by Telford Taylor
"Government by Investigation" by Alan Barth
Reviewed by Walter Millis

"An Autobiography of Edwin Muir"
Reviewed by Carlos Baker

"Wanted: An Asian Policy" by E. C. Reischauer
Reviewed by John Carter Vincent

"The Recognitions" by William Gaddis
Reviewed by John Berger

"Collected Poems of Stephen Spender"
"The Shield of Achilles" by W. H. Auden
Reviewed by John Ciardi

an adventurous tale of stirring courage and fantastic luck.

JOURNEY TO THE PATHANS. By Peter Mayne. Doubleday. $4. The reader gradually appreciates that the British author, who served two years with the new-born Pakistan government, made his return journey to satisfy a nostalgic longing to savor again, among the people and mores of an Asian back-country, the relish of another culture and era. Only sketchily suggestive of current political embroilments like those about Kashmir and the projected State of Pashtunistan, Mayne's chatty account of his travels in Pathan country and beyond is constructed in the main of "local color" and the author's sympathy for the people. Pleasant reading.

INVITATION TO AN EASTERN FEAST. By Austin Coates. Harper. $4. Austin Coates served with the R. A. F. and H. M. Colonial Service in India and different parts of Southeast Asia from 1942 onwards. His book, however, is devoted only to his off-duty hours, spent pleasurably with Asian friends. The "feast" he presents is too eclectic and impressionistic, and some of his subjective appraisals are too far from the mark, for acceptance as an integral whole. This is an Asia for the amateur of the Orient, not without its quaintness and delights, but sometimes distant from common reality.

REPORT FROM MALAYA. By Vernon Bartlett. Criterion. $2.75. A seasoned journalist, author, and former Member of Parliament describes the complex situation in Malaya, where the activities of some 5,000 Communist terrorists have focused urgent attention on the knotty problem of constructing a self-governing state out of diverse nationalities. His brief, lucid exposition admirably sets forth the essentials of that situation.

SOMETHING IS MISSING. By Arthur Goodfriend. Farrar, Straus and Cudahy. $3.50. This book is a logical successor to the author's "The Only War We Seek." It portrays Asia in various basic manifestations, by meaningful photographs threaded on a running commentary—with glimpses of the United States interspersed for contrast. A postscript by James A. Michener lifts the text, in the end, to a cogent summary of the central theme that the gulf between Asians and Americans must be bridged.

O. EDMUND CLUBB

Theater

Robert Hatch

IT IS too bad that "promising" has become a depressing cliche of the reviewing vocabulary; it is the proper—and should be the optimistic —term for "Teach Me How to Cry" (Theatre de Lys). But the modern theater has no patience with promise; it is a market, not a school, and the maiden playwright is expected to click with a hit. Those that do are then rewarded so extravagantly that unless they are remarkably level-headed they continue anxiously to click out hits for the rest of their dramatic lives.

Patricia Joudry is not one of these instantaneous phenomena. Her first New York play is in no way sensational; it is not really well constructed, and there is little chance that it will move uptown in a blaze of publicity. But it gives evidence of a gift for stage narrative, a robust interest in personality, and a quite subtle insight into the ways in which human beings shape one another. In short, it is interesting now and promises still better work to come. The play is brought to town by LPS Productions, a new firm composed of Paul Lilly, Bill Penn, and Robinson Stone—actors, all three. They could scarcely have found a more useful project for the launching of their partnership.

"Teach Me How to Cry" is a play in three acts and ten scenes—an elaborate design that suggests the author is not yet comfortable in the narrow premises of the stage. Miss Joudry has been a successful radio and television script writer, here and in Canada, and the habits of the air serial have perhaps led her into framing her play in this large number of more or less self-contained units. Her narrative thread is too slack for the theater; she makes her points too explicitly and too often.

But the core of her play is remarkably well stated and remarkably perceptive. A lonely boy and girl discover each other; their love is immediate, all-engrossing, but entirely tentative—it is smashed before it has time to become anything more —and when it is over they return to the loneliness of living with their unsuccessful elders. But it is better, because they are now lonely for something, not just empty lonely. That is all there is to the story, but it is enough because the children are made to seem important and they ring true; the boy, it must be admitted, sometimes speaks with a psychological wisdom beyond his years and the year—which is 1919—but these author intrusions do not submerge him.

The bulk of the playing time is taken up with defining the destroyed personality of the girl's mother, the pathetic lost hopes of the boy's parents, the terror of being unconsidered that drives the small villain who destroys the brief spring idyl. Miss Joudry sets up these side issues with considerable skill, but she has not yet a strong enough sense of form to make them all bear on the progress of the play. The supporting characters tend to usurp the stage for their own dramas, and the play loses impetus in a confusion of focus.

"Teach Me How to Cry" is nevertheless warm and thoughtful and worth thinking about; it is the work of a good mind that will obviously gain craftsmanship with practice. Robert Hartung has directed it lightly and with affection for its participants. The whole cast seems remarkably secure, and the performances of Deirdre Owens and Richard Morse as the young couple, John Becher as the boy's father and Nancy Marchand as the girl's mother, Mary James as the school teacher, and Charron Follett as the young witch who poisons the mind of the community are models of strong and straightforward stage behavior. The sets by John Blankenchip, modest and airy like pencil sketches, sustain the quiet honesty of the play and work handsomely on the small platform stage of the Theatre de Lys.

IF THERE were a radio and television reviewer handy on this magazine I would try to turn over "Three for Tonight" to him. This is a "package" show, a bang-up spectacular designed to knock the daylights out of every Hooper rating in town.

I realize that television has borrowed heavily from the revue formula, but what this revue has borrowed from television is a patronizing intimacy, an air of self-congratulation, a pretense that talent is nothing more than competence with a sizzle. It is not unamusing and I was not unamused—but then I got in free, the way you do to television.

This "diversion in song and dance" pretends to a relaxed informality—no curtain and the members of the cast moving the props about—but on the second night it was as rigid and self-conscious as a high-school commencement. The ad lib quality may get to be more convincing as the show works down into the rut of routine; the only way you can seem really offhand in the theater is to know exactly what you are doing every moment that the lights are on you. But I don't set much value on this specious chumminess, popular though it is with the sponsors.

The "three" of the title are Marge and Gower Champion, dancers, and Harry Belafonte, who sings blues, spirituals, and work songs. They are assisted by a well-drilled, not at all distinguished choral group called pretentiously The Voices of Walter Schumann, and by Hiram Sherman, master of ceremonies—he is the fussy pedant type, not very original.

Harry Belafonte—he was Joe in "Carmen Jones"—is a marvelously handsome man with a brilliant stage presence. He moves beautifully—there is more natural "dance" in him than in either of the Champions—and he can sing with intelligence and taste. He led the company in a calypso number, "Matilda," that was as captivating, rousing, and humorous a ten minutes as you are ever likely to have in the theater.

But Belafonte fancies himself as a diseur—he "projects" most of his numbers, and he is grotesquely unsuited to that sort of histrionics. It is simply embarrassing, and one song, called "Take My Mother Home" and evoking Christ on Calvary, is worse than embarrassing. Belafonte is young, he has tremendous vitality and self-assurance; he needs powerful direction.

The Champions are better groomed to their job, but they have less to offer. They are hoofers with charm and could fill a spot with great credit in any show. But to carry a show takes more than fleet feet and a smile, and before the evening is over their small technique is exhausted and their small inventiveness cruelly exposed by repetition. Gower Champion staged, directed, and choreographed "Three for Tonight." He is not that kind of theater virtuoso—more a jack-of-all-trades.

NOTE: At the end of my review of "Cat on a Hot Tin Roof" I said that Tennessee Williams has a "diabolical gift for laying bare the crumminess of humanity. . . ." This came out "the circumstances of humanity," a meaningless phrase.

Records

B. H. Haggin

IN ADDITION to the record with I Musici's superb performances of four Vivaldi works that I reviewed in November, Angel has issued 35086, with the fine Tartini Cello Concerto in A, which has an especially beautiful slow movement; Marcello's Introduction, Aria, and Presto, of which the Aria also is especially beautiful; Galuppi's engaging Concerto No. 2 "A Quattro"; and Rossini's charming and amusing Sonata for violins, cellos, and bass. These are played with the precision of execution, the transparency and beauty of blended string tone, the refinement of phrasing, the warmth, grace, and style that are so extraordinary. And extraordinary too are the rich, dark tone and the elegance of style with which Enzo Altobelli plays the solo part of the Tartini concerto. The Marcello piece, unfortunately, is reproduced with less bright and clean sound than the others. Similarly beautiful performances are heard on Angel 35088 in the lovely but excessively long "Canzon in echo duodecimi toni" of Giovanni Gabrieli; a moderately engaging Concerto Grosso in F by Marcello; and the uninteresting Concerto in D by Albioni and Concerto in F for three violins by Vivaldi, with the solo parts played by Franco Tamponi, Felix Ayao, and Walter Galozzi.

Mozart's writing for winds is always agreeable to the ear; but the Divertimenti K.252, 253, 270, and 289 for two oboes, two horns, and two bassoons on Epic LC-3081 are musically inconsequential. Good performances by a group from the Vienna Symphony under Paumgartner.

In Webster Aitken's performance of Schubert's beautiful Piano Sonata Op. 42 on EMS 107 one hears as always a powerful musical intelligence operating with carefully thought-out and masterfully executed purpose—purpose which sometimes is related to what appears to be the composer's purpose and sometimes not, which sometimes is good for the music and sometimes not, which sometimes achieves a good of its own and sometimes not. Thus, in the first movement Aitken changes the slight emphasis, the small crescendo, the small retardation Schubert asks for into big ones, and adds many that Schubert does not ask for

READ MANAS

the 8-page weekly of current comment—on science, religion, education, philosophy—with substance-providing reviews of whatever books and articles seem to the editors to be shaping future thought and lighting new directions.

[illegible] a year

For 3 free sample copies, write

The Manas Publishing Company, P.O. Box 32112
El Sereno Station • Los Angeles 32, California

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE
Buy Your Books
through THE *Nation*

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular retail price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the retail price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to
Miss O. LePach
THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
333 Sixth Ave. New York 14, N. Y.

—all in elaboration and intensification to achieve the shape and expressive content Aitken wants the movements to have. They are, I think, different from the shape and expressive content Schubert intended them to have; but considered in and for themselves they have continuity, coherence, consistency, and make acceptable sense. Not so in the second movement. Schubert's Andante poco moto tempo is one that can be maintained all the way through the variations; and with this consistency in pace there is a consistency in expressive content. But the much faster Allegretto tempo Aitken begins with is one he cannot maintain even through the second page—i.e. throughout the rapid passage-work of the second variation; nor can the capricious character which the faster pace and his fitful rushes and hesitations give to the serious and plaintive writing of the opening page be maintained throughout—e.g. in the powerful third variation; moreover the opening page can be played in that fast tempo and that fitful manner and make acceptable sense, but I can't accept the sense the final variation makes played that fast; nor can I accept the distortion of Schubert's sense in the third variation by Aitken's exaggerated distentions. On the other hand his fitful style is exactly what is called for by the capricious scherzo (and one can accept the trio played with his pauses); and it works well in the finale. The performance is reproduced in miniature—with extremely low volume and without the rich resonance of some other piano recordings nowadays.

PUBLICATIONS

BRITISH BOOKS—All Subjects—direct from London to you. Bargain catalogues free. Transbooks, Box 22-N, Brooklyn 26, N. Y.

SOCIALIST BOOKS. Catalog, literature, Free. New York Labor News Company, Dept. M, 61 Cliff Street, New York 38, New York.

HAROLD LASKI by Kingsley Martin. An affectionate biography. Reg. $4; NOW $1. Wellington's, 346 Concord, Belmont, Mass.

BOOK PLATE

UNIQUE PROJECT . . your own BOOK-PLATE designed by the artist expressly for you. Write for folder. William Lauritzen, 1310 Bolton Road, Pelham Manor, N. Y.

AUDIO

HI FIDELITY
RADIO-PHONOGRAPH
sales, installation and service
VECTOR LABS
217 3rd Ave. ■ N. Y. C. 3 ■ GR 3-7686

WORKER WANTED

EDUCATIONAL DIRECTOR to assume full responsibility for operation of Educational and Cultural Center for Labor Organization. Year around position with good remuneration for energetic, qualified person preferably with experience in adult education. All communications held strictly confidential. Please write stating qualifications and references—Box 394, % The Nation.

Voluminous and richly resonant piano sound is produced, for example, by Spa 63; and one might want the record for that reason; but I wouldn't advise anyone to acquire it for MacDowell's "Sonata Tragica" and "Sonata Eroica," which are performed well by Perry O'Neil.

Gulda's performances of Chopin's Ballades on London LD-9177 are mannered and violent in their changes of pace and sonority, and without the easy flow and grace of Casadesus's performances on the old Columbia record.

Period 713/4 offers Schubert's "Die schone Mullerin" and "Die Winterreise" sung by Inez Matthews, mezzo-soprano, with Lowell Farr at the piano. She sings the songs very simply—in fact too simply, which is to say without any expressive intensification of inflection of phrase, and with the resulting monotony increased by the unvarying bright timbre of her voice.

Oiseau-Lyre OL-50038 offers Handel's "Apollo e Dafne" performed well by Margaret Ritchie, soprano, Bruce Boyce, baritone, and an instrumental group under Anthony Lewis. This dramatic cantata is an early product of Handel's years in Italy, and no more than pleasant to listen to except for one outstandingly beautiful aria, Dafne's *Felicissima quest' alma,* which is made exciting by Ritchie's singing.

The adventurous American Opera Society, at its final Town Hall concert, offered a welcome opportunity to hear Monteverdi's opera "L'Incoronazione di Poppea"; and it was interesting to hear the work, with its expressive recitative; but the music I enjoyed more was the charming set piece for the flirtation of the page and lady-in-waiting. Arnold U. Gamson, who had made his own realization of the work from the voice parts and bass line of the original manuscript, again conducted a well-integrated performance, in which the best singing was done by Paul Franke, Sarah Fleming, Mariquita Moll, and Chester Watson. I don't expect to persuade the society to change its procedure; nevertheless I will put on record my opinion that having the singers act characters of antiquity in present-day tails and evening dresses produces results that are often embarrassing or ridiculous, and that it would be better not to distract the listener in this way, but instead to offer him a straight concert performance and let him combine the music with the dramatic action in his own mind.

Letters

A Puzzled Briton

Dear Sirs: All the talk about Communist "imperialism" and "aggression" is rendered humbug when the United States claims the right to dictate to a great country like China that it shall not recover control of territory lost to the defeated side in a civil war and justifies the claim by citing its own strategic interests.

What do the American working people, liberal thinkers, churches, and ethical societies feel and say and do about this reckless drift to world war which their government is leading? Your paper has friendly relations with our New Statesman and Nation, but the latter is silent about the better America we know exists. All we hear are the views of the Republicans and Democrats (equally hopeless from our point of view), with no news about United States internationalists. Can you help to break the sound barrier which appears to exist at present?

J. HENRY LLOYD
Welywn Garden City, Herts., England

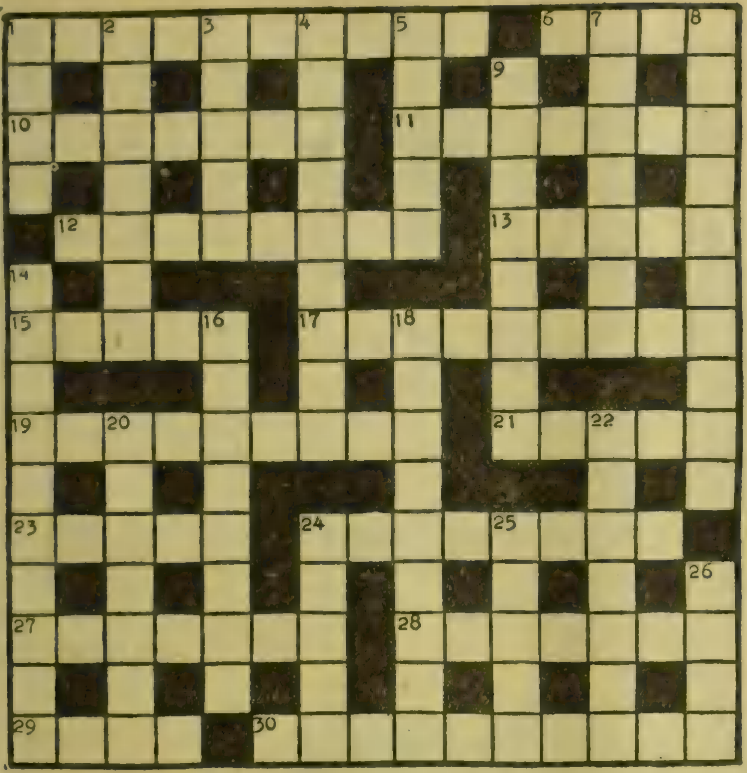
Courageous Position

Dear Sirs: I would like to express to the editors of The Nation my admiration for their courage in tackling the controversial abortion problem in the article by Edwin M. Schur, in the issue of March 5. The point of view presented is certainly one with which university students and faculty members need to come face to face. I am bringing the material to the attention of the dean of our law school, the director of our medical office, the head of our sociological department, and our dean of men and dean of women.

HOWARD F. McGAW, Director
of Libraries, University of Houston
Houston, Tex.

Crossword Puzzle No. 616

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1, 30 across, 14 down and 17 across. One race with animals which have lost their balance as the only ones in the heat? (3,4,3,10,2,3,2,3,3-3,3)
6 See 3 down
10 The site of the Taj Mahal has rather obscure surroundings. (7)
11 See 1 down
12 The sort of college girls who are about set to be pampered. (8)
13 After hub, tire, felloe and spring, this was a weak spot the Deacon worried about. (5)
15 Where to find H or C readily available? (2,3)
17 See 1 across
19 Strips. (9)
21 One of Whitman's late-bloomers? (5)
23 It sounds as though I do of thee in song. (5)
24 Sea and shore? It sounds like a summer playground! (8)
27 Proving a number of busy bodies have to pay rent. (7)
28 See 8 down
29 Not meeting points for wastrels. (4)
30 See 1 across

DOWN

1 and 11 across An omelet should be —it's more fitting that way. (4,2,5)
2 What one might do to tensile things up in a direction about you. (4,3)
3 and 6 across The bottom of the iris, perhaps, is important in make-up. (9)
4 I seem most unruly every now and then. (9)
5 Important music should be. (5)
7 Gives orders, perhaps, on raids. (7)
8 and 28 across For those who like to crawl back into their shell? (You may not have any ties with it.) (6-4,7)
9 Might several such drop in the yard? (8)
14 See 1 across
16 Do some associate it with rushing to the pawnshop? (8)
18 Little sister is disturbed by the gloomy surroundings, evidently. (9)
20 A bad gin indeed! So you've condescended to give the answer! (7)
22 What happens when the cat is run over by a cannon? (4, 3)
24 The worker is thus surrounded by the human race. (5)
25 What one might give in 16. (5)
26 What bearers are often told to do. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE 615

ACROSS: 1 LONG JOHN SILVER; 8 SCOTCH WHISKY; 10 MILLSTREAM; 11 ARMS; 13 NOTING; 14 RETRACED; 16 TENTACLE; 17 STAGES; 19 RUSK; 20 UNKNITTING; 22 MAKING UP TIME; 23 FOREIGN ACCENTS. DOWN: 1 LAST-MINUTE RUSH; 2 NEOPLATONISM; 3 JACKSONIAN; 4 HOWARD; 5 SPIRALED; 6 LAKE; 7 DRESS DESIGNER; 9 PRECOGNITION; 18 PROTOTYPIC; 15 PLANKING; 18 ENIGMA; 21 KALE.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York

RESORTS

50 Miles to FOREST HOUSE

Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes All sports.

FOREST HOUSE

Lake Mahopac, N. Y. ● Tel. Mahopac 8-3449

RESTAURANT

BALALAIKA
157 West 56 Street
New York City
Gypsy Orchestra
Dining — Dancing
Two Shows Nightly
Banquet Department
For reservations call PLaza 7-2334

FARM HOUSE & ACREAGE

FOR SALE. Remodeled farmhouse in good condition, Vinalhaven Island, Maine. Six rooms including large studio room suitable for artist or writer. Simply furnished with early American furniture. 48 acres of meadow and woods. Five minutes to ocean and town. Electricity can be easily installed. Box 396, % The Nation.

SUMMER HOME FOR SALE

PRETTY COTTAGE on Lake Placid. Sleeps 6, gas, electric, phone, boat, outboard. $250 per month. Box 397, % The Nation.

PERSONALS

AIR CONDITIONER — ¾ Ton, Popular Make. List $389.95. PRE-SEASON SPECIAL $189.95. Standard Brand Dist., 143-4th Avenue (13th & 14th Sts.), N.Y. GR 3-7819. 1 hour free parking or 2 tokens.

YOUNG LIBERAL, Male, married, desires opportunity to work and study with civil liberties lawyer in Los Angeles area. 1 year law. Box 395, % The Nation.

DOCTORS . . LAWYERS . . TEACHERS . . and other *Nation* readers

Where will they spend their vacations this year?

Why not tell them about your resort in the pages of

THE NATION

RESORT CLASSIFIED DISPLAY

$7.42 per inch, one insertion

Generous discounts for multiple insertions

Write or phone today for further information.

ADVERTISING DEPARTMENT

***The* NATION**
333 SIXTH AVENUE
New York 14, N. Y.
CHelsea 2-8400

Printed in the U. S. A. by Southern Farmer, Inc., P. O. Box 509, Montgomery, Ala.

All Aboard for THE NATION'S Tour

The Nation
The Nation
The Nation
The Nation
The Nation
The Nation
The Nation

Last Chance for A Memorable Vacation

THERE'S STILL TIME to join *The Nation's* special 1955 tour to Western Europe. *But you must act quickly.* Here is a rare opportunity to meet with men who help guide Europe's destiny in these crucial times; to get at first-hand a fuller understanding of what is taking place in Europe today; to meet with J. Alvarez del Vayo, *The Nation's* foreign editor, who is now in Europe, as well as with other outstanding journalists. You will visit England, France, Western Germany, Denmark, Sweden and Switzerland on this special tour planned by *The Nation* and the well-known travel agency, World Studytours.

THE NATION, Travel Department, 333 Sixth Avenue, NYC 14. Please send me your brochure on The Nation's European trip and the necessary application forms. Request for this material does not obligate you in any way.

NAME ______________________________

ADDRESS ___________________________

CITY______________ Z_____ STATE________

4/23/55

THERE WILL also be ample time for sight-seeing and recreation. You will see Stratford-on-Avon, Chester—earliest example of a medieval walled town remaining in England—the many fascinating sights of London; in Germany there will be time to enjoy the view from the "Alter Zoll" high above the Rhine, to visit Beethoven's home, the Munster, the University; in France you will visit the Louvre, the Opera, the Boulevards, the Sorbonne, Notre Dame—and also enjoy a taste of Parisan night life.

THE TOUR will be led by Colston Warne, Professor of Economics at Amherst, and President of the Board of Directors of Consumer's Union.

WHILE STEAMSHIP ACCOMMODATIONS are available, most of those taking the tour have elected to go by plane. The trip, by boat, begins June 24; by air, July 1. You will return to the states August 10 by air and August 17 by boat. The all-inclusive fee covers all transportation, all hotels, all meals, the full program of sightseeing, visits, interviews, discussions and entertainments; the guidance of Professor Warne and the services of organizers, guides and interpreters in each country. For further information and applications simply fill out the coupon on this page.

MAN OF THE WEEK AT BANDUNG BY SAM A. JAFFE

THE *Nation*

BURLINGAME
PUBLIC LIBRARY
Burlingame, Cal.

April 30, 1955
20c

Spring Books

WILLIAM SAROYAN

JOHN CARTER VINCENT

WALTER MILLIS

JOHN CIARDI

CARLOS BAKER

AND OTHERS

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

Letters

Haitian Story . . .

Dear Sirs: It is with a sense of sorrow that I write to you about the article called Haitian Volcano by Bernard D. Nossiter, that appeared in your issue of March 26. It was particularly painful to read it in your magazine, because still fresh in my mind is the glorious role played by The Nation and its editor, Oswald Garrison Villard, in Haiti's struggle for independence, 1915-36. During those years The Nation helped us hold nigh the banner of our cause.

As a newspaperman, now the publisher of Haiti's largest and oldest daily, I have always believed that a good correspondent must be objective and must give both sides of a question. Unfortunately, Mr. Nossiter describes only the seamy aspect of Haiti. And he seems to have based his article not on verifiable facts but on back-street gossip and the murmurs of the discontented. He repeats abuse and destructive criticism but ignores evident and impressive facts. I would like to cite a few of these facts.

During his five years in office President Magloire has established universal suffrage in the elections for chief of state, given women the right to vote, organized for the first time in Haiti's history labor and trade unions, established adult education centers, built three hundred schools, built a hundred miles of new roads, helped to establish forty new industries giving employment and new skills to many workers, inaugurated a slum-clearance program and built several "workers' cities," increased tourism by 400 per cent, and sponsored the Artibonite Valley development with a new system of land distribution to peasants. It would take too long to enumerate all the other achievements of President Magloire's government.

I will not detail the inaccuracies in Mr. Nossiter's report. Let me only mention that all former presidents of the Senate are present and accounted for—none are in hiding as asserted by Mr. Nossiter—and that I can furnish him the complete statistics of the National Bank of Haiti, which he could not or would not find.

Mr. Nossiter seems to suggest that he did not find freedom in Haiti. As a newspaperman, he must know that freedom of the press is the accurate barometer of general freedom. As a newspaperman he must also be aware that, after full investigation, the Freedom of Information Committee of the Inter-American Press Association regularly lists Haiti as a nation enjoying freedom of the press.

Naturally, no country is perfect. The people of Haiti have undergone deep suffering for many centuries. They were the first to follow the United States in raising the flag of freedom in the Western Hemisphere They declared their independence in 1804 and, to drive out the French colonists, they engaged in a scorched-earth campaign that left the country devastated and barren, one of the poorest in the Western Hemisphere.

The road to progress has been uphill and rocky, but we have advanced steadily along it. It is a pity to see national effort toward a better life belittled by the superficial comments of a hit-and-run reporter. Fortunately, such a reporter must be considered a minority of one, since all other correspondents from the United States and other countries have been fair and favorable to our people and their government.

ERNEST GEORGES CHAUVET,
Permanent Delegate of Haiti to the U.N.
New York

. . . The Author's Answer

Dear Sirs: M. Chauvet questions two statements of fact in my article. He suggests without saying so directly that the National Bank has issued a monthly bulletin since July. Unable to find one in Haiti, I made a last check at M. Chauvet's office at 32 Broadway, New York City, in March. There I was told that the latest bulletin was that of July, 1954. He also says that all former Senate presidents are "accounted for." I hope this does not mean that Jean Belizaire, a founder of the short-lived Civil Liberties League, has been discovered and re-arrested since I left Haiti in February.

M. Chauvet talks of Haiti's "freedom of the press." With the suppression of Le Constitutionel the country's last independent paper went out of existence. The government, through Ministry of Interior handouts, subsidizes Haiti's press. Editors of the more servile papers are rewarded with government jobs and trips abroad. It was M. Chauvet's own Le Nouvelliste that stressed the universal "applause" for Magloire's praise of the police who murdered two men posting anti-government signs.

M. Chauvet speaks of "back-street gossip." In Haiti I interviewed leaders in the nation's political and cultural life. Unfortunately, I cannot reveal their names. Some now bear the marks of Police Chief Prosper's hospitality, and none are anxious to repeat the experience.

M. Chauvet points to the "constructive" achievements of the regime:

Suffrage—after Magloire deposed President Dumarsais Estime, the Ministry of the Interior conducted a plebiscite. Magloire was awarded 98.7 per cent of the ballots; the runner-up called the election "hokum" and refused to vote.

Unions—they actually flourished under Estime. The Magloire regime subsequently boasted in "The Haitian Economy in 1954," a pamphlet for American investors, that unions now are weak and few in number.

Schools—I saw some of the new "schools" in St. Marc. Typical was the one in a corner of a carpenter's shop. Three classes sat together cheek by jowl, reciting by rote, while a buzz saw droned behind a thin partition.

Roads—paving the highway from Port-au-Prince to Cap Haitien will not stop farm land from being washed into the sea, Haiti's key problem.

Industries—the new plants, of minute importance in Haiti's economy, owe their birth to Estime's 1949 tax law.

Housing—Citie Magloire, a few hundred tiny but adequate units built near the airport, offers housing at rentals equal to an average worker's monthly pay.

Tourism—it is a big dollar earner.

Artibonite Valley—Former President Estime signed the agreement with the Export-Import Bank that started the project. It has not been destroyed, but Magloire did shut down a generator built by Estime.

My admiration for Haiti's noble people, who for a century and a half have waged a struggle for independence, has not been diminished by the excesses of M. Chauvet's government.

BERNARD D. NOSSITER
New York

Next Week

WALTER MILLIS discusses the significance of the celebrated "Braden case" for our civil liberties.

J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO, reporting from Paris, tells what Europeans think about a Big Four conference.

GENE MARINE stands by as West Coast business men meet the atom and try to figure out what's in it for them.

VOLUME 180, NUMBER 118
NEW YORK, SATURDAY, APRIL 30, 1955

THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

The Shape of Things

Let's Negotiate to Talk

Washington appears ever ready to talk about negotiations, but never quite ready to negotiate about talks. The cantankerous remarks which greeted Chou En-lai's proposals for a tete-a-tete on the subject of Formosa is typical of the Administration's inability, or unwillingness, to adapt itself to the customary shifts in Communist policy. Granted that the Chinese Premier's offer was not everything that could be desired and was subject to as many reservations as a suspicious recipient could read into it. Nevertheless we have said not once but a thousand times that we want peace in the Formosa Strait, and here is an opportunity to find out whether such a peace is possible.

Almost alone among the politicians in Washington, Senator George saw the possibilities and urged that the Administration take advantage of them. To dismiss the Chinese suggestion as only a propaganda gesture is to assure that, as a gesture, it will succeed. Mr. Jaffe's article on the Bandung conference in this issue makes clear that in the view of the majority of Asian nations Chou went far along the path of reconciliation, and we will not enhance our prestige in the Orient by refusing to meet him part way.

Nor is it tactful—assuming we want peace—to lay down conditions for talks in the manner of a conqueror treating with a defeated enemy. No one has defeated China yet—not even the Seventh Fleet. Our national interest demands that if we talk to the Chinese we do so armed with the kind of political sophistication required in all international dealings. But it does not demand either arrogance or the kind of cynicism which, in the end, must inevitably insure failure.

The Arabs at Bandung

Ironically, the unanimous vote at Bandung in favor of the resolution supporting the Arab extremist position on Palestine demonstrates not the unity but the divisions among the Asian countries participating in the conference, as well as the cynical and opportunistic power politics which all of them are learning to play. Not a single nation, including those in the Arab bloc, can have been under any illusion that the status quo in the Middle East could be changed without the consent of Israel or, failing that; of a new war. In that sense, the resolution is meaningless.

The Moslem powers voted for it to give the illusion of Moslem unity; the non-Moslem powers as part of the wooing of their Moslem minorities and of the Moslem powers. For the Chinese Communists, here was a remarkable opportunity to retaliate against Israel, which, even though it recognized the Communist regime, voted for naming China as an aggressor in the 1951 resolution adopted by the United Nations. Peking also took the opportunity to reward the Arab nations, most of which abstained in the 1951 vote.

Even more important, the Communist espousal of the Arab cause at Bandung gave Chou En-lai a chance to show himself to the world as the defender of Arabian intransigence and thus to increase the Arab bloc's disaffection from the West.

Colonel Nasser, who maneuvered to bring about the resolution, surely has no illusions as to what would happen to his government if ever the Communists came into power in Egypt. But for him it was an opportunity both to reassert leadership in the Arab world and at the same time, by his flirtation with the Communists, to increase his bargaining power with the West.

Not as easily explained is India's vote. A country whose unique distinction has been its high moral attitudes will have to give the civilized world a more valid explanation for its support of a resolution which ignores historic facts and present realities to the detriment not simply of Israel but of peace in the Middle East. Carrying equal responsibility with India, though not a participant in the conference, is the United States. The failure of this country to insist upon a final settlement of the Palestine war and an effective solution of the Arab refugee problem, coupled with its recent blatant wooing of shaky Arab governments, has convinced the Arabs that through intransigence they can get everything they want from the State Department.

Tunisian Agreement

Details of the settlement reached by French Premier Edgar Faure and Tunisian Premier Zahar Ben-Ammar last week in Paris are not yet disclosed. The main provisions, however, indicate that a long step has been taken toward early home rule, and eventual independence if the Tunisians want it. The fact that Habib Bourguiba, leader of the nationalist Neo-Destour Party, was released from house-arrest to consult with M. Faure on the final terms and later approved the accord, is itself a guaranty that Tunisia won a substantial measure of freedom. French forces will still control a "security region" along the Libyan border and a French general will act as Defense Minister; the French High Com-

In This Issue

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 357

ARTICLES

Man of the Week:
Chou En-lai at Bandung
by Sam A. Jaffe 359
Echo of McCarthyism:
The French Press Under Fire
by Fred Clarke 360
Green Supremacy
by Buford Posey 361
Eccentric Titan:
McCormick of the Tribune
by Elmer Gertz 362
Art for Man's Sake:
A Minority View
By William Saroyan 364
Refuge of the Scholar:
The University Press
by Victor Reynolds 366

SPRING BOOKS

Homework for Mr. Dulles
by John Carter Vincent 368
Henri Matisse (a poem)
by Joseph Langland 369
"A Life of Allegory"
by Carlos Baker 372
Congressional Inquisitions
by Walter Millis 374
Facts Without Vision
by John Berger 376
Schoolmaster and Clergyman
by John Ciardi 378
New Books in Brief 380
THEATER and FILMS
by Robert Hatch 381
MUSIC by B. H. Haggin 383
CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 617
by Frank W. Lewis opposite 384
LETTERS opposite 357

Editorial Board

Freda Kirchwey — Editor and Publisher
Carey McWilliams — Editorial Director
Lillie Shultz — Director, Nation Associates
Victor H. Bernstein — Managing Editor
J. Alvarez del Vayo — Foreign Editor

Martin Solow — Assistant to the Publisher

Harold Clurman — Theater
B. H. Haggin — Music
Robert Hatch — Films
Gladys Whiteside — Copy Editor
Caroline Whiting — Assistant Literary Editor
Alfred Maund — Editorial Assistant
Mary Simon — Advertising Manager

Contributing Editors: Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K Smith, Carolus, Keith Hutchison, H. H. Wilson, W Macmahon Ball, Maxwell Geismar, Bruce Catton.

The Nation, April 30, 1955, Volume 180, No. 18

The Nation, published weekly by The Nation Company and copyright, 1955, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879 at the Post Office of New York, N. Y under the act of March 3, 1879. Reentered as second class matter at the Post Office, Montgomery, Alabama Printing Office 1603 Reuben Street.

Subscription Prices Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12, Three years $17 Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1. **Change of Address:** Three weeks' notice is required for change of address which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs, Information Service, Dramatic Index.

missioner will be Foreign Minister and serve as France's representative at Tunis. But other governmental powers, including judicial and police, will be turned over to Tunisians on a gradual basis, and the Cabinet will exercise full authority in most domestic matters.

What was decided about the rights of French and other European settlers is not entirely clear, except that they are to be "protected." It is certain that this issue will be hotly fought in the French press and eventually in the National Assembly which must ratify the agreement. In fact M. Faure showed considerable courage in pushing to a conclusion the negotiations started by his predecessor, for it was the proposal to end the protectorate over Tunisia that unseated Mendes-France. The interests of the settlers are powerfully represented in the Assembly and among the officials in charge of colonial affairs. Already bitter protests are being voiced by French leaders in Tunisia although M. Bourguiba, soon to return, predicts a peaceful change-over. Whether he is right or wrong, it seems pretty clear that another important fragment of empire faces early liquidation.

Elections in Italy

While Italy's Premier, Mario Scelba, was in Washington trying to arrange closer collaboration with the United States on international affairs, bigger American investments in Italian industries, and help in the construction of an atomic-energy plant for peacetime use, his opponents at home were taking political advantage of his absence. Once the Paris agreements were ratified, the opposition in Italy turned to other issues in its attempt to break the government coalition. One of these is the presidential election next month. It is still uncertain whether President Einaudi, who recently celebrated his eighty-first birthday, will offer himself for another seven-year term or withdraw from the fight. But in either case a new element has been injected into the pre-election maneuvering by Pietro Nenni, leader of the Left Socialists, who has suddenly put forward Ferruccio Parri as a presidential candidate.

Parri was the first Prime Minister of Italy after the war and, as Nenni well knows, has retained his great prestige as a man of ideals and integrity. Today he is the key figure in Unita Popolare, a small group created as the result of several splits among the Italian Socialists. It stands to the right of Nenni and to the left of Saragat. Nenni's promotion of the candidacy of Parri coincides with his appeal, made during the recent Socialist congress in Turin, for "conversations with the Catholics." Certain left-wing leaders of the Christian Democrats have been not wholly unreceptive to this overture. To them the idea of Parri as President, with the prospect of a more progressive government that could count on the support, if not the participation, of the Nenni Socialists is rather attractive. In any event the coming Italian presidential election may prove more lively and interesting than usual.

MAN OF THE WEEK

Chou En-lai at Bandung . . *by Sam A. Jaffe*

Bandung, April 24 (by cable)

IF Chiang Kai-shek is the perennial "man of the year" in the world of Mr. Luce, certainly Chou En-lai proved to be the "man of the week" in Bandung. His suggestion that the United States and China negotiate directly on Formosa startled all the delegates and delighted most of them. Even his last-minute warning that the Chinese people were reserving their "sovereign rights" to liberate the island failed to alter the feeling, shared by a majority of delegates, that a door to peace had been opened which Washington would find it difficult to ignore. Indeed some delegates were convinced, as they departed for their homes at the conference's close, that Washington knew before hand what Chou was going to say. It is interesting that only a few hours before the Chinese Premier spoke, a Pakistani delegate told me that a "Formosa development" was afoot which, he implied, had a measure of approval from both Washington and Peking.

BUT whether the proposal was the outcome of bilateral or multilateral plotting or was merely a unilateral effort on Peking's part, there can be no doubt of its propagandistic success. The effect was the more dramatic in that up to the time he made his announcement, Chou, soft-spoken and moderate on all other issues, had been adamant on this one. Through a series of private conferences he had maintained the position that Formosa belonged to Communist China, and Chiang Kai-shek was a bandit who must be divested of his stolen property.

This is not to say that Chou had everything his way here. The texts of the numerous general resolutions passed on the last day of the sessions contain words and phrases which doubtless irked him. By attaching the phrase "in all its manifestations" to the word "colonialism," the delegates reminded Chou that there are many nations which consider that the imperialist is not alone in holding people in bondage.

ON THE personal side, the most dramatic development of the conference was the rivalry between Nehru and Chou, each a candidate for the "leadership" of Asia. In the eyes of most observers Chou was the winner hands down. The Peking representative came here to make friends, and he proved successful despite the unexpectedly sharp attacks on Communist ideology which came from the West-orientated nations. His moderation in the face of Kotelawala's demand that Communist, as well as imperialist, colonialism be ended attracted widespread and favorable attention. Even the pro-Western Prince Wan of Thailand and General Romulo of the Philippines were impressed by this mild-mannered man who acted as if Afro-Asian unity were more important than anything else on the agenda. And his support of the Arab resolution on the Palestine question served him well in his courting of the Arab world.

Arab delegates, on the other hand, accused Nehru of trying—but failing—to split Moslem unity. They insist that he accomplished nothing by his courtship of Nasser of Egypt, who disagrees violently with the Indian Premier's views on both Kashmir and Palestine. They admit that Ali Mohammed of Pakistan, who led his country away from the Moslem bloc into the Western alliance, is a weak link in the Moslem chain. But even Ali, they say, cannot go too far to the West without endangering his position with his own people.

Chou En-lai made several private assurances that his country intends to help Asia to live in peace; there will be no attempts at "subversion," he has declared, and there will be no shooting. But he was very careful in all these private talks to make it clear that in his opinion the Formosa question is not an international one.

On the other hand Peking was able to reap some measure of good-will by its attitude toward the overseas Chinese, whom by tradition China has always claimed as its own. Chou has already signed an agreement with Dr. Sunarjo, Indonesian Foreign Minister, settling the long-standing problem of the "dual citizenship" of the 3,000,000 Chinese residents of Indonesia. While the terms of the agreement were not made public, it is believed that they established the right of the Chinese to opt either for Indonesian or Chinese citizenship. Similar agreements are under negotiation with Burma, Thailand, and other countries where Chinese minorities are large and their status a cause of continual friction. An agreement with Thailand, heretofore implacably anti-Communist, would be of special propaganda value to China in view of the doubts cast on the "coexistence" theory by many of the conference speakers.

THE conference was designed initially to lay the foundations for future agreements rather than to achieve them in a week's sitting. This it has succeeded in doing. The future will undoubtedly see constructive developments in the cultural and economic fields which will have important political effects in the coming years. The conference has been a success in that it has brought representatives of more than half the population of the world together—the half which, at one time or another, has been under the domination of Western imperialism—to discuss mutual problems. The Bandung conference will be followed by a second. A new dynamic world force is emerging from the jungles of Africa and the rice paddies of Asia.

SAM A. JAFFE is The Nation's *special correspondent at Bandung.*

ECHO OF McCARTHYISM

The French Press Under Fire . . *by Fred Clarke*

Paris

TWENTY-FOUR hours after the ratification of the Paris agreements by the French Senate, Roger Stephane, copublisher of the left-wing weekly, *France-Observateur,* and one of its editors, was clapped into a military prison. He was charged with divulging in his newspaper information endangering the security of the state, and if convicted he is liable to up to ten years' imprisonment. Unless quashed, this case can give France a sinister McCarthyite look.

The incriminating articles, allegedly conveying inside information on the proceedings of the French National Defense Council concerning the Indo-China war, were published in *France-Observateur* on July 30, 1953, and on May 27, 1954. Gilles Martinet, the weekly's editor-in-chief, had been indicted but not arrested in December, 1954, and again in February, 1955, for printing in an article published November 26, 1953, a telegram from the French ambassador at London pertaining to British commitments in the now defunct European Defense Community and for revelations about Indo-China in an article printed on July 8, 1954. Claude Bourdet, another distinguished editor of the paper, is being threatened with libel proceedings for blasting as a "McCarthyite" M. Duval, the trial judge of the military tribunal which brought in the indictments.

The National Federation of the French Press has "indignantly protested against indictments which are not justified by any national interests and which directly violate the freedom of the press." The only discordant note has been sounded by the *Figaro,* which insists that freedom of the press does not give journalists the right "not to respect the secrets of national defense."

FRED CLARKE is an American free-lance writer now in France.

Now these secrets were not strictly speaking, carefully guarded, and the fault therefore was less that of the journalists who published them in the national interest, as they saw it, than of the government sources which allowed the leak. The country was divided top to bottom on *la sale guerre.* Governments favoring the prosecution of the war justified their failure to seek a truce by rosy reports of the military situation; the opposition in official positions, cooperating with courageous journalists, felt that the only way to stop a war that was draining the wealth and man-power of the nation was to reveal the truth. In doing so, they were merely confirming the many dispatches published in the French press by correspondents on the scene.

An examination of the various "leaks" makes this quite plain. On July 30, 1953, the military analyst of *France-Observateur* punctured the "victory" claims of the High Command in Laos by showing that the French advance had dangerously extended the lines of communication and supply. The subsequent defeat at Dienbienphu dramatically confirmed his analysis.

Concealing the scope of the defeat, M. Bidault, then Foreign Minister, intrigued at the Geneva conference for continuing and internationalizing the war. On May 27, 1954, Roger Stephane put a crimp in these plans by disclosing the facts of the catastrophe as reported to the Defense Council by three generals who had just completed an on-the-spot investigation. At about the same time a textual account of the report appeared in the pro-Mendes-France weekly *Express,* and an inside story of the same Defense Council meeting was published in a rightist Paris daily.

On July 18 Gilles Martinet disclosed that the army was urging the dispatch of two divisions of French regulars [illegible] Indo-China. Preparations were actually under way, but Mendes-France held them up in fear of a breakdown of the Geneva conference. Sending this contingent could not have rescued the French from their hopeless military situation, but it could have provided Dulles with a justification for the direct intervention of American troops. On the same day the Paris correspondent of the New York *Times* cabled the same information, adding military details lacking in Martinet's story.

DID these reports endanger the external security of the state as is charged—that is, provide the enemy with information as to military plans, troop dispositions, and the like. Nobody thought so at the time; otherwise the editors would have been prosecuted on the spot.

"Do you believe that betrayal in France caused the Dienbienphu disaster?" Lucien Bodard, *France-Soir* correspondent, asked French officers, from generals to privates, in Indo-China. The answer of a colonel is typical of what they all said: "What good is it to seek vain excuses for a defeat? We were beaten, that's all. I don't know whether there was treason in France, but if there actually was, I can assure you it had no consequences here in the sphere of battle. Why would the Vietminh have to get their intelligence in France? For eight years the enemy always knew what we were doing and what we were preparing." M. Temple, a former Minister of Defense, confirmed this. One of the articles, he said, did reveal defense secrets, but they could not have been utilized by the Vietminh army or have influenced the Geneva parley.

In view of the facts, the prosecution of the editors appears to be a political attack on a courageous journal. *France-Observateur* has too often stirred the wrath of the colonialists, who now in a changed political climate are demanding retribution. They have not forgotten that this paper first exposed the gigantic piastre racket, which enriched French banking interests, or that it printed detailed accounts of the brutalities of the colonial administrations in North Africa. Even the judge has an ax to grind, for it was Martinet who, leading a committee of intellectuals, made him the laughing stock of Paris in 1952 for his "insurrectional" proceedings against Jacques Duclos. (The "carrier pigeon" discovered in the Communist leader's car on the scene of the anti-Ridgway demonstration turned out to be a dead bird he was bringing home for supper.)

The indictments against Stephane and Martinet mark a sharp turn away from the original purpose of the criminal investigation into the "scandal of the leaks," which broke last September. At that time a police commissioner, M. Dides, was caught red-handed with a copy of the minutes of the National Defense Council in his briefcase. This Dides, a shady character who had been in the Vichy police during the war, was a director of an international espionage network which held frequent meetings at the offices of Paix et Liberte, a government-subsidized anti-Communist propaganda agency. The sessions were attended by representatives of the Premier, Cabinet Ministers, and the Defense Council. On the evening before his arrest Dides had a dinner engagement with "an American colleague attached to the United States embassy," to use his own words.

The ostensible aim of the organization was to obtain anti-Communist intelligence, but its more important function was spying on political opponents of the regime in power. When Mendes-France became Premier, the bureau turned its attention to him, since he was suspected of "softness to communism." Information purporting to show the weakness and unreliability of the Mendes-France government was peddled by the bureau to the heads of government at the Brussels conference last August and helped cause the collapse of that conference. The Premier publicly expressed his indignation in Parliament and evidently intended to uncover the network in all its ramifications. But faced with the need of conciliating the right—which was deeply implicated—in order to get votes for the Paris agreements, his enthusiasm for the investigation began to wane. The right, on the other hand, seized on certain aspects of the inquiry that could be used against the Mendes-France government to kindle the lynch fever to overthrow it. A pathetic feature of the affair is that in the midst of this McCarthyite attack on him Mendes-France permitted the judicial inquiry to be turned against *France-Observateur.*

With the right now solidly intrenched in the government, the campaign to make "traitors" of those who opposed the Indo-China war—and possibly also those who fought German rearmament—can go far. *France-Observateur's* editors may be only the first victims. The tip-off seems to have been given in the conservative *Parisien Libere.* Feigning indignation that only journalists have been arrested in the "leak scandal," that paper has said pointedly: "However, it is quite evident that since the journalist is not in the first place the possessor of national-defense secrets, he can only be the accomplice of the one who betrayed. It would be better before arresting alleged accomplices to search for the real culprits." One of these "real culprits," marked out by the right in the stormy Assembly debates a few months ago, is apparently Francois Mitterand, Minister of Interior in the Mendes-France Cabinet.

Fortunately the left is not so weak, dispersed, and frightened as it was in the United States when the hunt for "culprits" who had "betrayed" national interests to the Chinese revolution preoccupied American political reaction.

Green Supremacy . . *by Buford W. Posey*

Philadelphia, Mississippi

PHILADELPHIA is a typical Mississippi rural community located in the red-clay hills of the east-central part of the state. It is the Neshoba County seat and also the official capital of the Choctaw Indian nation; there is a large Choctaw reservation nearby. About twenty-five years ago, when I was a boy, the white residents were always complaining because the federal government gave financial and other aid to those "sorry, stinking Indians," who were then considered as "low-down" as Negroes.

But since 1930 or thereabouts, thanks to a smooth-talking gentleman named Odie Moore, the Indians are invariably referred to locally as "our noble red brethren," and they are most welcome in the community. Moore, a fast-talking chap with large ideas, convinced the white people in this area that the federal government had violated its 1839 treaty with the Choctaws—the Dancing Rabbit Treaty, it is called—and therefore owes the tribe many millions of dollars. If the local white people would only think about it, he said, they would realize that many of the early white settlers in the county had married Choctaws, which meant that most white people in the area had Indian blood in their veins and were therefore entitled to a share of the money. He avowed that the whole sum was ready and waiting in the Treasury in Washington; all that had to be done was for the Indians to file their claims and collect.

Times were hard here in 1930, as they were all over the country a year after the crash, and Moore thought it would be very unfair if the Choctaws got all the money and their poor white relatives nothing. To avert this injustice, he founded the Neshoba County Choctaw Indian Benefit Association. He invited everyone to join, declaring that he would personally see to it that every

---

BUFORD POSEY is a life-long resident of Neshoba County, Mississippi.

member would receive $1,000 for each dollar contributed to the organization. He explained that he had to charge membership dues in order to defray the expenses of a trip he proposed to make through the country collecting the signatures of everyone who possessed Indian blood. In this way, he said, everyone entitled to a share of the money would receive it. And, he added, sooner or later he would have to go to Washington to arrange for the collection of the millions.

Neshoba County has a population of 25,000, and it seemed that most of the whites in it had Indian blood. Thousands of contributions poured in, and soon Moore became the wealthiest man in the county. One resident sold his large farm and gave Moore the entire proceeds. Many people bought especially large mail boxes to accommodate the money they expected, for Odie assured them that it would come in cash and probably by mail.

The years rolled by. I assume that Odie made his trip to Washington, but the money certainly never made the trip to Neshoba County. Nevertheless, Moore succeeded in convincing large numbers of people that payment was "just around the corner," and he continued to receive contributions for fifteen years until his death in 1945. The benefit association he founded has outlived him. Membership dues now are $100 a year, and many local whites still pay their dues regularly in the hope that "them folks in Washington will finally get honest and pay us the Indian money."

So far as this area is concerned, Indians are permitted to intermarry with whites in direct and specific violation of the white-supremacy laws of the state of Mississippi.

THE members of the Burnside family were born, lived, and died in the nearby community of Burnside, named after them. It is common knowledge that the mother of the last generation of Burnsides was once a mulatto slave. But the white people chose to ignore that fact, for the Burnsides owned a sawmill which gave employment to many whites. After all, jobs are very scarce in Neshoba County. The esteem in which the family was held was symbolized by the fact that Sim Burnside, the leader of the clan, was always addressed as "Mr. Sim."

Sim, the last of the Burnsides, died in December, leaving a will which stipulated that his $250,000 estate be used to establish a wildlife preserve. Soon afterward a group of twenty-five respected white residents of the county, claiming to be Sim's second cousins, petitioned the court to set aside the will on the ground that the testator had been ill at the time he made it and had been unduly influenced by the people he named as executors. The court, after a lengthy trial, ruled in favor of the twenty-five white petitioners. But the case is not yet settled, for now eight Negroes, asserting that they are *first* cousins of Sim, have filed suit to claim the estate for themselves.

NESHOBA COUNTY was a stronghold of the late Senator Theodore G. Bilbo, perhaps the most extreme racist of the modern South. But I suppose when a man sees the flicker of a greenback in the corner of his eye, all other colors disappear. Sometimes I wonder what would happen if the federal government suddenly decided to compensate the present generation of Negroes for the fact that their ancestors had been held in slavery. How many white people would suddenly remember that the white slave owner often went to bed with one or another of his female slaves? It is just possible that with the expenditure of a couple of billions of dollars the government could solve the whole race problem in the United States.

ECCENTRIC TITAN

McCormick of the Tribune . . *by Elmer Gertz*

Chicago

AT THE memorial services the preacher said: "You and I will perchance live many long days and many long nights before we meet the equal of Robert Rutherford McCormick." His judgment of the Chicago *Tribune's* famous publisher was probably right but for different reasons from those he had in mind. Even the obituary columns of the *Tribune* itself dwelt upon the Colonel's eccentricities, recalling with pride the time when he removed one of the stars from the flag in the Tribune Tower by way of demonstrating that he had read New Deal Rhode Island out of the Union.

A few weeks before his death the Colonel and his Wheaton pastor, the Reverend Robert Bowman Stewart, were sitting in front of the fireplace at his Boynton Beach home in Florida. The Colonel was in a nostalgic mood and spoke of the psychological struggles and personal difficulties of his childhood. Then he turned to the clergyman and said, "Did you ever know my brother?" (He referred to Medill McCormick, Representative and later Senator from Illinois.) "He was brilliant," he added, and repeated with emphasis, "He had a brilliant mind." Then, staring into the fireplace, he said with regretful simplicity. "I was never brilliant."

That is the life tragedy of Colonel McCormick in a few words, as recorded by a sensitive friend. Years

---

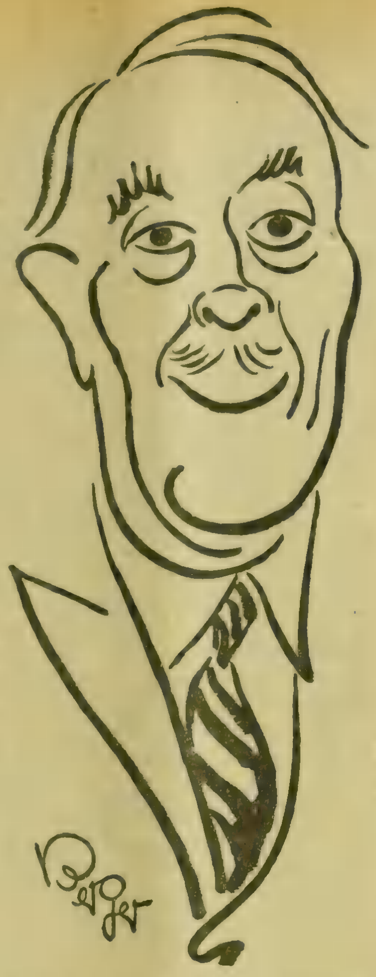
ELMER GERTZ, a Chicago lawyer and a frequent contributor to The Nation, *is completing a history of the Chicago* Tribune.

ago I asked his classmates and masters at Groton, even to old Endicott Peabody himself, what they remembered about McCormick and his cousin, Joseph Medill Patterson. Young Patterson had impressed them as strong-willed and brilliant, a boy with character and a future. But their recollections of McCormick were slight, blurred, indefinite. He was a nice, shy boy who made no particular impression.

THE Colonel was like a myopic man with thick dark glasses and a headache looking at the world on a cloudy and cheerless night. Everyone appeared sinister to him—the farther away they were the more evil, although many right under his eyes had a dark aspect, too. Anyone who questioned his beliefs was a traitor or a fool. It is easy to understand why such a man could say, "Anyone who speaks up for the United Nations is obviously either a Communist or misinformed." No one in Hollywood or New York City could be a decent, patriotic American. Virtue was confined to the Middle West.

He remained to the end a shy man who tried to hide his fear of society by exaggerated masculinity in the form of soldiering and polo playing. He was sure only of his own solid virtues. Mr. Stewart once said to him, "Are you ready to stand up and be counted as a Christian?" And the Colonel replied with his customary directness, "Tell me what I must do and where I must be and I shall be there." When he died the one hymn sung at the funeral service, by his command, was Onward Christian Soldiers, and he was buried in his World War I uniform while the rifles of soldiers from his old outfit gave a final salute.

From early manhood almost to the end McCormick made many speeches, and all of them required a great effort of will. He spoke only because he felt that it was his duty to do so. He was never at ease on a platform or before a microphone. The dulness of his delivery was lightened only by his extravagance of thought or quaintness of language. His writing had the same defects. The famous editorials were composed by his subordinates.



Robert Rutherford McCormick

It used to be said that McCormick and Patterson loathed each other and that Patterson started a new paper, the New York *Daily News*, so that they might be separated by a thousand miles. But in what he called copy "No. 1" of his book, "The Army of 1918," McCormick wrote: "To my best friend, Joe Patterson. Robert R. McCormick." True the two men had different temperaments. Patterson was a radical who receded to a New Dealish attitude before embracing ultimately his own peculiar form of reaction; McCormick was more consistently conservative. If McCormick aided Teddy Roosevelt's Progressive Party in the 1912 Presidential election, it was not because of any real belief in its tenets but because his brother, who nursed high political ambitions, was active in it.

But even in the pre-New Deal days McCormick inveighed against the high cost of government. Despite his marked paternalism toward his employees, which sometimes reached heights of generosity, he was utterly opposed to all forms of public aid or social legislation. He opposed "the post office, waterworks, farm boards, and other self-liquidating ventures into socialism." He declared categorically that "no government enterprise has ever been conducted without financial support extorted from private taxpayers." Overtaxation, he said, could only bring "the slavery, squalor, misery, and pestilence" of the Dark Ages or of Russia. He had excellent relations with the unions in his own shops but abhorred trade unions in general. He feared all who rebelled against the lords and masters of the respectable past and wanted to build brave new worlds of their own.

Hating all that Franklin D. Roosevelt stood for, McCormick was nevertheless one of the truly great fighters for the freedom of the press. He accumulated through the years a comprehensive library of material on the press which he read like a religious devotee. He employed the ablest attorneys in the country in the Near case and other legal battles to establish the rights of newspapers. At the same time he generally supported repressive legislation and court decisions directed against those whom he styled Communists. He never uttered a word against the witch hunts of our day and was perhaps the most ardent journalistic partisan of McCarthy, whatever he thought of him in private.

It was fashionable in McCormick's day to say that *Tribune* support for a candidate was the kiss of death. This was hardly true. The *Tribune* was a right-wing Republican voice in a Democratic town, but it had an effective veto in Republican councils — no Republican in Cook County could get anywhere without the Colonel's blessing. And Edward J. Kelly was not the only Democrat who owed his rise to power to McCormick.

Some have minimized the talents of McCormick, asserting that he had little to do with the success of his newspaper empire except in choosing good lieutenants. They say that it was James Keeley who in the years before World War I initiated the policies and features which gave the

Tribune its preeminence—the service columns of legal, medical, household, beauty, financial, and other advice and the thorough, imaginative news coverage. In Keeley's day, however, the *Tribune's* circulation never went beyond 200,000. Only after first Patterson and McCormick and then McCormick alone took control did it soar sensationally to the million mark.

McCormick shrewdly recognized that the even-tempered editorials published under Keeley were deadly dull. He introduced the extravagant note and made each page, in effect, a shrill editorial. This angered or amused people and gained readers. He was also responsible for the typographical richness of the paper, the promotion stunts, the acquisition of giant paper mills, the great building program, the business efficiency. His ability cannot be gainsaid even if he was a bizarre personality easily caricatured as Colonel McCosmic.

WHAT is to become of his empire? He left no children and few relatives in the Medill line. Joseph Medill and his descendants—the McCormicks and Pattersons—owned a controlling share of the stock of the parent company, but large blocks are in the hands of the Lloyds, the Cowles family, and others. When the McCormick-Patterson trust expires in 1975 and McCormick's share goes to charitable organizations as provided in his will, there are bound to be epochal changes; the Medill-McCormick-Patterson blood may no longer control. But what of the intervening twenty years, which will undoubtedly see great political, social, and scientific developments? Will the *Tribune*, as it has done throughout its history of more than a century, play a dominant role?

Under the McCormick will, four individuals who were closely associated with him in the management of the *Tribune* properties for a quarter of a century, together with his niece, Mrs. Ruth McCormick Tankersley, control the Colonel's stock; and the will expresses the pious hope that the niece's son will participate in due course. These people are all nurtured in the McCormick tradition and are all as conservative as the Colonel was without being as eccentric. Behind them is Chicago's most powerful law firm—Kirkland, Fleming, Green, Martin, and Ellis. Weymouth Kirkland, pronounced by the Colonel's niece to be the greatest lawyer in the country, fought alongside of the Colonel in the famous Henry Ford libel suit, the proceedings against Big Bill Thompson and his henchmen, and the freedom-of-the-press cases.

For the present the paper will follow the course set by McCormick, but a more reasonable tone can already be detected. The Keeley error of moderation may be repeated, and other Chicago newspapers are hot on the trail. The *Tribune* has lost circulation in recent years, while the *News* and *Sun-Times* have been gaining. Still, several days after the Colonel's death enough of his bite remained for the *Tribune* to print in its Voice of the People columns a letter from a German returning to his own country who, after asking to have the *Tribune* sent on to him, gave some advice to Americans:

> We Germans remember too well Nuremberg and the infamous, immature behavior of the American occupation army. . . . As you are three-quarters peasants from Italy, Poland, or Russia itself, where do you get the idea you are the whole world? Your blood lines are horrible to contemplate. You are cowardly swine afraid of everything under the sun.

It will be duller in Chicago when such extravagances are omitted from the columns of the Colonel's paper.

ART FOR MAN'S SAKE

A Minority View . . *by William Saroyan*

I HAVE been thinking for some time about theatrical art in general and musical comedy in particular. What are they? What ought they to be?

The end result of my thinking is that I consider a "system" or "philosophy" of theatrical art useless and possibly mischievous, although it can give the untalented a momentary feeling of security. (Security on the stage, in their work? No, just in themselves, at home, or in the street.)

This brings up the whole matter of theatrical systems and techniques, which to this day are being followed from longer than fifty years ago. In fact, the most skilled players have been schooled in one or another of the old systems. Anything wrong with the systems?

Yes. A system may very well make an *order* of effectiveness inevitable, but it is here that the mischief begins. The order may very well be undesirable, as I think the order of most current theatrical and film effectiveness is undesirable—in that it is unimaginative, repetitious, and in a deep sense both meaningless and destructive.

Let us take, for instance, the film that is supposed to be the best of the earnest films of last year, "On the Waterfront." This is a bad film, and yet it gives an impression of being good. Effectiveness *is* achieved, but it is an artificial, not artful, effectiveness in that the fable pretends to be real, or even super-real—done right on the waterfront itself, for instance. The result is that there is neither fable nor truth, even though all performances may be considered skilled, and one or two touched by greatness, or comparative superiority.

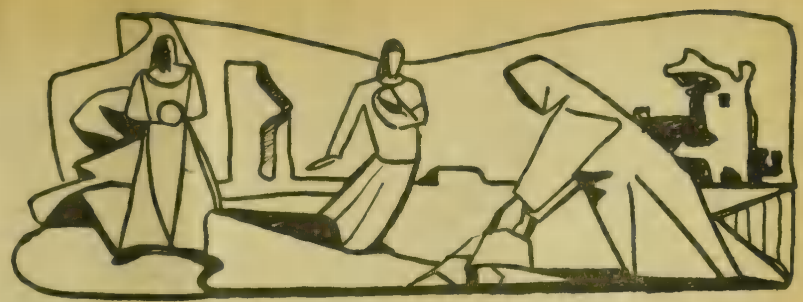
WILLIAM SAROYAN is the author of the successful play "The Time of Your Life" and of many novels and short stories.

But what is the film saying, in any language? It is saying the names of those who are connected with it. The unanimity of the "voting" in favor of the film has some sort of meaning, I suppose, but not much. Now, even Chaplin's effectiveness has grown unsatisfactory with time, but if you want to get a relative idea about what such a fable might have been, just impose Chaplin's system or technique on the story. The purposeless "heaviness" of everything is supplanted by speed and wit. The almost embarrassing emotionality is thrust aside by an order of sentiment which is still pretty much universal, if by now useless.

Or to get closer to the form of the musical, let us take "The Saint of Bleecker Street," also unanimously acclaimed, and also bad, both in choice and in use of material. What is this work saying? For all its involvement in various things, it is saying the name of the composer—which is the point that now needs to be made.

All of Shakespeare says Shakespeare with an effectiveness which has become intrenched, but which may not necessarily be the end of the life of effectiveness—or to put it another way, the only order of effectiveness.

What is the precise order of Shakespeare's effectiveness? Out of basic passions and preoccupations—out of elemental plots in the tragedies, and tricky plots in the comedies, and fairly narrative plots in the histories—come first an order of usage of English which remains irresistible in spite of the fact that it is overloaded with vast amounts of word-jingling for its own sake, and second a satisfying, or fairly satisfying, order of resolution, or conclusiveness.



Hamlet is mad. Hamlet demonstrates how being mad is not entirely just that, how it is almost always also being brilliant, wise, gentle, vicious, gallant, amusing, stupid, and all the other things any great man who is *not* mad might very well be. Hamlet lays about him wildly and eloquently and foolishly, drives others mad, kills them, is killed, and ends by again saying Shakespeare, or the writer who can do anything—a little better or a little more unaccountably (greatly?) than anybody else writing before or after him. The name Shakespeare is the name of his humanity and genius, or his view of the world and time, and human life on and in them. But is Shakespeare's dramatic effectiveness the ultimate of the potential of effectiveness? It is not. Whose is? Nobody's, at the moment, but, then, Shakespeare's rivals haven't worked very well or very hard.

WHAT do we want art to do? What is it for? Until we consider these questions, we are apt to be carried away by the useless and repetitious in art. We want art to impel human life toward the achievement of its best potential, which is—what? To thrive, in all of the implications and dimensions of that condition. To thrive with love, zest, and humor, and to endure pain and the meaninglessness of life and death with grace and humility. In short, to be, if not great, at least a little less small than a creature with intellect and memory ought to be.

Excitement is the device—or "gimmick," to use a currently popular term—of drama, and this is the source of the mischief. But is it possible to convey the tragic nature of human life without the use of excitement? It isn't easy, but it *is* possible, and the challenge of doing so, or of trying to do so, is becoming greater every day with the logical carrying-through of the principle of excitement in the time of nuclear discoveries. If the effectiveness of art is to continue to lie in human excitement, how can the destructive use of such discoveries be avoided? And if art achieves effectiveness in calm and in intelligence, how can the nuclear discoveries not reject the relationship to weapon? If the human soul is an idiot's, and human brilliance and power are a maniac's, how can the human race get to heaven, so to put it? The nuclear weapon was used against the human race in Shakespeare's finest tragedies. The contemporary dramatist, or artist of any kind, has the responsibility of transforming weapon into worker—in everything he creates. The collective intelligence of the nuclear men has to be matched by the collective humanity (love) of the fable men—the writers and artists. To report chaos and hate is not to put order into chaos or to banish hate. The potentials for order and love are inherent in human life and just as easy to achieve as their opposites—and certainly a lot more practical, if nothing else.

How do you do it? You do it by trying to do it, and failing, most likely, and then trying again. One of Joyce's basic principles has gone a little too unnoticed, I think: that he would not permit himself to use material that might achieve effectiveness because it happened to be violent. Was this a criticism of most of Shakespeare's work? A rejection of almost all dramatic, and much literary, effectiveness? Yes, that would seem so. If you're going to have murder and madness in art, then you're going to have them in life, too.

But isn't it the other way around? Yes, that *is* the theory all right, but somebody goofed there. It doesn't matter that real men and women go, or are driven, mad, and that they kill one another. With compassion for them, they just don't happen to be the means by which to measure or by which to improve the nature of the survivors—and art and everything else are always concerned with the survivors. The dead, whoever they are, cease to be anybody's concern the minute they are dead.

I have a short play called "Hello Out There" which I permitted myself to write out of violent material. It was the easiest play I ever wrote. Everything was exciting at the outset, and there was very little real work for me to do. I therefore consider the play worthless, if not in fact a mistake, the high opinion of others notwithstanding. As a writer, as a dramatist, I simply do not believe I have the right to identify human beings as the enemies of human beings. Is there any enemy at all? Is time an enemy? Nature? Change? Loss? Failure? Pain? Death? Not in my thinking. All things, including pain and death, are friends, if for no other reason than that they exist, and the friendship of them must be discovered, measured, understood, and cherished.

WHAT is the purpose of a musical, since I began a moment ago by being concerned about that? It is the same as the purpose of all art—to impel or encourage the human being to thrive pleasantly, humbly, with valor if possible, without fear or hate, and with humor and grace. That's quite a lot to try to do with a jazz band and dancing girls, but it can be done. The comedian will help, if only somebody will write a truly great comic role, to be performed, for instance, by one or another of our wonderful clowns: Durante, Savo, Groucho Marx, Gleason, Jack Benny, Joe E. Lewis, Berle, Gobel, *et al.* Or do they just have to go right on making all that money they keep making, as if they knew why?

It's a problem. It's part of the overall problem. You can be very effective if you are willing to be meaninglessly so, as almost all of our art is. But the time has come to be damned thoughtful for a moment, and then to be effective the hard way—for better reasons than fame and box office.

REFUGE OF THE SCHOLAR

The University Press . . *by Victor Reynolds*

THE function of a university press, according to one experienced university publisher, is to issue just as many books as possible—short of bankruptcy. This seems to describe the financial angle fairly well. When it is added that the books should be works of merit, and primarily scholarly books, the necessary points have been made. The Association of American University Presses, with forty-six members in the United States and Canada, has put the whole matter clearly:

> There is general agreement . . . that the primary functions of a university press are to publish the results of research and scholarship for the benefit of other scholars and to publish readable, authentic interpretations of such scholarship for the layman. Some university presses add a third responsibility —the publishing of books which interpret the culture and history of their particular regions of the country.

University publishing in America had its eighty-fifth anniversary last year. Andrew D. White, first president of Cornell, established the first university press in America in 1869, one year after the opening of the new college at Ithaca, New York, that gave equal standing to the applied arts alongside the traditional disciplines of the liberal arts. But printing had begun at Oxford fifteen years before Columbus discovered America and at Cambridge early in the sixteenth century. Presses at both English universities seem to have been officially established toward the end of the sixteenth century. When the privilege of printing the Bible and the Prayer Book was granted to Oxford and Cambridge about a hundred years later, a subvention was provided that is not likely ever to be surpassed.

Cornell's example was soon followed by Johns Hopkins, Chicago, and Columbia, and within fifty years thirteen presses had been established, though three were unable to stay in continuous operation. Between 1919 and 1945 the number grew rapidly, and today there are university presses in twenty-five states, the District of Columbia, Hawaii, and Canada.

In 1953 the book publishers of the United States issued about 12,000 new titles, including new editions, and of this number the university presses were responsible for approximately 1,200, or 10 per cent. Since the commercial publishers are all eager for business, it may be reasonable to wonder why the universities have entered the field. Here, again, the Association of American University Presses is on record with the answer:

> Scholarship has, in recent decades, become more and more specialized. The fruits of that scholarship, in published form, are likewise specialized, but none the less essential for the progress of civilization. By their very specialization, these books can command only a relatively small sale in the American publishing scene today.
>
> At the same time, rising costs have increased the minimum number of copies that a publisher must sell in order to obtain a profit on the publication of any book. Thus circumstances have forced the scholarly book largely into the non-profit or deficit category, and the commercial publisher cannot afford to underwrite books of this nature. . . .
>
> Not all of the books published by university presses come out in the red, of course. . . . But the decision to publish a book, as determined at a university press, is based on scholarly merit and usefulness, not on possible profit.

There seems to be no good reason for the commercial publisher and the university presses to be concerned about possible competition

---

VICTOR REYNOLDS has been head of the Cornell University Press since 1943.

between them. Though the former issue many titles that are genuinely informative, they pay more attention to packaging and to quantity sales. Of course a university press is lucky to get a book that even nudges the best-seller list. The paper-backs, with their incredible growth since the late nineteen thirties, are not apt to be paralleled in the catalogues of university presses. In fact, if present practices are continued, no conflict seems likely.

THE books issued by university presses cover the range of human knowledge. Of the 1,200 published in 1953, about half were in the humanities, one-third in the social sciences, and one-sixth in the sciences. In the humanities one might name as representative titles "Power in Buildings: An Artist's View of Contemporary Architecture," by Hugh Ferriss (Columbia), "The Rise and Splendour of the Chinese Empire," by Rene Grousset (California), and "The New England Mind: From Colony to Province," by Perry Miller (Harvard); in the social sciences "The Economic Development of Mexico," published for the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (Johns Hopkins), "Europe and the United States in the World Economy," by Robert Marjolin (Duke), and "America First: The Battle Against Intervention, 1940-1941," by Wayne S. Cole (Wisconsin). Typical titles in the sciences could be "Historical Development of Inclusion Thermometry," by F. G. Smith (Toronto), "Physiological Foundations of Neurology and Psychiatry," by Ernst Gellhorn, M. D. (Minnesota), and "Free and Unequal: The Biological Basis of Individual Liberty," by Roger J. Williams (Texas).

In developing a suitable book-publishing program a university press must give some attention to a balanced effort, but eventually the list of a particular press is almost certain to represent the interests of the parent institution. It has been suggested that the faculty of the university may be expected to provide manuscripts for at least a third of the books published, and it is true that colleges or universities of consequence will keep the university press more than busy.

The presses at Chicago, Columbia, and Harvard are among the largest in America in both volume of business and number of new titles published each year. Next come those at the University of California, Princeton, and Yale. Three of the newest are at Indiana University, the University of Hawaii, and Notre Dame. Yale maintains a series devoted to the work of the younger American poets, and Indiana also puts some emphasis on poetry. Hawaii naturally is particularly aware of the history, problems, and accomplishments of the Pacific area, an interest shared by California, Washington, and Stanford. Fiction is generally scarce among university-press titles, but the relatively young press at Michigan State College wishes to introduce to America established writers from other lands and has already made available three or four novels by R. K. Narayan of India. Princeton has given considerable attention to informative works on the Middle East.

BOOKS that have been manufactured and put in stock must be distributed. Some of the problems of distribution can be met through organized cooperation. The association maintains an Educational Directory, that is, a large mailing list of scholars, libraries, and administrators, under the supervision of the University of Chicago Press. Cooperative exhibits of university-press books, supervised by Yale University Press, are presented at meetings of learned societies. A monthly bulletin of all titles published by member presses is compiled for the association by the Cornell University Press and mailed to college, university, and the larger public libraries, as well as to individuals who request that their names be put on the mailing list. In addition, selected and annotated lists of books in the humanities, social sciences, and sciences are prepared and distributed twice a year for the association by the University of Illinois Press. These lists go to about 200,000 scholars and interested readers in America and other parts of the world. The various presses are also making a cooperative effort to sell their product to general bookstores and to advertise it in a way that will attract the intelligent layman.

The general interests of university presses are looked out for through the committees of the association. Of these, the recently appointed special committee on the freedom to publish has to be particularly alert. University presses are not inclined to neglect a book because it is controversial, but the chairman of the freedom-to-publish committee reported at the association's last annual meeting that no member's freedom to publish had been curtailed during the first year of the committee's existence. University publishers have a vivid sense of their responsibilities and of the public interest. The series of volumes from Cornell on civil liberties and civil rights and Harry S. Ashmore's recently published "The Negro and the Schools," with a foreword by Owen J. Roberts, from the University of North Carolina Press, are representative of sincere efforts in lively areas.

The particular contribution of the university press is readily granted, but it is appropriate now and then to have a summing up. This was admirably supplied by the publisher to the University of Oxford when he spoke in America not long ago:

> What is the task of a university press? I should say it is to conserve what is best in the literature of all nations, to produce the best scholarship in all fields, to distinguish between the ripples and waves of popular taste, and to discern what is lasting. Like good men, good publishers should know that the fashions of this world pass rapidly away, and they must needs occupy themselves—somewhat, at least—with the abiding.

Homework for Mr. Dulles . . *by John Carter Vincent*

[John Carter Vincent served in the United States Foreign Service for twenty-eight years, half of them in China. From Changsha and Hankow he watched Chiang Kai-shek's triumphant march northward in 1926-27; from Nanking he watched Chiang consolidate his military and political position; from Mukden and Dairen, 1931 to 1935, he watched the Japanese take Manchuria and begin the absorption of North China; from Chungking, during the Sino-Japanese war, he watched and warned against the Nationalist government's gradual loss of popular support.

Called back from China, Mr. Vincent spent eight years off and on in Washington at the Far Eastern desk of the State Department; in 1945-47 he was director of the Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs. "In 1945," he says, "I warned that Japan would be out of the war six months after Germany's defeat and all but wept over the Far East provisions of the Yalta agreement; and in 1946 I hoped, prayed, and despaired that the Marshall mission to China could prevent the civil war that brought disaster to the country."]

WANTED: AN ASIAN POLICY. By Edwin O. Reischauer. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.75.

IN THE autumn of 1945 a young professor who had done his stint in the army and a short tour in the Department of State was offered the position of Deputy Director of the Office of Far Eastern Affairs (the current title is Deputy Assistant Secretary). Professor Reischauer indicated politely but firmly that he intended to remain in the academic atmosphere of Harvard, to which he had just returned.

The State Department's loss was Harvard's gain; but it is interesting to speculate, in view of the title and contents of his new book, what might have happened had he assumed the task of helping "direct" Far Eastern affairs in the crucial years that followed the Japanese surrender. Such speculation acquires special piquancy from the fact that Mr. Reischauer is almost uniformly critical of policy on the Far East during those years, and he is almost uniformly right.

We did "absolutely and literally nothing," he says, to prepare during the war years for the fact that "a feeble and chaotic Korea would be a weak spot in the post-war order." We did try after the war was over to unite Korea under a trusteeship but failed because of Soviet intransigence. We did draw up during the winter of 1946-47 a comprehensive plan for the expenditure of a half-billion dollars in South Korea on economic and defense projects to prove to the Communists that we meant business, but this plan, after receiving White House approval, was not submitted to the Congress because the President, who was suddenly faced that spring (1947) with the Greek crisis, felt that the Congress would not vote funds for both Korean and Greek-Turkish aid and believed that the latter was the more important. Also it was in those days that the Secretary of War and his advisers were trying, because of Congressional cuts in appropriations, to figure some way of getting out of Korea "gracefully." Policy, needless to say, is not made in ivory towers; it is more often than not the somewhat mangled outcome of opposing opinions and interests.

Indo-China and Indonesia presented particularly acute problems as the war closed. The reviewer can confirm with feeling that "government officials who dealt primarily with Asia tended to advocate a clear-cut American stand in favor of Indonesian independence" (and a trusteeship for Indo-China), "but were overruled by the preponderant number of officials who looked primarily toward Europe and felt that we should do nothing which would irritate the Dutch" (or offend French prestige). Indonesia of course gained its independence, after some unnecessary turmoil, and Indo-China has fallen into a divided state of uneasy independence and Communist domination; but the immediate post-war passion in some American quarters for the status quo in Southeast Asia must be held largely accountable for the trail of distrust, disorders, and disasters which has characterized subsequent developments in that area. And yet even as late as 1953 the present reviewer was rapped over the knuckles by the late Senator Pat McCarran of Nevada for having stated in a speech in 1946 that support of the status quo in the Far East would not bring stability to that area and furthermore that it would be an error to rely on China as *the* stabilizing force in the western Pacific. This latter statement was interpreted by the Senator's committee as showing a lack of "loyalty" to Chiang Kai-shek. Now Professor Reischauer cites our early attempts to make China the stabilizing force in the Far East as one of our major post-war policy errors.

ON THE widely and none too wisely debated question of who or what lost China, Mr. Reischauer somewhat uncritically describes the defeat of the Chinese Nationalists as "our clearest policy defeat in recent years" and continues: "It is hard to find a historical parallel to the defeat we suffered in China." Perhaps Mussolini's Fascist brigandage in Italy, Hitler's Nazi perversion of Germany, and more recently the subversion of Czechoslovakia to communism are not historical parallels because no responsible person has thought to attribute these noteworthy departures from democracy to the shortcomings of our foreign policy. True, we did try to save China, but the author is "appalled" at how wrong most of our civilian and military officials were "about what would or could happen in China," and charitably adds that it would be "a mistake to attribute the Communist triumph in China primarily to what Americans did or did not do." Later, the professor becomes more historical-minded, in his discussion of Communism and Democracy, and leaves one with the distinct impression that it was the early failure of Chiang's Kuomintang to give to China a type of democracy and government suited to national needs and aspirations which caused the final swing to communism.

The reviewer, less historical-minded, thought there was still some chance in 1944 of preventing a collapse of the Kuomintang through reform, until General (Ambassador) Patrick J. Hurley appeared on the scene as a veritable Oklahoma bull in a China shop; and that there was still a desperate hope in late 1945 when General Marshall undertook to forestall civil war and a probable Nationalist defeat. But it was Chiang's determination to proceed with the elimination of the Communists before consolidating his own political, economic, and military position that wrecked any chance of "saving" China, short of shipping American divisions out to fight the war, which neither the American public nor the Congress would have tolerated.

In 1947 Chiang in his New Year's address to the people boldly declared that he "would eliminate communism from China as a military threat in five months and as an ideological threat in five years." Two years later, one year before the final defeat of the Nationalist armies, Chiang transferred "what liquid assets the government possessed" and "ample stocks of munitions" to Formosa (Ambassador Leighton Stuart: "Fifty Years in China") while on the mainland Nationalist troops were deserting en masse because of lack of pay and ammunition. Dr. Stuart comments somewhat naively that Chiang made the transfer to show "his determination to fight communism to the end"!

In his chapter entitled The Chinese Puzzle, Professor Reischauer has little new to add to current thinking about China, but what he says is much to the point: Chiang's ability to reconquer China is "a mere will-o'-the-wisp"; Formosa is the logical place for "a clear demonstration that democracy can be a practical and desirable system" for Asia, including China; economic and military "pressures" on the Peking government are not likely to be effective; and serious thought should be given "to the reestablishment of normal diplomatic relations with the Chinese instead of shying away from this possibility in unthinking horror." If we can develop the self-control "to keep our mouths shut at times and to sit on our hands," he foresees a probable line of division "between the proud Chinese and the domineering Russians," whom the Chinese have traditionally regarded as *ta pi tzu* (big noses). Here is the only place that I would raise even a tentative question as to the professor's scholarship. In the Chinese streets in which I circulated, the term *ta pi tzu* was applied indiscriminately to Westerners, but in North China and Manchuria the Russians, also without too much discrimination, were generally greeted with the eptihet *hung hu tzu* (red-beard bandit). The *hung hu tzus* will get you if you don't watch out seemed to be a common fear among Chinese children. There may be a measure of hope for a survival of this feeling even in Communist China.

Professor Reischauer is at his scholarly best in his analysis of The Situation in Asia, and some Western misconceptions concerning it. From the politico-economic viewpoint, it is primarily time which separates the East from the West, or more precisely the timing of the impact of the machine age on political and social institutions. As Asia progresses slowly toward industrialization many of the differences which now seem to distinguish it from the West will lose significance. Furthermore, what we are prone to call the influence of the West on Asia might be more accurately defined, the author points out, as the impact of the age of machine production on Asia, and what we have considered a uniquely Asian problem may be merely a retarded "Asian version of a world-wide phenomenon." The lazy Western tendency to regard all

Henri Matisse

Discrimination through pure color
is one sure way to shock
new admirations from the universal heart.

Anaphoras of sound, another.
Or poised angular lines
circling upon the dancing of their own rhythms.

If blue ladies sleep on a green couch
in a green room, dreaming
beyond yellow roses and pink blinds to the clear

blue Mediterranean, dreaming
as far as eyes can dream
beyond those bedroom windows, then one red petal

flicks upon the mirrors of the sea,
a floating miracle
flaming upon that subtle and watery world.

And all clear! We were, you know, in dreams:
blue ladies somnolent,
yellow roses in vases silent as roses. . .

and then, ah! Monsieur Henri Matisse
looked at his world and said,
how lonely, and in his own image created

the green ennui of Eden, mild blue
skies, and sleeping ladies
arousing their blue heads under his apple boughs.

JOSEPH LANGLAND

Choose any 3 book

THE LIFE AND [redacted] OF SIGMUND FREUD by [redacted] Jones—"One of the outstanding biographies of the age."
List Price $6.75 —New York Times

THE OPPOSING SELF by Lionel Trilling—"Perhaps the [redacted] outstanding of [redacted] general American critics today."
List Price $3.50 —London Times Literary Supplement

SELECTED LETTERS OF JOHN KEATS, edited with introduction by Lionel Trilling and *Selected Letters of Lord Byron*, edited with introduction by Jacques Barzun—"(Byron's) story is better told in his own words than it has ever been told by any of his swarming biographers."
List Price $7.25 —Charles Poore

THE TIME OF THE ASSASSINS by Godfrey Blunden—"Perhaps the only novel [redacted] Russia written by [redacted] contemporary that [redacted] stand favorable comparison with *Darkness at Noon.*"
List Price $3.75 —New York Times

THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE RING by J. R. R. Tolkien—"No fiction I have read in the last five years has given me more joy than *The Fellowship of the Ring.*"
List Price $5.00 —W. H. Auden

THE SHORES OF LIGHT by Edmund Wilson—"These short and occasional pieces display all the qualities that have made Wilson one of [redacted] most respected critics."
List Price $6.50 —William Phillips

BOUVARD AND PECUCHET in [redacted] volume with *The Dictionary of Accepted Ideas*, both by Gustave Flaubert, and *The Selected Letters of Gustave Flaubert*—"We have needed these works, and here we have all expert translators and distinguished critics to give us Flaubert again."
List Price $9.25 —Alfred Kazin

THE HOUSE BY THE MEDLAR TREE and *Little Novels of Sicily* by Giovanni Verga—"Verga is one of the masters of modern literature...the father of the Italian novel of our century."
List Price $6.00 —Paolo Milano

THE COLLECTED POEMS OF DYLAN THOMAS—"They contain the
absolute poetry that has been written in our time."
List Price $3.75 —Herbert

IN SEARCH OF THEATER by Eric Bentley—"A cohesive work that deser
be studied and cherished."
List Price $6.00 —John Ga

THE LIFE OF REASON (One Volume Edition) by George Santayana—"The
adequate contribution America has yet made, always excluding Emerson, to
philosophy."
List Price $6.50 —John D

THE CENTURY OF TOTAL WAR by Raymond Aron—"A book which
the closest attention...and introduces to America [redacted] of the distinguished
of our time."
List Price $5.00 —Arthur Schlesing

RESTLESS HOUSE by Emile Zola and *Emile Zola* by Angus Wilson—"This i
gent and lively volume *(Emile Zola)* may help Zola capture his right place
body of American critical opinion.
List Price $6.75 —Henri

CLASSICS AND COMMERCIALS by Edmund Wilson—"The range of Mr.
son's literary interests, [redacted] of his erudition, is [redacted] great part of his stature as a c
List Price $5.00 —Newton

THE LIFE OF JOHN STUART MILL by Michael St. John Packe—"This
mous, learned and brilliant biography is [redacted] fine example of [redacted] nearly lost art,
raphy in the grand manner."
List Price $6.50 —Orville Pr

THE DESERT MUSIC by William Carlos Williams—"...as Williams grows
he will rise as far above his contemporaries as Yeats did above his in his latter y
List Price $3.00 —Kenneth Re

The Great CRASH 1929
Individualism Reconsidered
THE NEW MEN
POEMS

or $5.25

E GOLDEN HORIZON edited by Cyril Connolly—"...caught in its faintly ercilious eye is a fair share of minor masterpieces."
Price $6.00 —Time

/RITER'S DIARY by Virginia Woolf—"...it is Virginia Woolf. Here we have t she was and what she was for."
Price $5.00 —Elizabeth Bowen

END TO INNOCENCE by Leslie Fiedler and *The Great Crash* by J. K. Gal- th—"For the last ten years, Leslie Fiedler has been one of the liveliest and most vocative interpreters of American culture. I know of no publishing venture ch is more needed than bringing his essays together in one volume."
Price $6.50 —Robert Gorham Davis

DIVIDUALISM RECONSIDERED by Davis Riesman—"Riesman is a sociolo- with 'style', a moralist with a new vocabulary, and a writer whose insights are n spectacular."
Price $6.00 —Saturday Review

E INTELLIGENT HEART by Harry T. Moore—"A painstaking, scholarly and pathetic exploration...will remain one of the basic books on its subject."
Price $6.50 —Joseph Henry Jackson

E PRIVATE DIARIES OF STENDHAL translated and edited by Robert Sage A literary event of the first order."
Price $7.50 —John K. Hutchens

E. CUMMINGS POEMS 1923-1954—"Cummings is one of the finest lyric ts and social satirists America has yet produced."
Price $6.75 —David Burns

E NEW MEN by C. P. Snow—Winner of the James Tait Black Prize Award the best novel published in England in 1954.
Price $3.50

You may become a member of The Readers' Subscription
by selecting the three books (retail value up to $23.00) that you wish to receive for $5.25 and mailing the coupon below. As a member, each month you will receive a copy of *The Griffin*, our magazine. After reading reliable reviews by Editors, *W. H. Auden*, *Jacques Barzun*, and *Lionel Trilling*, you will be able to accept or reject the current selection. And with every fourth selection accepted, (exclusive of your initial order) you will receive a bonus book of your own choosing.

Saving on monthly selections will average 25%, and your over-all savings, realized through the receipt of bonus books will exceed 45%. For the opportunity of enjoying these savings and services you agree to accept three more selections during the next year.

The Readers' Subscription, Inc. 35 West 53rd Street, New York 19, N. Y.

Send me at once the three titles I have checked and bill me $5.25 plus a small charge for postage and handling. I agree to accept three more selections during the coming year. GUARANTEE: If I am not completely satisfied, I may return my first shipment within 7 days and my membership will be cancelled.

LIFE OF FREUD ☐
OPPOSING SELF ☐
LETTERS OF KEATS / LETTERS OF BYRON ☐
TIME OF THE ASSASSINS ☐
FELLOWSHIP OF THE RING ☐
SHORES OF LIGHT ☐
LETTERS OF FLAUBERT / BOUVARD AND PECUCHET ☐
NOVELS OF SICILY / HOUSE BY THE MEDLAR TREE ☐
POEMS OF DYLAN THOMAS ☐
IN SEARCH OF THEATER ☐
LIFE OF REASON ☐
CENTURY OF TOTAL WAR ☐
EMILE ZOLA / RESTLESS HOUSE ☐
CLASSICS AND COMMERCIALS ☐
LIFE OF J. S. MILL ☐
DESERT MUSIC ☐
GOLDEN HORIZON ☐
A WRITER'S DIARY ☐
AN END TO INNOCENCE / THE GREAT CRASH ☐
INDIVIDUALISM RECONSIDERED ☐
INTELLIGENT HEART ☐
DIARIES OF STENDHAL ☐
POEMS OF E. E. CUMMINGS ☐
THE NEW MEN ☐

Name..
Address..
City........................ Zone........ State........................

Asians as peas out of the same pod is decried, but "if there are any attitudes common to all Asians," he tells us, "they are a fundamental resentment against Western domination in the recent past, a deep suspicion of Western motives in the present, and a very real fear of Western actions in the future." These attitudes find their expression in the strong attachment of all Asians to nationalism and in their desire to achieve economic independence of the West through industrialism.

FOR improving our relations with Asia, which he finds "profoundly disturbing and extremely dangerous," Professor Reischauer's specific is a determined effort on our part to arrive at a better understanding of the problems of the various Asian nations and to make ourselves and our democratic ideals better understood by them. While not underestimating the importance of military support and economic aid, given in a manner which takes fully into account the hypersensitiveness of Asians to any real or imagined infringement of their sovereign rights, he places the principal emphasis on "our arsenal of ideas" as an "implement of policy." If we do not win the battle of ideas against communism, our efforts on the military and economic fronts will be of little avail. It is with the ideals and practices of democracy, not any specific pattern of Western democracy, that we should fight ideological war in Asia. McCarthyitis and other minor maladies in our national life may seem to be handicaps at times, but Asians by and large know that we are basically democratic, and it is basic democracy, adapted to the needs of Asian nationalism, which will attract the leaders and peoples of the East. The task is difficult, with the odds perhaps against us, the author cautions. Only through deep understanding and unrelenting effort can we gain the confidence and cooperation of the Asian nations.

In view of his long and close association with Japanese studies, it is quite natural that Professor Reischauer should be most impressive in his tracing of Japan's past and his discussion of Japan's current relations with us. He points out that we face "a delicate problem of timing" because on the one hand we cannot permit our military and economic support to come into conflict with Japanese nationalist feelings lest its very purpose be defeated, and on the other hand we cannot withdraw support without running the risk of Japan's turning to communism or to some other form of totalitarianism. The Japanese want and are seeking a new position of dignity and destiny in the Asiatic community. It is in our interest to cooperate with them in achieving that goal.

There is much in Professor Reischauer's book that has already been said; there is much more in it that has not been said and that cannot be said or read too often. It should be "must" reading for the Dulles policy-planners. They will not find any ready-made policies, but they will find background and recommended attitudes which should be of much assistance to them in working out policies for Asia. The Secretary himself might do well to take the book along with him on his next trip.

"A Life of Allegory"

AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY. By Edwin Muir. Sloane Associates. $5.

By Carlos Baker

"A MAN'S life of any worth is a continual allegory," wrote the poet John Keats, "and very few eyes can see the Mystery of his life—a life like the Scriptures, figurative. . . . Shakespeare led a life of Allegory: his works are the comments on it." The hypothesis of Keats, interesting enough in itself, is one which gains the possibility of further interest by being applied to the life of Edwin Muir, the Scottish poet and critic, who here brings his autobiography up to date, incorporating the materials published in 1940 under the title of "The Story and the Fable" and moving up to the present time. The work on this revised and enlarged life of Muir was done in scraps of term time and in the vacations at Newbattle Abbey College in Scotland, where Muir has held since 1950 the post of Senior Warden.

The title of the earlier volume is indicative. For there is the story, the day-to-day, month-by-month account of comings and goings, doings and undoings, additions and subtractions, those outward and tangible events which Keats called "the multitudinousness of things," too many and too remotely related for our imaginations to grasp. And there is the fable, what Keats calls the allegory, that inward, unseen thrust and rudder, that deeper determinism, that patterning agency, by which if it is to happen at all, the merely multitudinous can take on shape and meaning. If we have to deal with a poet, we shall do best to look into his poetry for the imaginative shape of his life, and the shape lies partly exposed and outcropped there in Muir's excellent "Collected Poems." Yet when a man has crystallized his experience, and arranged the gems in some kind of order, there still remains much to be accounted for, much more indeed of fact and fancy than has ever got itself said in the poems. This is where the autobiography can enter as an agent of supplementation, or as a background against which the poems can show that much more clearly and brightly.

MUIR'S autobiography displays the quality of structural roundness in that it begins and ends in Scotland, with a protracted center which brought Muir and his gifted wife to the larger Continent, to Prague and Dresden, to Italy and Austria and France, and brought them, too, into touch with that conviction of the inevitability of the historical process which Muir regards, evidently, as one of the great and evil illusions of our time. The pattern of his life, in the larger sense, is one which moves from the illusions of childhood spent in a far and lonely region, into the illusions of history learned among the cultural centers of Europe, and finally to the hard,

---

CARLOS BAKER, chairman of the Department of English at Princeton University, is the author of "The American Looks at the World," "Hemingway, the Writer as Artist," "Shelley's Major Poetry," "Shelley's Poetry and Prose," and other books.

illusionless, democratic work of schoolmastering the deserving but impoverished Scottish students into the larger intellectual life: like, for example, the miner who came to Newbattle Abbey College and won a scholarship to Cambridge University with a dissertation on Immanuel Kant.

The first fourteen years were spent in the Orkneys, that scattered little group of islands that lies off the northernmost tip of Scotland, at enough of a remove from the dangerous Cape called Wrath to suggest an idea of peace, of lonely and windswept removal, which the facts as Muir sees them do not exactly warrant. In the Orkneys as he knew them there was "no great distinction between the ordinary and the fabulous," so that Auld Nickie, like as not, might appear suddenly in a thresher's barn to help the farmer with his grain, or one might encounter handsome little "fairicks," as beautiful as the leprechauns were grotesque, weaving some sort of dance on the wet sands in the misty moonlight.

When he began to write poetry, at the somewhat advanced age of thirty-five, Muir discovered how lucky he had been to spend a childhood in those Islands of the Blest. "These years had come alive," he says, "after being forgotten for so long, and when I wrote about horses they were my father's plow-horses as I saw them when I was four or five; and a poem on Achilles pursuing Hector round the walls of Troy was really a resuscitation of the afternoon when I ran away, in real terror, from another boy as I returned from school. The bare landscape of the little island became, without my knowing it, a universal landscape over which Abraham and Moses and Achilles and Ulysses and Tristram and all sorts of pilgrims passed; and Troy was associated with the Castle, a mere green mound, near my father's house."

Much later he was to be hectored in another sort of way, and to learn a further terror than being pursued by a bully home from school. In Prague the Muirs met a young Czech writer named Vera whose late husband, during the war, had served an underground group. Picked up by the Gestapo, the two young patriots were brought together. If Vera's husband would not talk, they would torture her as well. "But by then he had been so maltreated that he could not recognize her, and a young Gestapo man strangled him." Later they sent her, as a keepsake, a black cardboard box containing a neatly folded white shirt to which adhered dried blood and small scraps of her husband's skin. Vera had a photograph of the Gestapo group. "That is the one," she pointed out to the Muirs, "who strangled my husband." Auld Nickie took unhappier forms in the twentieth century than he had taken on the grain-thresher's floor in the Orkneys at the close of the nineteenth.

MUIR found that at his lowest periods of resistance he was continuously haunted by what he calls the "animal traits in human beings." One entry in his journals simply says: "We all come out of a hole and go back into a hole. Leave hiding and go back into hiding. The distance between is disguise." The reader thinks of Yeats's bitter lines on the dragon-ridden days of 1919 when those who talked of honor and truth had learned to "shriek with pleasure" if they showed "the weasel's twist, the weasel's tooth." Muir found in the dark days of the nineteen-forties that he could see men and women as human beings "only when [he saw] them as immortal souls."

In the end Muir emerges as a qualified optimist. "I cannot," he says, thinking back on the multitudinousness of his own career, "bring life into a neat pattern." But if there is a pattern of any sort, it is that the "most good" for the individual comes from "a few loyalties, and a few discoveries . . . which must always be made anew." As he looks back "on the part of the mystery which is my own life, my own fable, what I am most aware of is that we receive more than we can ever give; we receive it from the past, on which we draw with every breath, but also . . . from the source of the mystery itself, by the means which religious people call Grace." Muir's is the autobiography of a naturally pious man who has been to hell and back and lived to tell the tale, one version of the fable of modern man, an allegory on the mystery of things.

Franklin D. Roosevelt as Governor of New York

By Bernard Bellush. "For many a decade it will stand as the authoritative summary of a critical period in the life of one of our greatest Americans."
ALLAN NEVINS. $5.00

Vichy—Political Dilemma

By Paul Farmer. At a time when France is again trying to rebuild her strength and make a place for herself in a divided world, this brilliant study throws much light upon France's present and her immediate past. $5.50

Israel's Emerging Constitution, 1948-1951

By Emanuel Rackman. Dr. Rackman demonstrates that Israel's constitution has taken form already and that further changes can be expected to be in the principles and composition of the parties. A comprehensive picture of politics and government in present-day Israel. $3.00

An Introduction to Japan

By Herschel Webb. " 'Introduction to Japan' serves as a history in capsule form and a starting off place for the reader who wants to delve farther. . . . A handy little book, thoughtfully and intelligently compiled."
CHICAGO TRIBUNE $2.75

At your bookstore, or from
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS
2960 Broadway. New York 27, N.Y.

A stimulating, fair-minded and outspoken inquiry by

ALAN BARTH

"One of the most reflective men in American journalism today."
—JAMES RESTON

"The best concise picture that we have yet had of the Congressional inquisitors in action."—**New Republic.** With his knowledge of constitutional law and his experience as a journalist, Alan Barth shows where Congress has invaded the fields of the Executive, the Judiciary, and private civil rights, and suggests practical and far-reaching remedies. $3.00

GOVERNMENT BY INVESTIGATION

by the author of
The Loyalty of Free Men
THE VIKING PRESS

BOOKS FROM

California

THE RISE AND SPLENDOUR OF THE CHINESE EMPIRE

By Rene Grousset

This historical narrative of the successive Imperial dynasties of ancient China includes many examples of their poetry, painting, and other works of art. $6.00

THE MOSCOW KREMLIN

By Arthur Voyce

A richly illustrated description of the ancient citadel of the Russians, its history, architecture, and art treasures. $10.00

THE WILHELMSTRASSE

By Paul Seabury

A study of German diplomats under the Nazis, their response to a totalitarian regime, and the complex problems of "moral responsibility" of a civil servant under such conditions. $3.00

MANY MEXICOS

By Lesley Byrd Simpson

This standard work explores the natural and historical forces instrumental in the formation of the Mexico of today. $5.00

PETROLEUM IN VENEZUELA

By Edwin Lieuwen

A historical account of the corruption, exploitation, and waste in an oil-rich country, and the resulting impact on inter-American and international affairs. $3.00

At your bookstore

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS
Address: Berkeley 4, California

Congressional Inquisitions

GRAND INQUEST. The Story of Congressional Investigations. By Telford Taylor. Simon and Schuster. $4.50.

GOVERNMENT BY INVESTIGATION. By Alan Barth. The Viking Press. $3.

By Walter Millis

THESE are two serious studies of the Congressional "grand inquest." Both begin, as Congress itself did, with the St. Clair investigation in 1792. Both proceed from very similar viewpoints; they often cover much the same ground; the basic answers at which they arrive, if I understand them rightly, are much the same. Yet they are complementary rather than repetitive. Mr. Taylor goes with greater erudition into the history, the laws and complex precedents; Mr. Barth, with a warmer sense of indignation, more fully displays the contemporary excesses of government by investigation—Senator Eastland's "trial" of Clifford and Virginia Durr; Senator McCarthy's wrecking of the Voice of America and assumption of plenary diplomatic power in the matter of the Greek shipping companies; Senator McCarran's "extraordinarily vindictive" stretching of Owen Lattimore upon the rack, and so on.

Telford Taylor, who has a considerable capacity for indignation of his own which he here keeps under severely judicious restraint, tries to dig more deeply into the constitutional, political, and emotional foundations of the investigatory power, and perhaps loses clarity of thought in the process; Alan Barth, seeing things more simply in terms of the legislature's transgression of its powers, may not fully appreciate the real difficulty of determining the limits of those powers. Both writers of course accept the view that the power to investigate is inherent in and necessary to the legislative authority; both reject what Taylor calls "the illusion of investigative omnipotence," once cheerfully asserted by the New Deal enthusiasts of "big government," and now revived for their destruction by the McCarthys and Jenners. But it is not, Taylor adds, simply a question of "whose ox is gored": there have been plenty of oxen for the goring on both sides in this business, and the real problem is to drive the line of power and its limitations fairly between them.

BOTH writers seem to see the answer primarily in the constitutional division of powers. Mr. Barth puts it rather more plainly: the investigative authority is "indispensable" to Congress but only in order that it may inform itself on legislation and exert a "brake" upon the power of the Executive; Congress may not legitimately expand its inquisitorial activities into attempts to supersede or control Executive authority over administration, or into attempts to usurp the courts' function of trial and condemnation. This admirable principle should, perhaps, take care of the excesses of the numerous committees in haling up, exposing, and punishing "subversives." But how is the principle to be established? While both authors recognize the desirability of improved committee rules and procedures, and while Taylor makes some useful concrete suggestions in that direction, both are bound to grant that a successful separation of powers can only be sustained in the end by the powers themselves. "Only strong Presidents and strong judges," Barth observes, "can cope with strong Congresses"; or as Taylor puts it, "if the President does not comprehend or cannot or will not uphold the responsibilities and prerogatives of his office, the constitutional balance and distribution of powers is upset." The courts have power to limit investigatory abuses, but to be effective the courts must exercise it.

Yet it is obviously not so simple as all that; for one thing, the constitutional separation of powers has never been clear or simple. Congress plainly has the duty of keeping tab upon the Executive by investigation. How does one then distinguish

WALTER MILLIS is the author of "The Martial Spirit," "Why Europe Fights," and other books, and the editor of "The Forrestal Diaries." He is now a consultant for the Fund for the Republic.

Now A PAPER EDITIONS BOOK CLUB

Stephen Crane stories and tales
GANDHI
Bhagavad-Gita
WALT WHITMAN

NO MINIMUM PURCHASE OBLIGATION

•

FREE BOOK

JUST SEND IN COUPON

•

BONUS BOOKS

•

FREE CATALOG

WITH COMPLETE LISTINGS OF THE BEST IN PAPER EDITIONS

NOW IS THE TIME
A Brief History of the United States
THE BRIDGES AT TOKO-RI

ACCEPT ONE OF THESE BOOKS FREE—NO OBLIGATION

INTRODUCTORY LIST

- **Int. 1—The Bridges at Toko-Ri** by James A. Michener
- **Int. 2—The Atomic Age Opens, an Anthology**
- **Int. 3—Now Is the Time: Segregation, the Supreme Court and Democracy** by Lillian Smith (Author of Strange Fruit)
- **Int. 4—The Turn of the Screw and Daisy Miller** by Henry James
- **Int. 5—The Book of Prayers.** Edited by Leon and Elfrieda McCauley
- **Int. 6—The Little World of Don Camillo** by Giovanni Guareschi
- **Int. 7—One Hundred American Poems.** Edited by Selden Rodman
- **Int. 8—A Brief History of the United States** by Franklin Escher, Jr.

At last! A **Paper Editions Book Club** so you can own the very finest works of the world's great authors! And at a minimum price! You, as a member, will have a new list of 40 selections submitted to you every three months. Buy as many as you like — or none at all. **You are not obligated to buy any minimum number of books!** Yet, through our bonus book plan, the more you buy the more books you will receive absolutely free! (See Bonus Lists.) Fill in the coupon. You will receive free of charge and at absolutely no obligation a free book which you may choose from the Introductory List and a catalog of "The Best in Paper Editions"! This paperbound brochure contains the cumulative lists of **The Paper Editions Book Club** and the Club's free bonus book lists, as well as the special offers of Paper Editions book packets available only to Club members. Fill in the coupon right away! Choose from the list of 40 selections.

40 SELECTIONS NOW AVAILABLE

1. **The Portable Walt Whitman** Edited by Mark van Doren, $1.25
2. **The Lonely Crowd** by David Riesman, $0.95
3. **Three Great Religious Works**: $1.20 **The Song of God: Bhagavad-Gita.** Translated by Prabhavananda & Isherwood **The Way of Life: Tao Te Ching** by Lao Tzu **The Meaning of the Glorious Koran.** Translated by Pickthall
4. **Teacher in America** by Jacques Barzun, $0.85
5. **The Art of Teaching** by Gilbert Highet, $0.95
6. **Six Novels by William Faulkner**: $1.20 **Mosquitoes; Intruder in the Dust; Sanctuary; Requiem for a Nun; The Wild Palms; and The Old Man**
7. **Democracy in America** by Alexis de Tocqueville (2 volumes), $1.90
8. **Two Important Volumes**: $0.85—**The Loyalty of Free Men** by Alan Barth; **The Fifth Amendment Today** by Dean Erwin Griswold
9. **Rousseau and Romanticism** by Irving Babbitt, $1.35
10. **Twelve Plays by Shakespeare**: $1.05—**Four Great Comedies; Four Great Historical Plays; Four Great Tragedies**
11. **Fifty Major Documents of the Twentieth Century.** Edited by Louis Snyder, $1.25
12. **Crime and Punishment** by Fyodor Dostoevsky, $0.95
13. **The Brothers Karamazov** by Fyodor Dostoevsky, $0.95
14. **A Short History of Music** by Alfred Einstein, $0.95
15. **The Human Use of Human Beings; Cybernetics and Society** by Norbert Wiener, $0.75
16. **The Metaphysical Foundations of Modern Physical Science** by Edwin Arthur Burtt, $0.95
17. **Magic, Science and Religion, and Other Essays** by Bronislaw Malinowski, $0.85
18. **The Immoralist** by Andre Gide, $0.95
19. **A Collection of Essays** by George Orwell, $0.95
20. **The Explorers of North America, 1492-1806** by John Bartlett Brebner, $1.25
21. Three by George Gamow: $1.35—**Biography of the Earth; Birth and Death of the Sun; One, Two, Three—Infinity**
22. **The Charterhouse of Parma** by Stendhal, $0.95
23. **Roosevelt and Hopkins** by Robert Sherwood (2 volumes), $0.70
24. **Moses and Monotheism** by Sigmund Freud, $0.95
25. Two More by Freud: $0.85 **Freud: His Dream and Sex Theories** **General Introduction to Psychology**
26. **The Wanderer** by Henri Alain-Fournier, $0.75
27. **The Country of the Pointed Firs, and Other Stories** by Sarah Orne Jewett, $0.95
28. **Sea and Sardinia** and Selections from **Twilight in Italy** by D. H. Lawrence, $0.85
29. **Abinger Harvest** by E. M. Forster, $1.25
30. Science-Fiction by Arthur C. Clarke: $1.40 **Expedition to Earth; Prelude to Space; Childhood's End; Earthlight**
31. **American Humor: A Study of the National Character** by Constance Rourke, $0.75
32. **History of England** by G. M. Trevelyan (3 volumes), $2.55
33. Two Great American Novels: $1.00—**The Big Money** by John Dos Passos; **The Wall** by John Hersey
34. **Force and Freedom** by **Jacob** Burckhardt, $1.35
35. **Imperialism and Social Classes** by Joseph Schumpeter, $1.25
36. **Death in Venice, and Seven Other Stories** by Thomas Mann, $0.95
37. **Stephen Crane: Stories and Tales**, $0.95
38. **Gulliver's Travels** by Jonathan Swift, $0.95
39. **An Essay on Man: An Introduction to a Philosophy of Human Culture** by Ernst Cassirer, $0.75
40. **To the Finland Station: A Study in the Writing and Acting of History** by Edmund Wilson, $1.25

BONUS LISTS

LIST A (One of these free if your order is from $2.00 to $2.95)
A-1, The Snake Pit, Ward; A-2, Is Sex Necessary? Thurber & White; A-3, Gandhi: His Life and Message for the World, Fisher; A-4, The Big Con, Maurer; A-5 Bridge of San Luis Rey, Wilder; A-6, Best of Damon Ruyon; A-7, Precious Bane, Mary Webb; A-8, Winesburg, Ohio, Anderson; A-9 Pocket History of American Painting

LIST B (One of these free if your order is from $3.00 to $3.95)
B.1, Out of My Life and Thought, Schweitzer; B-2, The Big Sky, Guthrie; B-3, Madame Bovary, Flaubert; B-4 Psychopathology of Everyday Life, Freud; B-5 The Oregon Trail, Parkman; B-6, Rand-McNally Pocket Atlas; B-7, The Mad Reader; B-8 Sons and Lovers, Lawrence; B-9, A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court, Twain; B-10; The Universe and Dr. Einstein, Barnett; B-11, Modern American Short Stories

LIST C (One of these free if your order is from $4.00 to $4.95)
C-1, The Burl Ives Song Book; C-2, Buddenbrooks, Mann; C-3 Story of the Bible, Van Loon; C-4 Great Modern Short Novels; C-5, The Grapes of Wrath, Steinbeck; C-6, Psychology of Sex, Ellis; C-7, The Dynamics of Soviet Society, Rostow; C-8, Ballet in America, Amberg; C-9, The 1955 Pocket Almanac

LIST D (For your order of from $5.00-$10.00 — Select any one from List A plus any one from List B, or any one from List C, or any one of the following): D-1, The Cruel Sea, Monsarrat; D-2, Here I Stand: A Life of Martin Luther, Bainton; D-3, The American, James; D-4, The Complete Book of Gardening, Goodpasture (ed.); D-5, Dead Souls, Gogol; D-6, Pilgrim's Progress, Bunyan

LIST E (For your order of $10.00 or over — Select any three from List A or List B, or any two from List C or List D, or any one of the following): E-1, The Stranger, Camus; E-2, The American Political Tradition, Hofstradter; E-3, Seven Famous Greek Plays, Oates and O'Neill (eds.); E-4, The Caine Mutiny, Wouk; E-5, Lectures on Psychoanalytic Psychiatry, Brill; E-6, The Portable Mark Twain, de Voto (ed.)

THE PAPER EDITIONS BOOK CLUB

2233 El Camino Real • Palo Alto, California

Please send me free of charge and without obligation Book Number Int.______________(Choose any one from Introductory List)

☐ I do not wish to buy any books at this time but please send your free catalog of Paper Editions.

☐ I do wish to order the following books, the numbers of which I have circled: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40

This purchase entitles me to the following bonus book (books) free of charge (See Bonus Lists)__________

☐ Please bill me.

☐ I enclose payment so my order will come handling and postage prepaid.

Mr.
Mrs.______________________________
Miss (Please print plainly)

Address______________________________

City________________Zone_____State________

California residents please add 3% sales tax. 016

everyday life behind the iron curtain

Here are nine vivid, close-up portraits of typical Russians . . . intimate studies in narrative form that reveal how the rank and file citizens of the U. S. S. R. really feel about life under the regime. These realistic stories bring you an authentic cross-section of Soviet society today, showing the pressures and rewards its members encounter in pursuing their personal goals.

Though the characters are fictitious, they are built solidly on material gathered in interviews with Russian refugees and on data available to the author at Harvard's Russian Research Center and at the Center for International Studies at M. I. T.

$3.95 at your bookstore

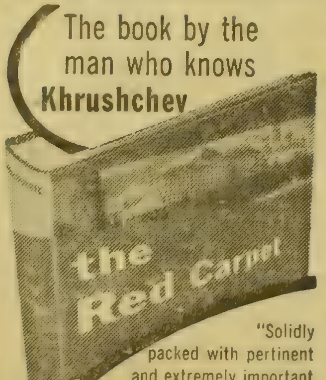
NINE SOVIET PORTRAITS

by RAYMOND A. BAUER, with the assistance of EDWARD WASIOLEK

A Technology Press Book, M. I. T.

JOHN WILEY & SONS, Inc.

440 Fourth Avenue New York 16, N. Y.



The book by the man who knows Khrushchev
the Red Carpet
3rd printing

"Solidly packed with pertinent and extremely important information, obtained by a trained observer with a level head. MacDuffie is the McCoy."
—ORIANA ATKINSON, Saturday Review

THE RED CARPET

10,000 MILES THROUGH RUSSIA ON A VISA FROM KHRUSHCHEV

By **MARSHALL MacDUFFIE**

77 uncensored illustrations

$4.50 at bookstores

NORTON

BUY UNITED STATES SAVINGS BONDS

between a check-up and a controlling check rein? If the army really had been "coddling Communists" could one have denied Senator McCarthy's right to investigate and force the army to alter its administrative methods? It was the apparent motive, as well as the methods, of the investigation, rather than the constitutional power to make it, which one had to call in question. Barth recalls the 1862 committee on the conduct of the Civil War as an "outright attempt by the legislature to usurp executive functions," for it not only "exposed military errors and inefficiencies but tried to take over the actual conduct of military affairs." But how may one activity be distinguished, in practice, from the other?

For another thing, there is a fourth party to the constitutional balance—the individual citizen. The separation of powers was intended not simply to protect the courts from the legislature or the legislature from the executive; it was fundamentally intended to protect the individual from government as a whole. The major part of the controversy over the investigations revolves, of course, around their invasion of individual rights and guaranties; unfortunately, this is the most difficult area to deal with. Mr. Barth can give moving instances of "legislative trials" violating all our concepts of due process; both writers deal at length, if somewhat uneasily, with the Fifth Amendment plea; Mr. Taylor sees that the anti-Communist investigations have got us "deep in what can accurately be described only as *inquisition*." But there is in Mr. Taylor, perhaps also in Mr. Barth, a fuzziness as to how to get out—a fuzziness arising it would seem, from the uncertainty and ambivalence with which the whole problem of communism is regarded by even our clearest and most liberal minds.

Mr. Taylor tries to help by introducing a background concept of what he calls the "cold civil war." He sees all these issues of powers, prerogatives, individual rights and duties enmeshed in an impassioned internal struggle; but though at one point he defines this as "a nationalist, 'native-American' challenge to the middle-class liberalism and internationalism which have been the prevailing political climate," he fails to make very clear either precisely what this struggle is or how it affects the issues with which he grapples. Is it simply the unbridled violence of this "cold civil war" which has led us into the present state of heresy trials and political inquisitions, or is there something in the Communist problem which has rendered these things unavoidable? Mr. Taylor notes that the underlying reason why the committees have got so far into the courts' business of prosecution and punishment is that the courts are unable to prosecute or punish for the activities which the committees desire to repress. "If," he says at one place, "what the nation wants and needs is a powerful and flexible governmental mechanism for political inquisition and denunciation, there is truly no substitute for a Congressional investigation operated by a Dies or a McCarthy." Mr. Taylor, of course, wants nothing of the kind. But what to do assuming that the nation does want it, or even to what extent the nation may actually "need" such defenses against communism, is not made clear.

Facts Without Vision

THE RECOGNITIONS. By William Gaddis. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $7.50.

By John Berger

BECAUSE I happen to be reviewing this 950-page novel I wish that I had time to read it again. But if I were reading it for my own interest I certainly would not do so. This fact demonstrates how specialized our cultural judgments have become, how far removed from our personal, comparatively spontaneous recognitions of what is good and bad. I think that Mr. Gaddis himself would agree with this. His title, "The Recognitions," is probably meant to be taken on several levels, but at least one of the themes of this book is the falseness, the ob-

---

JOHN BERGER is the art critic of the New Statesman and Nation.

liqueness, of the type of recognition gained by artists in Western society.

The chief character is a painter of implied genius who fakes paintings by the early Flemish masters, or rather paints new works in their style and then forges the signature. His motive for doing this is not cash but is similar to that which drives his father, a New England clergyman, from the orthodox church to various forms of pagan sacrifices; both of them realize that true individuality is bound to be destroyed by the modern cult of personality and so seek a past order of values which places less emphasis on self-consciousness. Or at least that is their rational motive; their irrational motives are ritualistic and center around the death of the mother. A description of the dark meaning of their even darker pilgrimage takes up a large part of the book: the rest is mostly a satire on the false glitter of New York bohemianism.

NEEDLESS to say, a lot can be packed into 950 pages. There are quotations in Latin, German, French, Spanish, Italian; descriptions of thunder storms, hospitals, fornications, electric railways, monasteries, radio programs, papal agents, parochial villages, and the capitals of Europe. There are many secondary and subsidiary characters—a crook-connoisseur art critic (called Basil Valentine!), a Catholic lame-dog musician, a young so-called playwright who wears his arm in a sling to give himself airs, a counterfeiter of dollar bills, drunks in the subway, a business tycoon who falls down the stairs in a suit of armor and kills himself, a Negro butler who plans murder, a series of bohemian women who go to parties to get bed companions, and a man who either is or pretends to be Ernest Hemingway.

To match this variety of subject matter, there are several different ways of writing. There is straight and often very amusingly satirical dialogue; there are pages of involved introspection; there are purple passages; there is the film-camera technique of panning in on a street and following the lives of people who happen to get on the same bus and to sit next to each other but have nothing else in common.

But when all has been said (and

INTERNATIONAL

New *Books*

MAO TSE-TUNG

Selected Works

The most important writings of Mao Tse-tung are included in this five-volume set, translated from the latest Chinese edition, with copious explanatory notes by the English editors.

"Translation of this primary source material on communism in China will be welcomed by the general body of Western social scientists, who, having in the past depended on necessarily limited citations by experts, can now turn to the fuller context of these excerpts."
—OWEN LATTIMORE, Journal of Political Economy

"An important source, especially for the strategic concepts involved."
Foreign Affairs.

"The publication of Mao's writings in English will be for Americans a font of inspiration in the common effort to achieve peaceful and mutually beneficial relations."—New World Review

Vol. 1: 1926-1936; Vol. 2: 1937-1938; Vol. 3: 1939-1941. (Volumes 4 and 5 will be ready by the end of the year)
Each Volume, $3.00

LABOR FACT BOOK 12

Prepared by Labor Research Ass'n

Just published, this latest volume in the biennial series, has up-to-the-minute data on the economic situation, civil liberties, labor, politics, farmers, Negro people, and information on a host of social and other problems of interest to students and labor and community leaders. Trade, $2.50; Popular, $2.00

WALT WHITMAN

Poet of American Democracy

Selections from his Poetry and Prose edited with an introduction and a special Anniversary preface by
SAMUEL SILLEN

"It has given me genuine pleasure. Constructive criticism such as this, coupled with an intelligent selection of Whitman's own words on themes of particular interest to contemporary readers will certainly be the very best means of increasing Whitman's audience. Sillen has done it with the verve and dash of a good reporter, but has retained the perspective of scholarship. I congratulate him upon the difficult accomplishment."
—CLIFTON JOSEPH FURNESS, leading Whitman scholar.

Cloth $2.50 Paper covers $1.25

HISTORY OF THE THREE INTERNATIONALS

by William Z. Foster

A comprehensive survey of the world Socialist and Communist movements from the International Workingmen's Association of Marx and Engels to the present day. A detailed history of the First, Second (Socialist), and Third (Communist) Internationals, covering fundamental matters of great interest to all those concerned with labor and world politics. 580 pages, $6.00

THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF
FREDERICK DOUGLASS
Edited with a full-length biography by
PHILIP S. FONER

With the recent publication of the fourth volume, this work is now complete.

"This fourth and final volume of The Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass completes what is truly the most important historical documentation of the career of the Negro in American society that has yet appeared. It is no exaggeration to say that there is no study comparable to this monumental work of historical scholarship in providing an understanding of the tragic struggle of the Negro to acquire recognition not only as a citizen but as a human being in American Society."—PROF. E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER, Howard University.

		Trade	Pop.
Vol. I.	Early Years: 1817-1849, 448 p.	$4.50	$4.00
Vol. II.	The Pre-Civil War Decade, 576 p.	5.00	4.50
Vol. III.	The Civil War, 448 p.	4.50	4.00
Vol. IV.	Reconstruction and After, 576 p.	5.00	4.50

Each volume is complete in itself, with biography, notes and index, and can be bought separately.

Special Offer for the Entire Set of Four Volumes (Pop. Ed.) $15.00

INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS
ORDER FROM YOUR BOOKSHOP OR DIRECT FROM PUBLISHER

INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.
Enclosed is $________ for the books checked below:
Mao Tse-tung, Selected Works ____Vol. 1; ____Vol. 2; ____Vol. 3 (3.00 each)
Walt Whitman _____ cloth ($2.50); _____ paper cover ($1.25). History of the Three Internationals _____ ($6.00). Labor Fact Book 12 _____ ($2.50) _____$2.00).
Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass: Vol. I _____($4.50) _____($4.00);
Vol. II _____($5.00) _____($4.50); Vol. III _____($4.50) _____($4.00);
Vol. IV_____($5.00) _____($4.50) THE SET OF FOUR VOLUMES _____($15.00)
(Postage Prepaid)

NAME ____________________
STREET ____________________
CITY ____________ Zone ______ State ____________ N-1

READ MANAS

the 8-page weekly of current comment—on science, religion, education, philosophy—with substance-providing reviews of whatever books and articles [illegible] to the editors to be shaping future thought and lighting new directions.

$5 [illegible] year

For 3 free sample copies, write

The Manas Publishing Company, P.O. Box 32112
El Sereno Station • Los Angeles 32, California

Published March 31
The most important technical [illegible] of [illegible] year

MOVING THE EARTH
The Workbook of Excavation
by Herbert L. Nichols Jr.

1280 pages, 5⅝ x 9½. Over 400,000 words and 2500 illustrations. Highest quality paper, presswork and binding.

A complete coverage of the methods and equipment of the dynamic excavation industry, for the excavator, engineer, public works official, home builder, and student.

Price $15.00 Satisfaction guaranteed

NORTH CASTLE BOOKS
Dept. N, 212 Bedford Road, Greenwich, Conn.

25% Discount
ON ALL BOOKS
(10% [illegible] Texts and Technical Books)
*ANY BOOK YOU CHOOSE
1) Deduct 25% from list.
2) Add 15c per book for postage.
3) Send check or money order.
*Only obligation, you agree to buy at least 4 books during first year.
N.Y.C. residents add 3% tax.

THRIFTY BOOK CLUB
206 West 15th Street
Dept.N, N.Y.C. 11, NY
Phone: CHelsea 3-6499

NO MEMBERSHIP FEE

BOOK MANUSCRIPTS INVITED

If you are looking for [illegible] publisher, send for our free, illustrated booklet titled To the Author in Search of [illegible] Publisher. It tells how we can publish, promote and distribute your book, as we have done for hundreds of other writers. All subjects considered. New authors welcomed. Write today for Booklet 103. It's free.

VANTAGE PRESS, 120 West 31 St., New York 1
In Calif.: 6253 Hollywood Blvd., Hollywood 28

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE
Buy Your Books
through THE *Nation*

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular retail price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the retail price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to
Miss O. LePach
THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
333 Sixth Ave. New York 14, N. Y.

written), what does it add up to—the satire, the analysis of art, faith, and personality, the pagan sacrifices, the symbolic deaths, the Catholicism, the experimental writing? In my opinion it adds up to nothing more than an encyclopedia. Or perhaps one should say nothing less, for behind an encyclopedia there is a formidable amount of knowledge and some of the entries are bound to be useful. But an encyclopedia is not a work of art.

Reading this book and considering both the matter and the manner of it, one is reminded of some huge, impressive bird, wings outstretched, neck taut, talons grasping; one is impatient to see it take to the air; and then suddenly one realizes that it can't, that for all its fine feathers, the bones of its wings are broken. Finally one puts the book down, longing like the bird, the author, and the main characters for some quiet open space. It is a trapped book: the testament of a prisoner counting his grievances, or a miser his coins. I don't want to be overharsh. Some of the grievances are ones we all know, and it does us good to have them defined; some of the coins are rare and valuable. But what it lacks, like all claustrophobic works of art, is imagination. It has plenty of invention and fantasy, but that is something different. Imagination in art is the ability to select significantly: to select in order to communicate a vision.

This book has no vision because the writer can see no way out of the vicious environment he describes so obsessively. The facts are piled up because they may contain a clue to the way out—but he does not find it. The book lacks perspective both socially and psychologically. And in the end it is this, I think, that explains the awkwardness of the style in which much of it is written and its inordinate length. Because the writer is trapped, he barely envisages the existence of the reader; unlike that of James Joyce his prose is unoral, heavy, silent; unlike a great but lengthy writer like Thomas Mann he has no desire to convince by accumulation; one finds oneself after nearly 1,000 pages in exactly the same place as one started. It is perhaps for that reason that I began by saying that I felt I ought to read this book again.

Schoolmaster and Clergyman

COLLECTED POEMS. 1928-1953. By Stephen Spender. Random House. $4.

THE SHIELD OF ACHILLES. By W. H. Auden. Random House. $3.

By John Ciardi

BY NOW Auden and Spender have been grouped together so often as some sort of hyphenated compound—generally assumed to contain also an element known as C. Day Lewis—that the casual reader may overlook the fact that they are very different, as well as slightly similar, poets, and that in many ways they are, in fact, quite opposite temperaments. They were at Oxford together, they accepted loosely a kind of alliance that popular reception suggested to them, and they were both concerned with the social look of the world's falling into its rusted thirties. Inevitably, therefore, when books by Auden and Spender appear in the same reviewing period, they are reviewed together.

From the very start, however, the difference declared by each in his address to the poem has been not so much a matter of divergence as of opposites. Auden has been the schoolmaster of the spirit, Spender more nearly its chaplain. One is tempted to imagine what these two talents might have been in another age. Spender might so easily have been, say, Wordsworth, or Rupert Brooke even, had not the present age of cynicism hardened his idealism, an idealism not much removed from that one may observe in the best tradition of the Anglican country priest. But not Auden; he is a more complex figure—a touch of Byronism (more than a touch), a technical passion almost Popeian in its intensity, an intellectualism Coleridge could have respected.

All of which is speculation to be sure. But all of which points to the

---

JOHN CIARDI teaches at Rutgers. A new book of his poems, "As If, Poems New and Selected," will be published in the fall.

central difference. For Auden the passion is poetry. For Spender the passion is man. Auden will do anything but permit himself to be clumsy. Spender is willing to trample the poem underfoot in order to declare the age and the need of man.

To locate such a difference is not to claim that Auden has no interest in the human position or that Spender is not an accomplished technician. Yet the difference in emphasis remains. Nothing is more true of poetry than the fact that every kind of excellence is possible in it. Auden wins us primarily by being the singing-master of the age. Spender wins us by the very human intensity with which he champions the human position of the age. Auden's is the voice of sophistication; Spender's, of idealism.

WHATEVER value there may be in comparison, it seems obvious by now that Auden is the master poet. His new poems are less slangy and mannered than many of his earlier, but still intimate and almost offhand. One may or may not be charmed by the artfulness of the opening seven poems to Winds, Woods, Mountains, and other natural features, a group Auden calls Bucolics. But some of the lyrics in the second section, In Sunshine and in Shade, and some of the seven poems he groups as Horae Canonicae seem certainly to be permanent glories of the language. I know of no poet in English who could have worked eight repeated lines and a single refrain into a poem as haunting as the last poem in this book, Lauds.

And where Auden finds his successes by the sublimity of his poetic play—always understanding by "play" not simple amusement but the central drive to all art and form—Spender wins his successes by a passion for his subject so intense that it shatters through the play impulse to a naked intensity of statement. "I claim fulfilment in the fact of loving," Spender wrote in his Preludes (1930-1933).

That act of passionate and unreserved commitment when turned to social themes produced a body of early poems that appear inescapably dated today. What a long time it seems since poets were saying with overwhelming conviction:

> Oh young man, oh young comrades
> it is too late now to stay in those houses
> your fathers built where they built you to breed
> money on money. . . .
>
> advance to rebuild and sleep with friend on hill
> advance to rebel and remember what you have
> no ghost ever had, immured in his hall.

What a far sound of yesterday!

Yet in a poem as good as the one beginning "After they have tired of the brilliance of cities," I find myself captured and convinced—at least hopefully—all over again.

> How was it that works, money, interest, building could ever hide
> The palpable and obvious love of man for man?

This is hardly graceful poetry. It is not the skill of the saying that compels one. Rather it is the passionate sincerity that can say a thing so obviously true and still make it intense and alive. Spender is saying something not much different from Wordsworth's

> And much it grieved my heart to think
> What man has made of man.

Neither passage, specifically, and neither poet, generally, adds much to the technical resources of the language. Both win by risking the human assertion without artifice.

And although Spender is capable of skilful artifice it is that unabashed directness of feeling which remains the center of his talent. From the early poems of social protest Spender's development has been inward to what he himself has called "the still center." From intellectuality his perception has broadened to include a self-awareness I dislike calling intuitive, but lacking a better word in the language, shall have to let it stand. But these developments have not changed, they have only deepened, Spender's human affirmation. He is a less awesome poet than Auden, but no one writing today has better expressed the *pathos* of our human situation.

Soviet Civilization

by **Corliss Lamont**

Second Edition — New and Enlarged — Just Published

With an Epilogue by Dr. Lamont, summarizing Soviet developments during the past two years; and with an introduction by James Aronson, noted journalist.

EVENTS IN RUSSIA have moved with startling rapidity in the more than two years since *Soviet Civilization* first offered Americans a lucid, multi-sided account of the Soviet Union.

Now, in this enlarged edition, Dr. Lamont brings his extensive knowledge and unhampered insight to bear on what Soviet developments portend for Americans.

Is no-existence the only alternative to co-existence? How much has Soviet policy changed and is American policy keeping pace? What role is Russia playing in international relations?

Among the Timely Topics

Evaluating Soviet Russia ▪ Soviet National and Racial Minorities ▪ Soviet Russia and Religion ▪ Contrasts between Soviet Socialism and Fascism • Soviet Foreign Policy ▪ Co-existence or No-existence • Atomic Energy for Peaceful Use

Comments on the first edition of this monumental work

"His reputation for intellectual integrity ought to be enough to earn him a hearing." **—Charlotte, N. C., [illegible]**

"If this book were read by ten million Americans it could have a profound influence on the shape of human destiny." **—Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild**

"Most shocking and stimulating is the sub-chapter 'Incitements to War against the USSR' which contains well-documented evidence of the American attitude—both public and private—against the Soviet Union." **—Durham, N. C., Herald**

480 pages . . . $5.00

PHILOSOPHICAL LIBRARY, *Publishers* 15 E. 40 St., Desk N, N. Y. 16

do
you
like
FISH
PASTE?

Or would you prefer
fresh salmon?

Seriously though, on the question of writing, are you one for the potted, pre-digest? or do you appreciate the full flavour of the original?

Discerning men and women read the latest short stories, novels, poems, drama and critique from the USSR in *Soviet Literature*, the monthly cultural journal. Price 30c a copy or $1.85 a year's subscription posted direct from England.

Last year the following writers and artists contributed to Soviet Liteurature
EHRENBURG
ULANOVA
POLEVOY
OBRAZTSOV
LEONOV

Send in this Coupon Today
To COLLET'S BOOKSHOPS
44 & 45 Museum Street, London, W. C. 1

I enclose 30c / $1.80 for a sample copy of / a year's subscription to SOVIET LITERATURE

Name ______________________

Address ______________________

(R) ______________________

New Books In Brief

The Darwin-Huxley Debate

APES, ANGELS AND VICTORIANS. The Story of Darwin, Huxley, and Evolution. By William Irvine. McGraw-Hill. $5.

This is a surprisingly fresh and lively account of the two men who did more than any other Englishmen of their time to create the intellectual atmosphere in which we still live. Professor Irvine centers his story in the men themselves, but he takes in the whole age they typified and the whole scientific movement that culminated in them. The result is a thoroughly admirable presentation which manages to be entertaining and sometimes humorous without sacrificing soundness or even a reasonable degree of completeness. The author has a shrewd, almost Stracheyan eye for the all too human weaknesses of the protagonists and at the same time a vivid realization of just what was at stake in the great debate over Darwin's theory. Too often the story has been told as though it were no more than a sort of preliminary Scopes trial and as though the whole affair had become merely quaint. Professor Irvine knows better, and his account is all the more interesting because he makes us realize that there are aspects of the questions at issue which have not been settled yet and perhaps never will be. All in all, this is popular science and popular intellectual history very nearly at its best.

Survey of Criticism

THE DEVELOPMENT OF AMERICAN LITERARY CRITICISM. By Harry H. Clark, Richard H. Fogle, Robert P. Falk, John H. Raleigh, and C. Hugh Holman. Edited by Floyd Stovall. University of North Carolina. $4.

The shifting and overlapping tides of American critical expression offer us insight into the present as well as the past literary scene. From early contests between classicists and romantics, between nationalists and traditionalists, between moralists and aesthetes, sifts the genesis of twentieth-century American achievement in the demanding art of literary criticism. Poe's demands for standards, Emerson's transcendentalist manifestoes, Howells's defense of the new "realism," James's high sense of craft, and Bourne's attacks on a moribund gentility—all these sent out sound waves that reverberate through much of the serious criticism of today.

In spite of its promise and liveliness, American criticism has never before been subjected to a satisfactory historical survey. Now, under the direction of Floyd Stovall, a distinguished Whitman specialist, five scholars have prepared essays on the criticism of five periods between 1800 and the present. The result is an objective and well-coordinated consideration of a field which has been distinguished *per se* and for the creative literature it has sponsored.

Built on Conservation

MOTHER AND SON. By I. Compton-Burnett. Messner. $3.50.

I. Compton-Burnett has long delighted fastidious readers, and little wonder. Her novels glint with literary counterpoints, combining remarkable economy of observation with consistently quotable epigrammatic prose.

In "Mother and Son," her new novel, Miss Compton-Burnett continues her incisive probing into class and family relationships. The pungent dialogue is interrupted by a bare minimum of description; conflicts are established, tested, and withdrawn with a flick of narrative. Nothing in Miss Compton-Burnett's work is blurred or smokily evocative. The lines of conversation on which her drama is built cross with brittle subtlety.

It is, however, possible to tire of a play of minds, sensitive as they may be, which all speak with essentially the same voice. Even the children in this book spin epigrams, betraying their age only by occasional tears which, in view of their wit, are not altogether convincing. The dialogue, moreover, tends to worry a facet of a situation past the point of diminishing returns; indeed, the situations often seem created in order to present an opportunity for dialogue. Ultimately one is left with the impression that Miss Compton-Burnett's fiction serves as handmaiden to her wit.

Literate and Exciting

COROMANDEL! By John Masters. The Viking Press. $3.95.

John Masters has earned a reputation as a literate spinner of adventure tales. With a deep knowledge of and sympathy for the people of the East, he offers sharp contrast to the usual banalities of exotic fiction. But "Coromandel!" is not simply an adventure story. It is a moving romance, an effective recreation of a form all too often debased into the adolescent glop of pseudo-historical fiction.

In his story of Jason Savage, a young British dreamer and adventurer of the early seventeenth century, Masters demonstrates an unexpected gift for lyric description, whether of a semi-pagan harvest dance in rural England or the alternating violence and peace of unconquered India. The book proceeds from adventure to adventure as a romance should, but the extraordinary vividness with which both the familiar and the exotic are presented makes the novel sing in the mind. "Coromandel!" is the story of a map that wasn't true, of a journey into cruelty and love. It is a story of faith and disillusion and wonder—a book for those who believe good dreams are never wasted.

Little Dam Sense

BIG DAM FOOLISHNESS By Elmer T. Peterson. Devin-Adair. $3.50.

Elmer Peterson has done yeoman work in highlighting some of the faults and extremities of the school of engineering which thinks of nothing but big dams downstream on the big rivers. This school ignores the fact that most of the lasting damage from floods is above any dam. Mr. Peterson calls our attention to the undoubted virtue of keeping water on and in the land, and to the near-miracles of flood control and water conservation that can be accomplished by systematic and careful development and protection of the thousands of small upstream watersheds that make up a big one.

Theater and Films

Robert Hatch

IF IT can survive until the summer tourists come to town, "Champagne Complex" (Cort) should do well enough for its investors. Visitors turned away at the box office of "Silk Stockings" or "Cat on a Hot Tin Roof" will note the tangy title of Leslie Stevens's farce and buy themselves an amiable evening. Since it is a three-character, one-set play, modest patronage will keep it going; and when the Broadway mileage is out of it, Hollywood will pay something for the title. Show business is indeed a delicate art.

"Champagne Complex" concerns a young woman who strips when under the influence of that beverage. I shall not pursue the plot farther, for you would not believe that a grown man could sit through three acts of such tomfoolery. Yet it was rather good fun, and the credit for that goes to Polly Bergen, Donald Cook, and John Dall, and to Michael Gordon, who cynically directed their fine stage behavior to every catchpenny device of the theater.

Complimenting actors on their performance of such stuff is a little like commending a card sharp for his dexterity—obviously they should be putting their talent to better purposes. But it must be admitted that this trio spins nothing at all with a wonderful plausibility. The emperor's clothes have seldom looked so becoming.

THE single quality that recommends "Marty" is its honest sentiment. Since United Artists has booked the picture into the Sutton, an "art" theater, it apparently feels that this is not a quality that enjoys mass acceptance. The situation is anomalous, for "Marty" is a remake of a television drama, and the TV audience is thought to be the most mass of all.

Perhaps the difference is that in the picture palaces we the people

Despite unfounded rumors

THE ALBERT SCHWEITZER JUBILEE BOOK

is not *out of print*

Available in every binding —the book that has delighted this great man so much. Edited by A. A. Roback, this work contains far more about Dr. Schweitzer than any biography.

". . . one of the great biographical encomiums of history." —Etude

Cloth Bound $7.80 (postpaid) After June 15, $10.00

De luxe. ¾ Morocco hand tooled in gold. Superior laid paper. $15.00 (postpaid)

Royal de luxe full Niger Morocco in burgundy. Color inlaid design. With autographs of Dr. Schweitzer and most contributors. Bound to order. ($10.00 of the price goes to the Schweitzer Hospital Fund.) $45.00 (postpaid)

DESTINY AND MOTIVATION IN LANGUAGE

DR. A. A. ROBACK

Highly readable study in dynamics of language. Hundreds of topics from anxiety consonants to slang. 25 languages cited. Glossary. 3 indexes. Bibliography. Numbered. Autographed. 474 pages (6"x9"). $10.00 (postage 30c)

". . . a provocative and stimulating work . . . by a noted psychologist . . . As a quest for the interesting in language, it cannot fail to attract and reward readers from among the uninitiated as well as the expert." — Word *(a leading linguistic journal)*

". . . the prodigious energy and erudite scholarship of psychologist Professor Roback radiate once again in his newest interest, psycholinguistics . . . pioneer in a new semantic realm where psychology and language can meet . . . "Typographic Masterpiece." Library Journal

THE SHOCK OF EXISTENCE

DR. ROBERT CREEGAN

Theories of cultural history. Relationships between science, art and philosophy; between politics and intellectual culture. Destiny symbols — chance and design, love and death, estrangement and conciliation.

[illegible] Pages [illegible] postage 15c)

SCI-ART PUBLISHERS, Dept. I Harvard Square, Cambridge 38, Mass.

Religious Advertisements Approaching Climax

Restoration of Social Justice to Belief in God necessary for Defeat of Communism.—Why is the communist movement always ATHEISTIC? Because, in the time of Marx, religious power helped to end American slavery; and the same religious power can help to end communism today. Communism is afraid of Religion. According to communistic imagination, Labor is at the mercy of privately-owned Capital, which "monopolizes" Industrial Machinery, and therefore has power to oppress and "exploit" Labor.

Labor and Capital Both Exploited by corrupt Fiscal Power.—Laboring people are forced to compete for jobs in overcrowded cities by two very unnatural conditions:—(1) Corrupt *overtaxation* of Productive Enterprise, and (2) corrupt *undertaxation* of Land. This fundamental economic and social *injustice* was begun by the machinations of British Landed Aristocrats, hundreds of years ago. Undertaxation of Land gives an artificial selling and rental "value" to Land. In this way, Land acquires unjust and dangerous power over Private Enterprise at the very moment that Private Enterprise itself is being corruptly overtaxed.

Corrupt Fiscal Power inherited from Britain.—Overtaxation of Productive Enterprise is reflected in artificially HIGH PRICE OF GOODS. And at the same time, undertaxation of Land gives Land an INFLATED PRICE, which is reflected in SOARING RENTALS. Unperceived and silent, this fundamental INJUSTICE operates at the very basis of our civilization, and must be counteracted by an aroused public opinion, leading speedily to appropriate legislation, as in New Zealand; Sydney, Australia, etc.

Churches cannot Go into Politics, but can Restore Social Justice to Religion, and Challenge Communism.—Organized religion can promote and intensify the present world-wide social awakening. It can do so by reasserting the social emphasis of the Hebrew prophets, endorsed repeatedly by Jesus. This is already being done by quite a number of clergymen and by the resolutions passed by some church organizations.

* * *

Two circulars, entitled (1) *Bulletin of Bible and Hebrew History,* and (2) *Restoration of Social Justice to Belief in God,* will be forwarded to you if you send postage in the amount of six cents, as partial coverage of mailing cost. Write clearly, or better, print name and address inside and outside your envelope. If no stamps are sent, no circulars will be forwarded.—L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, New York.

ADVERTISEMENT

want glamour, but in our own parlors we want versimilitude. Delbert Mann, who directed both versions of Paddy Chayefsky's little romance, is accurate to a fault: the people and situations in "Marty" are so "real" that they are not very interesting, and the picture has little drive or shape. What it does provide is solace: Marty (Ernest Borgnine) and his Clara (Betsy Blair) are neither beautiful nor bright; nevertheless they fall gloriously in love, and if it can happen to them it can happen to anyone.

Borgnine and Miss Blair are wonderfully convincing at their folksy work; you will scarcely fail to be touched by this timid union based on mutual loneliness and the gentleness of countless disappointments. "Marty" is a modest film, not very important and not very memorable, but I wish it well. For one thing, it is a timely rebuttal of Hollywood's repeated insinuation that sex is the prerogative of the spectacularly sexy.

"THE PURPLE PLAIN" and "Front Page Story" are a couple of British imports that look so much like the American commercial product as to make no difference. The first is an R. A. F. melodrama which involves a crash landing in the Burmese jungle, a painful hike through Jap-held territory (no Japs appear), and the love of a beautiful native girl with Mayfair manners. Gregory Peck has been borrowed from us to play the lead; his flavor is about as British as pastrami on rye. Except that I have seen it all before, I have only one quarrel with the picture: when he crashes, Peck has with him a certain Captain Blore (Maurice Denham), in peace time a scientist of some reputation. This chap is made the symbol of the intellectual, as opposed to the hero's simple man of action. He is then shown up as a fool and a weakling, vindictive and cowardly when the chips are down. The point is made carefully and explicitly, and I don't admire the British when they borrow our "know-nothing" bigotry along with our war-spectacle cliches. The story is by Eric Ambler.

"Front Page Story" is about our old friend the hard-as-nails, heart-of-gold editor who believes that, next to the Sermon on the Mount, the noblest sentiment of man is "if it's news, we'll print it!" We encounter editor Grant (Jack Hawkins) on a busy day—a beautiful lady is acquitted of the mercy killing of her husband and then dies under a bus trying to elude a posse of Grant's news hawks; a distinguished scientist arrives incognito, passes a matchbox to a suspicious stranger, and is lured up to the editor's office by an alcoholic but spy-wise old reporter (another dig at the egg heads; England is really wising up); the top sob sister brings in a large family of waifs who have been dispossessed by bureaucracy and the paper adopts them to the sound of manly sobs; the editor's wife is so pained by his inattention that she runs off to Paris and is reported killed in an air crash—only she had really repented and was not on the plane. It is unusual for a paper to be quite so much involved in its own front-page news; but then it is also unusual for the news editor to harangue the entire staff—and what an enormous staff!—on the beauty and virtue of the profession. Nobody yelled "scoop," but all the other formalities were observed in this salute to the fourth estate.

"GRAN VARIETA" is, I suspect, a picture that played with considerable success in the neighborhood houses of Italy. It is a series of small stories hung together on the device of tracing the history of a renowned variety house from before the First World War to the coming of the Yankees in the Second. The only performers American audiences will know are Vittorio de Sica and Lea Padovani, and the "turn" they appear in is the least good of the five.

The picture has not much chance in this country outside the Italian districts. The little stories are trite and sentimental; the deliberate "dating" looks simply corny to anyone unfamiliar with the quality of Italian vaudeville. But some of the players are brilliantly stylish at their special kind of theater, and the film seemed to me to have a wonderfully Italian flavor. Or perhaps I am being foolishly nostalgic for a country where I have never been.

Music

B. H. Haggin

IN THE performance of Gluck's "Orfeo ed Euridice" I attended at the Metropolitan Rise Stevens's first sustained laments of "Euridice!" were steady and beautiful; but most of the time thereafter when she sang with power and intensity her voice was dry and tremulous. There was, however, beautiful singing by Hilde Gueden, Laurel Hurley, and Shakeh Vartenissian; the work of chorus and orchestra under Monteux's direction was good; and he paced the performance well, except for the extremely slow tempo of *Che faro* (in the libretto with the Urania recording the opening phrase is quoted with the directions Andante con moto and alla breve).

As for the dramatic performance, Stevens throughout and Gueden in her one scene were effective and convincing—remarkably so in their touching scene together, when one considers the handicap of the narrow platform on which they had to operate. But the action of the principals is only a small part of what happens on the stage in performances of this work—the rest being the movements of dancers to the many pieces of ballet music. For this performance they were devised by Zachary Solov, who revealed again his infallible gift for the right movement for the wrong effect: exactly the right movements of the group outside Euridice's tomb to make the proceedings look like the goings-on in a class in Modern Dance (Intermediate) in a progressive college; exactly the right lift of her knee or little backward bend of her leg to make Markova's running and prancing and miming look like a spoof of what it was intended to be.

The New York City Opera Company restored to its production of Rossini's "La Cenerentola" the John Butler twentieth-century spoof of ballet that is completely out of context in the nineteenth-century work and is a shocking lapse of taste and intelligence in an otherwise fine achievement. Another change was the use of English, which, when it

THE QUAKER APPROACH
TO CONTEMPORARY AFFAIRS

June 12-19

The Third Annual Avon Institute
Avon Old Farms, Avon, Connecticut

Seven full days in the lovely and peaceful Connecticut countryside—the ideal setting in which to discuss in small round-table groups the "Quaker Approach" to personal pacifism, ethical conflicts, political action, and other questions that need examination by all of us today. Round-table clerks will be Quakers qualified in group leadership. This is the heart of the Institute.

Quaker leaders will include: **Cecil Hinshaw,** just returned from a round-the-world trip; Hallam Tennyson, British Quaker who has worked in India; Norman Whitney, Professor at Syracuse University; Milton Mayer, author and lecturer; Raymond Wilson, Friends Committee on National Legislation.

SPECIAL GUEST SPEAKERS—Mrs. Chester Bowles, just returned with her husband from a trip through Asia and Africa; and Arthur Lall, Permanent Envoy from India to the United Nations.

The program is designed to provide an unhurried, relaxed pace. Food is excellent—plenty of recreation. $55 for everything. For further information and registration form write to:

Russell Johnson, Peace Section
AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
130 Brattle St., Cambridge 38, Mass.

2nd HI-FI CLEARANCE OF THE YEAR
$30,000 Hi-Fidelity Components
inventory at 20% below audiophile nets.

Complete selection of all leading lines. Pilot, Bogen, Electrovoice, Fairchild, Fisher, Stephens, Reko-Kut, Interelectronics, National, Magnecord, Crestwood, Jim Lansing, McIntosh, etc., etc.

Mail Orders of Course.
Write for quotations on items of specific interest.

Audio Bargain Center
Box 12, Fleetwood Sta., Mt. Vernon, N.Y.

Publish Your Book

We will publish, promote, advertise and distribute your book. We are rated officially among the largest leading publishers in the U. S. Our successful plan insures prompt publication. Manuscript reports in one week. No obligation.

Send for free Brochure [illegible] for details.
Pageant Press, Inc., 130 W. 42nd St., N. Y.

ANTON **REFREGIER**
Paintings of Latin America May 2-21
A C A GALLERY
63 East 57 Street New York

PUBLICATIONS

PEACE IN CHINA by William Hanson. Here are the facts on the Formosa crisis. Prepared for the American Friends Service Committee. This timely pamphlet reviews the issues, sets possible courses of action. 16 pp. and map. You may order it, postpaid, for only 15c from—Peace Section, A.F.S.C., 130 Brattle Street, Cambridge 38, Mass.

SOCIALIST BOOKS. Catalog, literature, Free New York Labor News Company, Dept. M, 61 Cliff Street, New York 38. New York.

BRITISH BOOKS—All Subjects—direct from London to you. Bargain catalogues free. Transbooks, Box 22-N, Brooklyn 26, N. Y.

OUT-OF-PRINT BOOKS. Let us find them for you. OSTER'S, Dept. C, Box 111, Times Square Station, New York 36, N. Y.

COMPLETE CATALOG OF PAPERBOUND BOOKS
Just published! Index to 4500 inexpensive reprints and original editions. 40 Publishers including Pocket, Signet, Penguin, Anchor, Vintage and Modern Library Paperbounds. Invaluable permanent reference book. Send $1.00 today (refunded with your first purchase) to Book Mail Service, Dept. N, Box 363, Jamaica 31, N. Y.

IF YOU THINK
"IT CAN'T HAPPEN HERE," READ:

They Thought
They Were Free
THE GERMANS 1933-45
by Milton Mayer

A startling book based on intensive interviews with typical "common" people whose lives were better under Nazism—until war reverses started.

345 pages Just Published $4.75 postpd.

WELLINGTON'S
346 Concord Ave., Belmont, Mass.

could be heard clearly, did enable the audience to understand and be amused by some details of the dialogue, but which caused greater difficulty for the singers, and was less effective to hear, in the passages of fast chatter than the Italian words. Except for the roughness of Donald Gramm's baritone the opera was sung well by a cast in which Frances Bible and Richard Wentworth were again outstanding—the one with the increased steadiness and opulence of her mezzo-soprano voice in addition to her assured bravura style, the other with his superb buffo singing. And again the outstanding defect was the pedestrian and poor-sounding playing that Rosenstock produced with the orchestra.

Wentworth's buffo performance also was the outstanding strength, and the orchestral performance conducted by Rosenstock one of the weaknesses, of the company's new production of Donizetti's "Don Pasquale." In addition there were on the one hand excellent settings and costumes designed by John Boyt, and a good performance by Richard Torigi as Doctor Malatesta; but on the other hand a strenuously mannered vocal and dramatic performance by Adelaide Bishop as Norina, and singing by Davis Cunningham as Ernesto that was unlyrically tight and dry in the upper range. Salvatore Baccaloni listed as artistic adviser, seems to have advised Leopold Sachse well in the direction of the work.

A remarkable performance by William Wilderman as Falstaff and excellent singing and acting by William Shriner, Phyllis Curtin, and the rest of the cast were wasted on Nicolai's "The Merry Wives of Windsor." The work has a place in the history of German opera—or rather German light opera, since it turns out to be the source of the musical style of modern German operetta—and therefore a place in the repertory of German opera houses. But the only justification for producing it in this country would be the quality of the music; and this justification the production at City Center doesn't have: the facile tuneful writing has no claim to the attention of American listeners. Concerning the production itself I should add that Vladimir Rosing's staging was good; but that Rosenstock produced an especially poor-sounding and graceless orchestral performance; that I disliked the cuteness of Boyt's scenery and the ugly colors of the women's costumes; and that what little I could hear of Josef Blatt's English translation I would have preferred not to hear.

This would be the right point to discuss the situation at City Center that was brought to the public's notice by the resignation of Lincoln Kirstein. But to deal with its complexities and with the fatuous nonsense written about it for the New York *Times* would need more space than I have left.

FORUM

Friday Eve., May 6 — 8:30
Hear
DAN GILLMOR
Editor: "Friday" Magazine
Author: "Fear, The Accuser"
"THE ART OF
WITCH HUNTING"
Handling the Heretic — from
the Middle Ages to 1955!
Questions ● Refreshments
YORKVILLE COMPASS FORUM
Yorkville Temple, 157 E. 86 St., N. Y.
Contribution: 85c

LITERARY SERVICE

PINK PILLS and
PUBLISHED AUTHORS!

One does not swallow a pink pill and wake up a published author. For the sale of your Stories, Books, Articles and TV plays consult MEAD LITERARY AGENCY, 419 4th Ave., Dept. Y15, New York, N.Y. No obligation. Write TODAY!

PLACE YOUR SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR IMPORTED PERIODICALS IN ENGLISH TO BE MAILED TO YOU FROM NEW YORK.

SOVIET UNION— Life in the USSR thru the camera's eye. Multicolor illustrated monthly — large format. 12 issues — $3.00

SOVIET WOMAN— Illustrated monthly—the life of Soviet women in all aspects — home life, child care, fashions, industry, social devlopment. 12 issues — $3.00

SOVIET LITERATURE Monthly magazine of Literature and Art—novels, plays, poetry, literary criticism — color illustrations. 12 issues — $3.00

NEWS— Semi-monthly—devoted to economic and political developments in the USSR and the world. 24 issues — $3.00

NEW TIMES— Weekly—devoted to analysis of the foreign policy of the USSR and world affairs. 52 issues — $5.75

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS— An authoritative monthly review of current affairs in the USSR and the world. 12 issues — $4.75

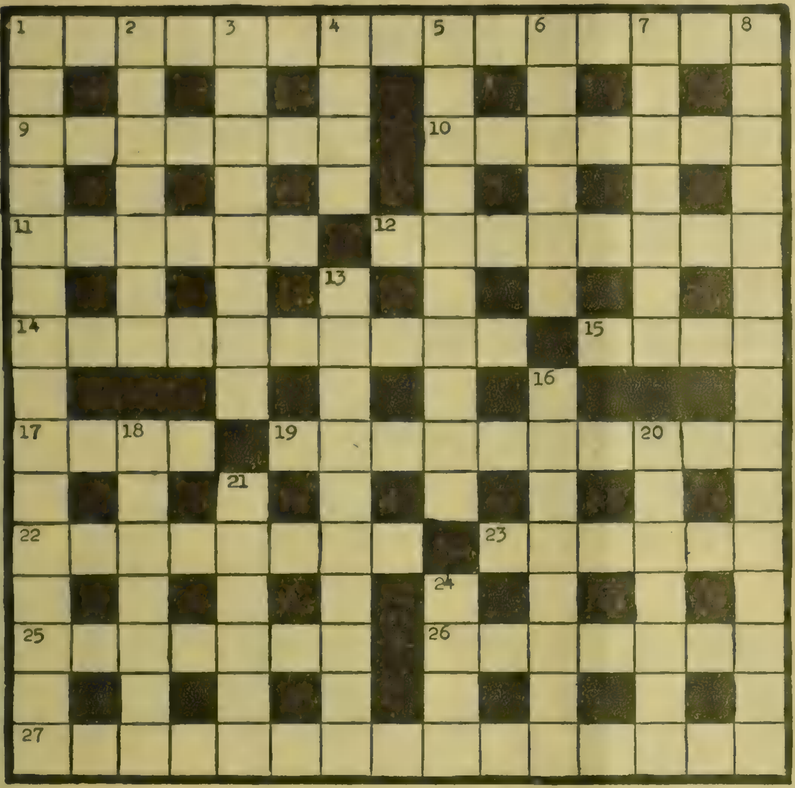
HUNGARY—From Budapest—a multicolor illustrated monthly depicting life in the New Hungary in all aspects. 12 issues — $3.50

Send for FREE catalog of Books and Periodical's
in English and Russian "E-55" and "R-55"

FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORPORATION
55 West 56 Street
New York 19, NY
Dept. DM
822 Broadway
New York 3, NY
Telephone: GRamercy 3-2018-19

Crossword Puzzle No. 617

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 and 15 across. Notice where it might be safe to pass? (4,2,3,6,4)
9 Is sort of closely surrounded, in a way, by bone. (7)
10 Where to find the fiber bent, but not drawn out. (2,5)
11 Something soft, but not exactly down. (4,2)
12 The Morse garble for the old folks? (4,4)
14 True story does, even though the riddle doesn't. (5, 5)
15 See 1 across
17 It's very strange to find it in Scotland. (4)
19 Its heart is me, in a way, coming about, if you take something under it. (10)
22 No foot, in the vernacular, to help bring back the strain! (8)
23 Three articles for her, but one is incorrect. (6)
25 The sort of mineral that takes a common silver finish? (7)
26 Light-brown. (7)
27 Exaggerated comparison, but the set might be expensive. (7,2,6)

DOWN

1 With something other than a first class carriage, should have a little porch on one end and a sort of deer on the other. (5-10)
2 Windy. (7)
3 Concerning part of the menu — including the greens, naturally! (2, 6)
4 The British call them sleepers, but we would never wear them to bed. (4)
5 A pie mix with the first book relating to ore deposition. (10)
6 Courses pursued, or parts of them. (6)
7 One of the extremes the Marines went to? (7)
8 Discriminating people, no doubt! (15)
13 Earth-bound? (10)
16 Opening a big to-do in the encampment? (4-4)
18 Put water on an irritation on top of the head. (7)
20 Put forth. (7)
21 Offhand, he may be enroute to the station. (6)
24 Finally, perhaps, the name is not the same. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZLE No. 616

ACROSS: 1, 30, 14 and 17 MAD DOGS AND ENGLISHMEN GO OUT IN THE MID-DAY SUN; 10 DIAGRAM; 12 COSSETED; 13 THILL; 15 ON TAP; 19 UNDRESSES; 21 LILAC; 23 ICING; 24 MAINLAND; 27 TENANTS; 29 ENDS. DOWN: 1 and 11 MADE TO ORDER; 2 DRAW OUT; 3 and 5 ORRISROOT; 4 SOMETIMES; 5 NOTED; 7 ORDAINS; 8 and 28 TURTLE-NECK SWEATER; 9 FOOTBALL; 16 PLEDGING; 18 DISMISSAL; 30 DEIGNED; 22 LONG TOM; 24 MASON; 25 LIENS; 26 GRIN.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York

RESORTS

50 Miles to FOREST HOUSE
Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes. All sports.
FOREST HOUSE
Lake Mahopac, N. Y. ● Tel. Mahopac 8-3449

THE PINES. Modern year-round retreat for adults in the Blue Mountains of Pennsylvania Dutch Country. Continental cuisine. Intimate group of congenial people. 95 miles from N. Y. C., 60 miles from Philadelphia. Write: Mrs. Ann Wunthal, Danielsville, R. D. 1. Tel.: Bath Te 7-6501.

LAKE LOUANNE, ideal spot for rest and relaxation. 200 acres woodland, rustic trails, private lake, boating, fishing. Charming home with fireplace. Large rooms with private bath. Small group, informal, friendly service.
Also, one room cabin with fireplace and porch on island in our Lake. Housekeeping facilities.
Lake Louanne, Old Clinton Rd., Westbrook, Conn. Phone: CLinton 6-2465.

Echo Lake Lodge
In the Green Mts. Brandon, Vermont
A delightful Vacation Resort for the Entire Family
- On lovely Echo Lake—all water sports
- New canoes, boats, swim and fish
- Tenns, ping-pong, shuffleboard
- Music, square dancing, camp-fires
- Summer theatres nearby
Diana & Abe Berman, N.Y.-WA4-6046, Hubbardton 17-2

SUMMER RENTAL

ULSTER COUNTY. Bungalows: (1) four rooms—(1) five rooms. Fully equipped kitchens, fireplaces, screened porches. Secluded, but accessible. Beautiful view. Long season. OR 5-7225 weekdays.

RESTAURANT

BALALAIKA
157 West 56 Street
New York City
Gypsy Orchestra
Dining — Dancing
Two Shows Nightly
Banquet Department
For reservations call PLaza 7-2334

AUDIO

HI FIDELITY
RADIO-PHONOGRAPH
sales, installation and service
VECTOR LABS
217 3rd Ave. ■ N. Y. C. 3 ■ GR 3-7686

PERSONALS

MODERN SALAD BOWLS—10" X 6"—$17.95; 12' X 6"—$22.50. Ebony or Mahogany. SPECIAL 50% OFF. Standard Brand Dist., 143-4th Avenue (13th & 14th Sts.), N. Y. C. GR 3-7819. 1 hour free parking or 2 tokens.

LOSE WEIGHT CARDS, the higher I.Q. way to lose weight. $1 per set 45 different flash cards. Also, QUIT SMOKING CARDS, $1. HSF GAMES, 1918 No. Jefferson St., Arlington 5, Va.

WORKER WANTED

EDUCATIONAL DIRECTOR to assume full responsibility for operation of Educational and Cultural Center for Labor Organization. Year around position with good remuneration for energetic, qualified person preferably with experience in adult education. All communications held strictly confidential. Please write stating qualifications and references—Box 394, % The Nation.

Printed in the U. S. A. by Southern Farmer, Inc., P. O. Box 509, Montgomery, Ala.

Two great American journalists bluntly accuse the United States Government of a shocking miscarriage of justice in the case of J. Robert Oppenheimer. Read their fearless, detailed, documented, name-naming book

WE ACCUSE!

by Joseph and Stewart Alsop

THE title of this report is borrowed from Emile Zola whose *J'Accuse!* marked the turning point in the case of Captain Dreyfus.

"It is a title," the authors themselves say, "that one must be presumptuous to borrow; and we only dare to do so because we too accuse. We accuse the Atomic Energy Commission in particular, and the American government in general, of a shocking miscarriage of justice in the case of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer."

This strongly worded, solidly documented book is based on the facts of Dr. Oppenheimer's personal history, on an examination of the letters and documents which figured in the case, and on a scrupulous analysis of the transcripts of both the Gray Board and AEC findings.

Send for your copy of WE ACCUSE! today. Price $1, paperbound.

SIMON AND SCHUSTER, PUBLISHERS

To your bookseller, or
SIMON AND SCHUSTER, Dept. AD
630 Fifth Avenue, New York 20

Please send me ______ copies of WE ACCUSE! by Joseph and Stewart Alsop. I enclose $1 for each copy.

Name ________________________________

Address ______________________________

City ________________ Zone ____ State ______

(N. Y. C. residents please add 3% city sales tax.)

EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW

Chou En-lai Talks to the West

by Sam A. Jaffe

THE *Nation*

May 7, 1955
20c

WALTER MILLIS

Louisville's Braden Case

EVERY
WEEK
SINCE
1865

The Profit in Atoms	*Gene Marine*
Decline of the Moderns	*Maxwell Geismar*

FORUM for Liberals

TODAY'S QUESTION: WOULD A DEPRESSION HELP THE LEFT RATHER THAN THE RIGHT IN THE UNITED STATES?

Affirmative

I BELIEVE that a depression, especially if it came with dramatic suddenness, would help the left rather than the right. It is generally accepted that the average man begins to think only after he becomes hungry, and that when a hungry man begins to think he turns to the left. He knows that to satisfy his hunger he must have work and that the economic activity which can provide work for him largely depends on government policies. He therefore wants to see a government in power which will make the welfare of the workers its paramount objective.

It may be argued that a movement to the left is not started by thinking men but by primitive men guided by their emotions. In any case, if the need is desperate, workers will analyze the situation and seek a cure. And their first step will be to try to gain control of the local, state, or national government.

If it is asked why this presumed depression must come with dramatic suddenness to afford maximum acceleration to the left, the answer is that a gradual downward trend would warn the rightist government now in power of the coming shift. Fascist-minded officials would then impose such ironclad repressions that no revolt by the masses could be successful. But if a stock-market crash of the swiftness and violence of October, 1929, should occur, followed by the closing of thousands of factories and the letting out of millions of workers almost immediately, the ensuing psychological climate might induce the authorities to give serious consideration to a socialistic form of government in the United States.

This places the liberals in a fearful dilemma. Must we look for, even hope for, a depression, with its incalcuable misery, if we want a more enlightened and humane government? The answer is that we must continue to seek some other way of changing the government. Moreover, while no sane person wishes to experience a depression, it may reasonably be argued that it is the lesser of two evils.

But let us remember that history moves in cycles. We enjoyed more than two decades of enlightened government in this country during the New and the Fair Deal. We can confidently expect to see again the reign of justice and mercy.

S. H. REESOR

Negative

EXCEPT in the sense that amputation of a finger solves the problem presented by a hangnail, a depression would not help the left in this country. On balance the right would be the gainer.

Economists, government officials, and others frequently assert that another depression could never be so calamitous as that of the thirties. Thanks to the experience of the New Deal and the advances of economic theory, we have acquired "built-in stabilizers"—compensatory fiscal policy, credit controls, a more sophisticated monetary policy, and sundry other tools guaranteed by the optimists to keep recessions and "healthy readjustments" from precipitating disastrous depressions.

The first effect of a major depression, therefore, would be to puncture any complacency engendered by these devices. It would soon convince us that our economic system is still in the grip of forces beyond our control. Growing loss of confidence in the stability of the system, plus poverty and unemployment, would usher in the following probable sequence of events.

1. The reigning McCarthyite would no doubt step forward with the charge that Communist influences at work in the government and elsewhere had brought about economic chaos by undermining confidence, wrecking the stock market, teaching subversive economics in our universities, and so on.

2. As job competition increased, racial and religious discrimination would be intensified, and there would be a frantic search for scapegoats. Anti-Semitism and race riots would raise their ugly heads.

3. An all-out assault on organized labor could be expected, for many would ascribe the crisis to inordinate wage demands. The record shows that such an assault might be successful.

4. As conditions worsened and the search for panaceas became more frantic, an enlarged right under the leadership of a Huey Long or a Joe McCarthy would have a good chance of acquiring political control. It is true that elsewhere Communist parties have been the gainers under similar circumstances, but the recent political history of the United States suggests a different outcome here.

In summary, the fear, unemployment, and economic bankruptcy created by a major depression would create a socio-political vacuum in which the right would see its opportunity.

PHILIP A. KLEIN

The next question proposed for debate in Forum for Liberals will be Must we look to the conservatives for leadership in meeting the civil-liberties crisis? Contributions must not exceed 600 words, must be typewritten, and must take the affirmative or negative. We will pay $20 for each accepted contribution. Address manuscripts to Forum Editor, The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14. A rejected contribution will not be returned unless a self-addressed stamped envelope is inclosed.

A Man's Best Friend—Sends Him a Free Copy of The Nation

HERE'S an easy way to introduce *The Nation*—the magazine you read and respect—to your friends. Simply fill out the coupon below and we will send a sample copy to each person named—with your compliments.

The NATION
333 Sixth Avenue
New York City 14, N. Y.

Please send a free copy of *The Nation* with my compliments to the persons listed below:

Your Name ....
Address ....
City .... Z State .....

To ....
Address ....
City .... Z State .....

To ....
Address ....
City .... Z State .....

5-7-55

VOLUME 180, NUMBER 19
NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 7, 1955

THE *Nation*
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

Chou En-lai Talks to the West

[This exclusive interview with Chou En-lai—the first granted to a foreign journalist by the Premier of the People's Republic of China since the Chinese Revolution—was obtained by The Nation's special correspondent, who was assigned to cover the Bandung conference. Mr. Jaffe, formerly on the foreign staff of Time-Life magazines, has spent several years in the Far East. From Bandung he is going on a tour of the Orient which will include Japan, several countries in Southeast Asia, and possibly the mainland of China. His dispatches will appear in coming issues.—EDITORS THE NATION]

By Sam A. Jaffe

Bandung, April 25

RED CHINA'S Premier Chou En-lai spoke to me tonight for ten minutes answering questions put through an interpreter.

Question: Why did the Premier insert the statement regarding his government's determination to liberate Taiwan (Formosa) in his closing speech at the Afro-Asian Conference?

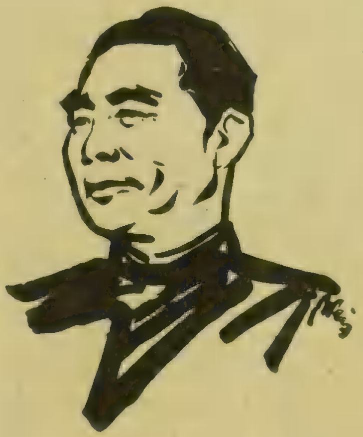
Answer: The liberation of Taiwan is China's internal affair. The Chinese people have the right to make the demand and to put it into effect. As to the tension in the Taiwan area, it has been caused by the United States intervention. This is an international question. In order to relax the tension in the Taiwan area China proposes that China and the United States sit down and enter into negotiations in order to seek a solution to this question.

Question: Would the People's Republic of China be willing to sit down with the United States government as well as the Nationalists to discuss the Taiwan question?

Answer: These are two entirely different matters. The relations between China and the United States constitute an international question. The relations between the People's Republic of China and Chiang Kai-shek are a question of internal affairs. These two matters should not be mixed.

Question: Does the Premier think the present situation in the Taiwan area dangerous enough to cause a third world war?

Answer: In the present situation in the Taiwan area there does exist the crisis of a new international war. However, whether the present situation will lead to a world war depends on the United States, because there is no war at present between China and the United States. As to the desire of the Chinese people, it has been stated in the statement issued on April 23. [On April 23, in the course of the Bandung conference, Premier Chou En-lai issued the following statement to the press: "The Chinese people are friendly to the American people. The Chinese people do not want to have a war with the United States of America. The Chinese government is willing to sit down and enter into negotiations with the United States government to discuss the question of relaxing tension in the Taiwan area."—EDITORS THE NATION.]


Premier Chou En-lai

THE background of my interview was as follows:

At two minutes past ten p. m. on April 25 I drove in a pouring rain to Chou En-lai's villa for the interview. As my car entered the heavily guarded driveway, a Chinese security officer asked how many were in it and then motioned the car toward the house. I was ushered into the drawing-room and asked to take a seat on a sofa by Chou Chang-pu, known as "Mr. Pu" (pronounced Poo), personal secretary and interpreter to Chou En-lai. I was told that I would be given only ten minutes to ask questions. As I sat down, Chou En-lai entered, dressed in a light-blue business suit, white shirt, blue tie, and brown shoes. Accompanying him was Mr. Kang Mao-chao, who was acting as press aide to the Chinese delegation during the conference. Kang is attached to the Chinese embassy at New Delhi as cultural consul. On Chou En-lai's right sat Mr. Pu; I sat to his left. Chinese green tea and cigarettes were served during the interview.

In This Issue

EDITORIALS

Chou En-lai Talks to the West
by Sam A. Jaffe 385
The Shape of Things 387

ARTICLES

Toward a Big Four Talk:
Public Pressure Increases
by J. Alvarez del Vayo 389
Three Views on Big Four Talks
by Sir Robert Boothby, Michael Foot, and Gustav W. Heinemann 390
The Profit in Atoms:
New Vista for Business
by Gene Marine 391
Louisville's Braden Case:
A Test of Basic Rights
by Walter Millis 393
Think Right:
Reverend Peale's Panacea
by Robert C. Murphy, Jr. 398
India's Land Reform:
Danger of Gradualism
By Sidney Lens 400

BOOKS

Decline of the Classic Moderns
by Maxwell Geismar 402
Influence of the Alger Myth
by Robert H. Elias 404
Margaret Sanger
by Henry Pratt Fairchild 406
Uses and Misuses of Eccentricity
by Arthur Mizener 407
A Strip of Common Ground
by O. Edmund Clubb 408
Russian National Art
by S. Lane Faison Jr. 409
THEATER and FILMS
by Robert Hatch 410
RECORDS by B. H. Haggin 411
LETTERS 412
CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 618
by Frank W. Lewis opposite 412
FORUM FOR LIBERALS
opposite 385

Editorial Board

Freda Kirchwey Editor and Publisher
Carey McWilliams Editorial Director
Lillie Shultz Director, Nation Associates
Victor H Bernstein Managing Editor
J. Alvarez del Vayo Foreign Editor

Martin Solow Assistant to the Publisher

Harold Clurman Theater
B H Haggin Music
Robert Hatch Films
Gladys Whiteside Copy Editor
Caroline Whiting Assistant Literary Editor
Alfred Maund Editorial Assistant
Mary Simon Advertising Manager

Contributing Editors: Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K Smith, Carolus, Keith Hutchison, H H Wilson, W Macmahon Ball, Maxwell Geismar, Bruce Catton

The Nation, May 7, 1955, Volume 180, No. 19

The Nation, published weekly by The Nation Company and copyright, 1955, in the U S A by The Nation Associates, Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue New York 14, N Y Entered as second-class matter, December 13 1879 at the Post Office of New York, N Y under the act of March 3, 1879 Reentered as second class matter at the Post Office, Montgomery, Alabama Printing Office 1603 Reuben Street

Subscription Prices Domestic—One year $7, Two years $12 Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

The first question I put had to do with the condition of the American fliers and whether they would soon be released. Chou En-lai replied, "No comment," offering me an off-the-record statement. As the interview started, I was told for the second time that it would last only ten minutes. During the talk Chou En-lai kept looking at his watch. The interview ended exactly within the time allotted. During it the Premier's attitude remained pleasant, but he seemed quite anxious to finish. On several occasions he spoke English; several times he corrected himself as he answered.

THE room in which we sat had a large picture of Mao Tse-tung on the wall, also two Chinese paintings. A Chinese servant and members of the delegation kept running in and out. Chou En-lai stayed a few minutes beyond the end of our talk to make sure I had his answers correctly. Finally he stood up, shook hands with me, and departed behind drawn curtains. I remained in the drawing-room with Messrs. Pu and Kang until 11:10 p. m. typing out all the questions and answers; these they read and checked. I left them a copy. I was told that this was the first time Chou En-lai had given an interview to a foreign journalist since the Chinese revolution. I was asked to play the interview "straight," since the future of journalistic relations between China and other countries depended on my story. Before I left, Mr. Pu, a graduate of Harvard University, asked me whether Freda Kirchwey was still editor of *The Nation.*

I had tried unsuccessfully several times since the beginning of the Bandung conference to obtain this interview. On the last day of the sessions Mr. Pu asked me to submit a list of questions. When I arrived at Chou En-lai's house to get the answers, I was told that the Premier had not yet had time to read my queries. It was suggested that I revise the list to include only the questions I felt were the most important, since the interview would be brief. During the week Conference Room 114, which has become famous among correspondents here, had been flooded with unsuccessful requests to interview Chou En-lai and with lists of questions for him to answer.

I had been informed that Chou En-lai would see me at eight that evening. When I drove on schedule to the Premier's villa, however, I was turned back by Indonesian police and by Chinese standing near the gate. Despite several telephone calls I made verifying my appointment, I could not get in. The Chinese said they knew nothing of my appointment and that Mr. Pu, the man I had been told to see, was not at the villa.

I finally went back to my hotel room and attempted one last call. This time I reached Mr. Pu directly, who told me that there had been some mistake and that I should come to the villa immediately. This time I had no trouble entering. Pu later told me he knew that I had been at the villa several times but that the Premier had had visitors at the time.

The Shape of Things

Tooling Up for Truce

There is only one reason Peking and Moscow gained the initiative on the peace front this past week; the Administration handed it to them—first when the State Department, with Mr. Dulles off vacationing on Lake Ontario, apparently turned down Chou En-lai's offer to negotiate to ease tensions in the Formosa area, and second when it continued to act alarmed rather than pleased over Russia's agreement to sign a peace treaty with Austria. Both could have been welcomed as a success for Western policies, and used to convince doubting nations that Washington really wants peace and is not afraid to discuss it with the Communist powers. Instead, they were muffed and the Russians and Chinese won their skirmishes.

But to concentrate only on Administration blunders would be to miss the real direction of events. Both in Asia and Europe the swing is toward some sort of break in the cold war. This was evident not only in Mr. Dulles's withdrawal of the department's insistence that Nationalist China take part in any talks with Peking, and the President's bland comment that this had been "a touch of an overstatement." Other governments have been getting into the game too. With elections just ahead and a keen realization that no war fought over the Chinese islands—including Formosa—would get an ounce of popular support, Foreign Minister Macmillan publicly denied that Britain had promised to back the United States in defending Chiang Kai-shek. He also let it be known that he had asked Chou En-lai to elaborate his ideas for peace talks with Washington. Premier Nehru's chief foreign-policy adviser, V. K. Krishna Menon, is about to leave for Peking—at Chou's request—to continue conversations begun at Bandung on the Formosa issue, and Pakistan's Mohammed Ali has also announced his intention to visit the Chinese Premier. Indian intervention is not popular in Washington where Nehru's pacifism is regarded as a major obstacle to American policy in Asia. But the fact remains that no member of the N. A. T. O. or S. E. A. T. O. bloc, arguing for a peaceful resolution of the Formosa question, could carry the conviction with the Chinese Communists that the chief Asian neutral can. So if Washington now wants peace rather than a showdown with Peking, it cannot afford to snub the efforts of Nehru's emissary.

Above all, it cannot afford to go on pulling boners itself. Our government leaders must somehow be convinced that switching from one position to the opposite, and from tough talk to sheepish back-downs, will neither fool Senator Knowland nor bring their eastern adversaries to heel. It will only distress would-be allies and throw sand into the machinery that is now being tooled up for the production of a truce—if nothing better—with the Communist world.

The Long Way Round

For reasons implicit in the story, Sam A. Jaffe's interview with Chou En-lai, which leads our issue this week, was a journalistic feat. Unhappily, it arrived twenty-four hours too late for inclusion in our last issue. If weekly journalism has advantages in that it enables writers and editors to lend perspective to current events, it also has its frustrations. But daily journalism has its queer aspects, too. Considering the interview important enough to merit widespread attention, we released it to the news services—the A. P., U. P., and I. N. S.—the day following receipt. i.e., on April 26, cabling Mr. Jaffe that we were doing so. For reasons best known to them the New York offices of the wire services did not move the story. But Mr. Jaffe's identical release in Bandung was quickly picked up by the China News Agency, and broadcast by the Peking radio. In Tokyo the correspondents of the A. P. and U. P. picked it up and relayed it back to New York. It finally appeared in United States newspapers on the afternoon of April 28 and the morning of April 29, with a Tokyo dateline! About the same time—again apparently via Tokyo—it reached the European press and got a big play.

Odd fellows, we journalists.

Two Distinguished Americans

Two men died in recent days whose contribution to American life provides an ironic comment on the knownothingism that rules our government's policy toward the foreign-born. Refugees from the Nazi cult of "blood," both came to the United States at a time when intellectual freedom and learning still commanded some esteem in Washington.

Dr. Martin Gumpert was known to *Nation* readers for the wise and challenging commentaries on medical problems which appeared frequently in these pages until a heart attack forced him to limit his activities. But the chief interest of his later years was the problem of aging. He believed the rapid rise in longevity could either convert this country into a "gigantic old-age asylum" or become a national asset. As a physician, he was convinced that many of the common disabilities of age could be prevented. Through books and lectures and active membership in various organizations devoted to geriatrics he helped develop a new scientific approach to this emerging problem. He was also an essayist, biographer, and poet; and with it all, a skilled practicing physician.

Dr. Bernhard Kahn was another distinguished example of the "good European" whose devotion and profound culture enriched his adopted land. While still a young man he turned away from a secure career of scholarship to help rescue the victims of East European pogroms. The rest of his life was spent in Jewish relief work, chiefly through the American Joint Distribution Committee, of which he was European director from 1924 until the new pograms of Hitler sent him

—a refugee in his turn—to the United States. In this country he became honorary chairman of the J. D. C. European Council and served many other organizations for the rescue and rehabilitation of Europe's dispossessed millions.

At a moment like the present, when the Administration's meager refugee program is being sabotaged by the McLeods and Walters, it is well for Americans to ponder what men like Bernhard Kahn and Martin Gumpert have meant to the country that—in a better time, under a humane Administration—had the wisdom to welcome them, first as exiles and later as citizens.

The Threat of Unity

Were it not for the fact that France will hold general elections next year, the slight drift to the left registered in that country's recent cantonal elections would be of secondary importance. In the vote the Socialists gained ten posts, the Communists six, other assorted leftist parties nineteen. The gains were made chiefly at the expense of the Gaullist Social Republicans, who lost seventy-nine seats; the center stood fairly firm. One reason for the left's success was the fact that the Socialists, in defiance of the policy established by the party leaders, made local deals with the Communists. In the second and final round of the vote, the Communists withdrew their candidates in about eighty districts, supporting the Socialist candidates instead; the Socialists returned the compliment by helping fifteen Communists to win.

The French right fears that this new "brotherhood" of the formerly fiercely competitive Socialists and Communists may lead to the reestablishment of some kind of Popular Front or working agreement on the left in time for next year's general elections. The only way to avoid such a possibility would be to change the electoral law and make it impossible for Communists to benefit from party alliances. A bill to gain precisely this objective will shortly come before Parliament. It will be fought hard all the way.

The Generous Tiger

Last November Japanese Premier Yoshida suggested that Southeast Asia needed economic aid in the amount of about $4,000,000,000 a year in order to "tip the scales against communism." A short time later F. O. A. Director Stassen returned from a tour of the "arc of free Asia," and the press displayed "authoritative estimates" that United States aid to Asia would total $1,000,000,000 in the fiscal year 1956—about one-quarter of what Premier Yoshida was suggesting as necessary, but still $200,000,000 more than we gave during the preceding fiscal year.

The President's April 2 message to Congress on foreign aid coincided with the Afro-Asian Conference. The occasion was auspicious. Mr. Eisenhower looked at Mr. Stassen's "arc of free Asia" and neatly assessed its needs: "All are threatened. Capital is very scarce. Technical and administrative skill is limited. . . . Now is the time for accelerating development of the nations along the arc." But, he added, "the major responsibility must necessarily lie with the countries themselves." And so the President proposed to spend not $1,000,000,000 for economic aid, but $712,500,000, of which $100,000,000 is for a *worldwide* contingency fund and another $200,000,000 is to be given in driblets over a number of years. "I suggest," explained the President, "that we can achieve the maximum return if $200,000,000 is set aside for the establishment of a President's Fund for Asian Economic Development . . . available for use over a period of years. Wisdom and economy in their use cannot be achieved through speed. A small, firm, annual commitment out of this $200,000,000 may prove in many instances to be the most fruitful method."

Thus our economic aid to Asia, despite the $88,000,000,000 lesson of the Korean War, continues to be doled out as peanuts. Of course, we are also giving Asia $2,717,500,000 for military assistance. The tiger is proverbially generous only with his claws.

Straight Talk to American Editors

[The following is taken from an address by Robert M. Hutchins to the American Society of Newspaper Editors, meeting in Washington April 21, 1955.]

The great issues of our time are peace and freedom. We know that the peoples of the earth are now equipped to turn one another into radioactive cinders. Can you say that you have given Americans the material they need to reach a conclusion on the course they should follow, on the choice between coexistence and no existence, between seeking peace through purchase and intimidation and seeking it through total, enforceable disarmament, between competing nationalisms and world law?

And what of freedom in the garrison state? Since most of you take the official line, that the only important fact of life is our imminent danger from the international conspiracy, most of you have watched the erosion of freedom without a twinge. When the official line permitted, you have sallied forth, as when you gallantly led the troops from the rear in a belated attack on Senator McCarthy. You have filled the air with warnings of the sinister figure on the left but have printed almost nothing about the fat cats on the right. You have allowed things to get to such a pass that some government departments now have guidance clinics in which the employee is taught how not to look like a security risk. Look at the Passport Division, interfering with the travel of Americans on their lawful occasions; at the Attorney General's list, ruining the lives of thousands on the basis of hearsay; at the Post Office Department, saving us from *Pravda* and Aristophanes; at the State Department, adding the name of Corsi to those of Davies and Service and countless others. See the blacklist spreading in industry, merging with proposals that American Communists should be starved to death. Listen to the wire-tapping, to the cry of Fifth Amendment Communists, to the kept witnesses roaming the land. The most distressing part of it is not that these things happen, but that the free press of this country appears to regard them as matters of routine.

You are educators, whether you like it or not. You make the views that people have of public affairs. No competition can shake you from that position. You will lose it only if you neglect or abandon it. As the number of papers per community declines, the responsibility of each one that remains increases. This is a responsibility that is discharged by being a newspaper, by giving the news. The editorial function is to make sure that it is given in such a way that it can be understood. The people must see the alternatives before them; otherwise they cannot be enlightened.

Light in San Diego

While many California cities are yielding to the schoolbook vigilantes and the foes of the United Nations, San Diego public-school officials have bravely resisted the pressure. School libraries have remained intact, and information about the U. N. is imparted in the classrooms. But the situation is not without danger. A book purge which originated some months ago in a small Marin County town has swept the San Francisco Bay region and leaped to the Los Angeles area. In many communities school boards and school libraries were intimidated. Now two members of a Republican woman's club have picked up the crusade in San Diego. So far the school administration is standing firm, but its position is not helped by the fact that in a recent city vote Mrs. Mary Fay, long a member of the Board of Education and an outspoken supporter of the United Nations, was defeated for reelection.

TOWARD A BIG FOUR TALK

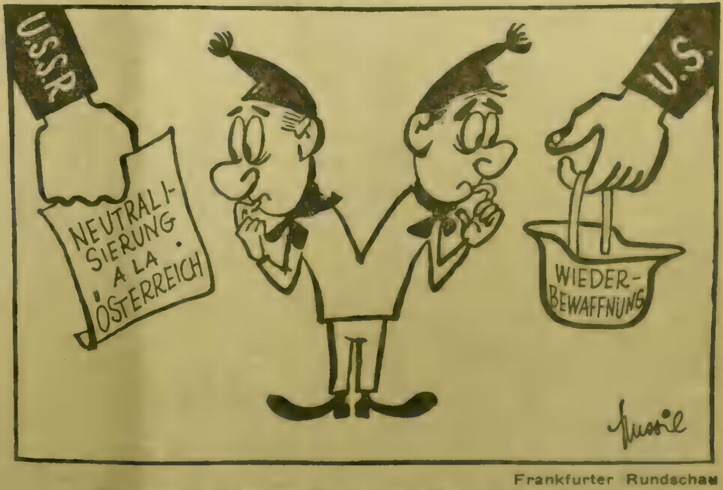
Public Pressure Increases . . *by J. A. del Vayo*

Paris

FOUR weeks have passed since the Austrian agreement was concluded in Moscow and it now possible to foresee some of its effects on world affairs. One result is already apparent. Everywhere in Europe the concept of an East-West high-level conference has acquired irresistible fascination. People are tired of tension; they are demanding something to end it and to let the world breathe freely again.

The mere fact that it took only four days to negotiate a Moscow-Vienna agreement has had a remarkable effect on the mind of the man in the street. "You see," he says, "it *is* possible to talk to the Russians and to arrive at an agreement." It might be said that Geneva had already proved that. But the Geneva talks took place when Dienbienphu was falling, and the Western powers were in desperate straits; it could be argued that the accord reached there was not the result of diplomatic give and take but of the powerful pressure of military events on Western diplomacy. But when Chancellor Raab went to Moscow no such emergency existed. Yet he returned to Vienna with a success for his country such as few other statesmen have obtained in recent years.

But if the accord was acclaimed by the Austrians and by the people of Western Europe, who took it as a sign of easing tension, it had a disturbing effect on Western chancelleries, which on the issue of negotiating with the Russians are following Washington policy. Most Western statesmen publicly welcomed a development promising Austria its independence, but privately they admit to facing a serious dilemma. The West does not want to yield the peace initiative entirely to the Russians, but no more does it want an Austrian agreement which might wreck, as the Moscow terms threaten to do, the years of patient effort poured into making German rearmament palatable to France. The dilemma should be kept in mind



Frankfurter Rundschau

Germany's Choice: Rearmament or Neutralization during the complicated maneuverings that will take place on the international stage in the coming weeks. It will be interesting particularly to watch the machinations of those statesmen who, while not daring to oppose an Austrian treaty, for which they have been asking again and again, are afraid it will grow into something bigger before Bonn has had a chance to put its first armed divisions in the field.

A foretaste of Western tactics came from London shortly after the Soviet Union on April 19 asked for a Big Four foreign ministers' conference in Vienna to formalize the agreement. An official spokesman for Harold Macmillan, British Foreign Secretary, immediately suggested that there was no need for foreign ministers to meet about a treaty "that had already been drafted" on terms which the Western powers had long ago announced they were prepared to accept. London must be a great comfort to Washington these days. In this instance it acted as if in anticipation of Washington's fear that Molotov might turn a foreign ministers' conference into an occasion for extracting concessions on Germany in return for an Austrian treaty.

The subleties of British diplomacy are worth more extended analysis than I can here give them. The British fear that the Soviet Union and the United States may yet reach an accord behind their back and at their expense; yet they want to do nothing to endanger Anglo-American collaboration. This is no less true of Britain under Sir Anthony and Mr. Macmillan than it was of Britain under Sir Winston.

THE West finally proposed that the ambassadors, rather than the foreign ministers, of the Big Four meet in Vienna on May 2 to draft final details of the treaty. On May 8 Britain, France, and the United States will meet in Paris to plan for the inevitable meeting of the foreign ministers of the four powers, and perhaps to discuss a conference at higher level. The view here is that public pressure and the British election are playing an important role in driving London and Paris along the road to negotiation.

The Dulles formula is at work—conferences by stages rising from ambassadorial through ministerial to highest levels. It is a formula admirably adapted, if not necessarily designed, to diminish the possibility of ultimate agreement by increasing the points of potential friction. Certainly Sir Winston saw the danger; what he wanted—and what Washington dissuaded him from seeking—was a conference "at the summit" first. Possibly he feared that by the time the Dulles plan of conference by stages reached a fruitful climax Britain might already be reduced to H-bomb ashes.

Whatever support Mr. Macmillan may continue to lend Washington, Premier Faure remains something of a problem. For the French diplomat is pressing for a Big Four conference with a broad agenda including Germany. The opportunity that Mendes-France missed is not likely to be missed by his successor. If Faure can do as well with the German problem as Mendes-France did with the Indo-China one, there will be no getting him out of office for a long time to come.

But above all the West is seeking to safeguard Chancellor Adenauer from finding himself in a situation where public pressure will force him to follow Chancellor Raab to Moscow. Ollenhauer, leader of the German Socialists, and other German opponents of rearmament are already beginning to generate this pressure. They are pointing out that unless the Big Four accede to high-level talks on Germany, Adenauer might do at least as well as Raab by taking a plane to Moscow and dealing directly with the Russians.

Under certain conditions, of course, the West would be delighted to talk to the Kremlin about Germany, and at the very highest level. If the Russians would only reconcile themselves to the rearmament of Germany integrated with the West and be content to discuss only unification and free elections! But every available piece of evidence indicates that the Russians are prepared to be conciliatory only when real negotiation is possible, as in Austria. When "negotiation" is only a synonym for the forcing upon them of a *fait accompli*, however, they manage to be very tough. Readiness to negotiate must not be confused with readiness to collaborate in adding German military and industrial power to the Atlantic coalition. So much cannot be expected from Moscow.

Three Views on Big Four Talks

WHERE and at what level should a Big Four conference be held? What should be the agenda? Should the Germans participate? Has the U. N. a role to play in a Big Four meeting? What about disarmament? Three distinguished Europeans here present brief answers to these questions. Sir Robert Boothby, M. P., is one of the new crop of young and independent-minded British Conservatives; Michael Foot, M. P., is one of the leaders of the Bevanite section of the British Labor Party; Gustav L. Heinemann, a former member of Adenauer's Cabinet, is a leading West German "neutralist."

By Sir Robert Boothby

London

The Big Four conference should be held as soon as possible after ratification of the London and Paris agreements. The place is not important. The paramount objective should be relaxation of present tension, which is more likely to be achieved by concrete solutions of a few specific problems than by vague declarations on general issues.

I prefer a meeting of foreign ministers, because I think that good results are more likely to be achieved by the well-tried methods of diplomacy than by those of "top-level" conferences. I am fortified in this view by the published account of the Yalta conference. The unification of Germany should be one of the specific items on the agenda. This would involve agreement on free elections, the level of German rearmament, and the place which a united Germany is to occupy in the world. These are difficult problems, but I see no insuperable difficulties so far as frontiers and elections are concerned; and with regard to armaments, I think a hopeful line of advance might be found in the permanent denial to Germany—with her consent—of the right to manufacture nuclear weapons, and an attempt to limit the size of conventional armed forces on the continent.

This would bring an immediate relaxation of tension; and the whole vast question of the limitation and control of nuclear arms could then be left to be dealt with, in a wider setting, under the auspices of the United Nations.

I do not think that representatives of either West or East Germany should be present at the outset of a Big Four conference. They might be invited to attend at a later stage.

By Michael Foot

London

I WOULD like to see a conference "at the summit" be held in London within the next few weeks, before any further measures are taken to proceed with German rearmament. The first item on the agenda should be the question of German unification. I believe that the West's major contribution could be to describe in general terms the kind of compromise which it would be prepared to accept. The concept of free elections advanced hitherto by the West implies that the Soviet Union should surrender its control over East Germany and stand by while the whole of Germany enters into a military alliance with the other side. No Soviet government is likely to accept such a proposal. A compromise involves some form of German neutralization. This was the form of compromise between East and West envisaged at Potsdam, and if a genuine peace is to be established in Europe we shall have to return to it.

It would be better in my view for the four powers to explore the possibility of agreement before either of the two German governments is asked to stake its prestige on the eventual settlement.

It is idle to expect agreement about disarmament until some of the worst of the world tensions are relieved. But an agreement on Germany would so transform the international situation that disarmament talks, particularly in connection with nuclear armaments, would have a chance of success. I see nothing in a Four Power conference of the kind envisaged above which would conflict with the purposes of the U. N.

By Gustav W. Heinemann

Essen, Germany

A CONFERENCE of the Big Four chiefs of state should be held soon, preferably in a neutral country such as Switzerland. The chief goal must be the overcoming of the mutual mistrust which now poisons the world. The specific objective should be the unifying of Germany, which can be brought about only if both sides are prepared to renounce any military participation by a united Germany in their respective blocs, or if a collective all-European security system is created which would include a united Germany.

The participation of West and East Germany in such a conference would not seem to be expedient. However, any settlement proposed for Germany should be dependent on the consent of the government of a united Germany chosen in free elections, or of a majority of the men and women of the German electorate.

THE PROFIT IN ATOMS

New Vista for Business . . *by Gene Marine*

San Francisco

WITH some of the ludicrous awkwardness with which Abbott and Costello met the Wolf Man, but with a good deal more solemnity, the American business man last month was introduced to the atom. Cost estimates crowded out talk of theta mesons; the insurance problems of corporations received more attention than the merits of D2O as a moderator in nuclear reactors.

The meeting took place in San Francisco on April 4 and 5 at a conference on the peaceful uses of atomic energy sponsored by the Stanford Research Institute and the Atomic Industrial Forum. It was attended by engineers and scientists who looked faintly irritated when the discussion turned to finance, by representatives of firms deep in atomic-energy work, like Westinghouse, and by bewildered executives who were considering activities on the fringe of nuclear industry.

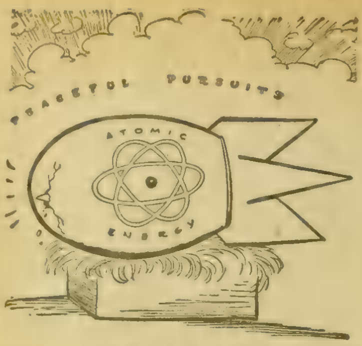
The theme of the meeting was: what's in it for us business men and how soon? The conclusion was that the age of nuclear power—of electricity generated by nuclear reactors instead of by water power or by burning "fossil fuels" such as coal and oil—could be just around the corner or still a long way off.

The uncertainty was due to the difference between what is technically feasible and what is commercially feasible. The physical possibility of a nuclear steam plant has been demonstrated in the submarine Nautilus. The theory is completely understood. But how soon your home and mine will be lighted by electricity produced by a reactor is another question, and the answer depends on how many mills—tenths of a cent—each kilowatt-hour will cost. The best coal-fired steam plants in this country produce power at a cost of from 4 to 7 mills a kilowatt-hour, depending on the price of coal in each locality. Nuclear power has not even begun to approach so low a cost, and until it does, its generation in this country will be confined to the research reactors.

Some day, however, the nuclear age is bound to arrive. Coal and oil

---

GENE MARINE is a San Francisco journalist who covered the last annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science on special assignment for The Nation.



Providence, R. I., Journal
Emerging from the Military Egg

are not inexhaustible, while uranium reserves are tremendous in comparison with any conceivable demand—"breeder"-type reactors will even use fuel over again. Three and a third pounds of uranium can produce as much power as 4,200 tons of coal, 19,000 barrels of oil, or 125,000,000 cubic feet of natural gas. Moreover, as one speaker remembered to point out, nuclear power may be "competitive" sooner than most people think. Without nuclear power, the economically recoverable part of our fossil fuels will be exhausted by the year 2000. As the supply dwindles, the price will rise; so nuclear power will not have to go down to 7 mills to be competitive.

How soon will atoms toast our bread? R. P. Peterson, director of nuclear research for Republic Steel, made the only clear-cut prediction. He recalled that on an earlier occasion he had estimated that "initial" plants would be in operation by 1965 and "substantial installations" by 1980, and added: "There seems little reason to temper these estimates; in fact, I now regard them as too conservative."

THE question of who would provide America with the magic boon of atomic power was not discussed. It was taken for granted that "we" would provide it—the group of electric light and power companies which boast that they are "business-managed" and "taxpaying." That a rural cooperative or a municipal power system might be interested was not so much as hinted. The government's few representatives, including several men from the Atomic Energy Commission, said nothing to change the prospect. In fact, they emphasized the benefits conferred on private enterprise by the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, which empowers the A. E. C. at its discretion to declassify information, to slacken its regulation of industry, and to supply materials and financial aid to any company it chooses. Some of industry's satisfaction with the new act is understandable. As George Trowbridge, a Washington attorney, pointed out, a firm might be in a position to manufacture a reactor pump without access to classified information. But it would have no way of knowing whether or not the A. E. C., in secret research, had already designed a better pump.

One thing was plain, and it was underlined by the participation of such firms as Westinghouse, North American Aviation, and Duquesne Light in the A. E. C.'s experimental reactor plans: the source of our electric power may some day be different and the amount that appears on the bill may even be lower, but it will be paid to just about the same people. And we who pay it will probably forget to figure in the fourteen billion dollars we have already paid to develop the knowledge on which atomic power rests.

Why are Duquesne Light and Consolidated Edison in such a hurry to build reactors that apparently will not be commercially profitable for decades? The answer is that while it is ridiculous to think nuclear power will be in demand in the American power market while it costs more than 10 mills a kilowatt-hour, in almost every other part of the world nuclear power at 15 or even 20 mills would be a godsend. Hard-headed business men foresee immediate reactor markets in Western Europe, Israel, and parts of South America. In highly industrialized Belgium, for instance, coal supplies are running out, and there is a clamorous demand for a new power source. Britain has a similar problem but will probably build its own reactors.

Two other potential markets are Spain and Portugal. Little Portugal plans the almost fantastic feat of increasing its industrialization 80 per cent a year for the next five years; but, like Spain, Portugal has almost no access to coal and depends on falling water for power. Thus several successive years of drought can severely hamper the growth of industry. Nuclear power offers the only solution and is therefore so necessary that the cost need not be kept down to 7 mills.

The same dependence on water exists in Italy. Israel is mechanizing rapidly and has little coal and less water. The best-developed countries of South America—Argentina and Brazil—are considered the best markets for American-built reactors, since more primitive countries must industrialize before they need power.

IT WAS announced for the first time at the San Francisco conference that the A. E. C. would actively encourage the manufacture of reactors for sale abroad. A nuclear research engineer told me something of what that encouragement might mean. Russia, he reminded me, through its "Atoms for Peace" plan has made a real contribution to the economies of Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Hungary, which have in consequence become even more dependent on Russia. "If you use heavy water in a reactor," he went on, "you can use ordinary uranium as a fuel. So the A. E. C. is trying to get all these European countries to use light-water reactors, which means they must use enriched uranium. Do you get it?"

I got it. Ordinary uranium is plentiful in the Belgian Congo, Canada, and South Africa, and there are adequate supplies in Australia, Portugal, and France. If you are willing to pay a little more, there are deposits—harder to get at—on the Scandinavian peninsula and in the Baltic territories of Russia. It is known to exist in Mexico and South America. But enriched uranium—uranium that contains a larger proportion of the rare and delicate isotope U-235—is almost an American monopoly. The processes by which ordinary U-238 is converted into U-235 or used as a raw material for plutonium are held in the closest secrecy by the United States. For a long time to come, reactors that need enriched uranium must depend on America.

Morehead Patterson, president and chairman of the board of American Machine and Foundry, told a press conference quite frankly that America would probably get "a tight grip" on the economies of other countries but that they need not complain. "America," he said, "has always been idealistic."

Lest the reader begin to feel, as some of the business men at the conference obviously felt, that nuclear power will appear in tomorrow's headlines, it should be emphasized that aside from production costs two tremendous problems still have to be licked. One is insurance; the other is waste disposal.

Insurance is a problem because the insurance companies have nothing on which to base action. There is not only the problem of insuring a reactor plant which might become a total loss, with all its employees killed, in a single major catastrophe; there is also the problem of adequate death and disability insurance for individuals. A statute of limitations, for example, is applied to compensation claims. But as most of us know by now, the effects of exposure to radioactivity may not show for years. Moreover, as nuclear power becomes more and more a part of our lives, reactor centers will not all be located in the wilds of New Mexico. What insurance should be carried by the man who works in the ashtray factory next door? Finally, there will always be the possibility of a nuclear "runaway"; a reactor may be full of radioactive material, and an explosion may scatter this material across the countryside. No insurance company is willing to underwrite this kind of catastrophe, and no business man wants to operate without insurance protection. That is the dilemma.

Equally urgent is the necessity to figure out what to do with radioactive waste material left from the fission reactions. At present we are dependent on the temporary expedient of burying these materials, with their extremely long half-lives, in sealed tanks underground; the British are dumping theirs far out at sea. It has been seriously suggested that we might seal the waste in containers and shoot them into outer space, where they could circle forever as miniature satellites. Fantastic as such a procedure may seem, it is the only remotely workable solution yet advanced. Until a cheaper one is found, there will be no "competitive" nuclear power. Apparently the only other hope is that some reprocessing method will be discovered which will render waste material relatively harmless.

LOUISVILLE'S BRADEN CASE

A Test of Basic Rights . . *by Walter Millis*

KENTUCKY'S "Braden Case" is considerably more complex than it has seemed to some impassioned writers on the subject; for that reason it is perhaps even more relevant to the basic problems of civil liberties in the United States.

In the spring of 1954 Louisville, Kentucky's metropolis, was prosperous and reasonably placid. There were no active racial tensions. There was no important voice of "racist" or "nationalist" propaganda in the community; McCarthyism was no more an issue than anywhere else; the anti-Communist fight in the C. I. O. unions, strongly represented in Louisville's expanding industries, was long over, and there was no issue of communism on the local scene.

Louisville still thinks of itself as a "Southern" city and carries a heavy emotional background of Southern feeling toward the Negro; but it also regards itself as the most "Northern" of Southern cities, and—largely under the liberal prodding of its great *Courier-Journal*—it has been making real if gradual progress during the past few years toward more equal treatment of its 18 per cent of Negro citizens. And it was one of these, Andrew E. Wade IV, a young electrical contractor and service veteran, who early in 1954 asked his white acquaintances, Carl and Anne Braden, to make a dummy purchase for him of a house in a "white" subdivision.

The Bradens are difficult, dedicated, and argumentative people, with a compulsion to lofty causes—generally of a left-wing coloration—and particularly to the cause of racial equality. Carl had been a labor reporter for the Louisville *Times*, the *Courier's* afternoon edition; he had left in 1948, later to become involved on the left-wing side in the battle within the C. I. O. When defeat left him stranded, he asked for a job again with the Bingham papers. His entanglement in the union fight had ended his usefulness as a labor reporter, but he was put on the copy desk of the *Courier*, a post which he thereafter filled with skill and an exemplary care to avoid "slant" or bias in his work.

The Bradens maintained social contacts with many Negro families; they lived, on principle, in a "mixed" housing area, and supported Negro causes. In 1951 Anne Braden, together with a Mrs. Alberta Ahearn, another white woman and a rather odd believer in racial equality, went to Mississippi to join the demonstration against the execution of Willie McGee; they were arrested and expelled from the state. There is little reason to doubt that when Wade asked the Bradens to buy a house for him they agreed primarily on principle—"we couldn't do anything else," as Carl Braden put it, "because if you believe in something you believe in it." The episode almost certainly did not originate as a Communist plot; it is agreed that the suggestion came from Wade, and no one has even accused Wade of Communist inclinations. It is not easy, however, to accept the Bradens' intimation that they were naively

---

WALTER MILLIS is the author of "The Martial Spirit," "Why Europe Fights," and other books, and the editor of "The Forrestal Diaries." He is now a consultant for the Fund for the Republic.

unaware of the seriousness of the challenge which they were about to fling at the accepted state of affairs in Louisville.

Wade could have bought without difficulty in one of the several "mixed" housing areas which have developed in the older sections of the city; but what he wanted was one of the small, cottage-type "ranch houses" which have been mushrooming during the past four or five years in speculative subdivisions all around the outskirts. His choice fell upon a little artificial-stone house just completed in a small shoestring development on the extreme southwestern edge of the built-up area. It stood directly across a lane from the builder's own house. The builder, James A. Rone, had barely begun his development; only one of two structures had been finished, while a new foundation had just gone in alongside Wade's choice. It must have been apparent to the Bradens that the appearance of a Negro family in the newly completed house would ruin the development and seriously jeopardize the speculative values throughout the area. But the Bradens are dedicated people. They bought the house, specifically representing that it was for their own occupancy.

THE transaction was completed on a Monday, May 10; two or three days later Braden transferred title to Wade, and on Thursday, when the Wades appeared for possession, Rone discovered what had happened. An immediate outburst of angry protests, threats, and efforts to buy the Wades out culminated on Saturday, May 15, when someone smashed a rock through the picture window. Later that evening the builder's son "Buster," together with two neighbors, burned a fiery cross opposite the property; still later in the night a fusillade of twenty-two-caliber rifle bullets was fired into the house. With this violence the story of the dummy purchase for the first time reached the pages of the Louisville newspapers. It created a major sensation.

The county police established a twenty-four hour guard on the place. The Wades, on their side, began to recruit friends to help garrison the property, and accumulated a small arsenal of rifles, pistols, and shotguns in the house. (It must be noted that in Kentucky firearms are still sold, owned, and used with a freedom which would seem bizarre in other parts of the country.) Threats continued; there was, however, no further violence. Instead, the white community resorted to legal weapons. The insurance was cancelled, and the mortgage company moved to foreclose. Immediately a Wade Defense Committee, including friends of the Wades, some locally prominent Negro leaders, the Bradens, Mrs. Ahearn, and other white people, sprang up to "save the house." The committee found a new insurer; it also began regular meetings, and helped organize the armed guard of the house. A white truck driver, Vernon Bown, previously unknown to the Wades, offered to move into the house if Wade "didn't mind"; as he worked in the evenings he could protect Mrs. Wade during her husband's absence in the daytime.

By the early part of June matters had considerably quieted down. Mark Ethridge, publisher of the *Courier-Journal,* offered to help Wade sell out; Wade at first seemed ready to escape from his unhappy investment, but a few days later he refused. He had decided—as if talked into it in the meanwhile—to maintain his stand "on principle." The mortgage company again moved to foreclose, on the ground that Braden's transfer had been irregular. There was a good chance that this suit would succeed; if it did, the Wades would be eliminated without further risk to the property. On Friday afternoon, June 25, Bown departed, saying that he was going to spend the week-end in Wisconsin. The Wades themselves went out on Saturday evening, leaving two Negro friends to watch the house. They returned about midnight; and the four colored people were chatting on the porch or near it at the front of the house when, about 12:30 a. m., a dynamite explosion blew out a section of the rear wall and virtually demolished the back room, in which Bown had been living. At the time the police guard was sitting, as usual, in the front yard of the Rone house across the way, a post from which the rear of the Wade house was invisible; he reported that he had seen nothing.

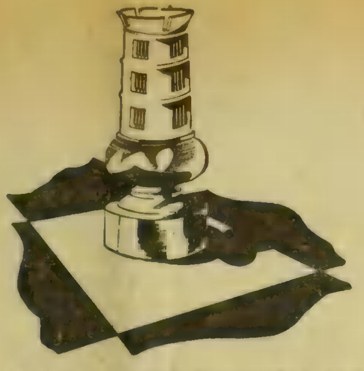
The Wade Defense Committee began clamoring at once for a court of inquiry. The Commonwealth's Attorney, A. Scott Hamilton—a big but clearly thin-skinned official, with a reputation for a fiery and vindictive temper—put them off on the ground that the police were about to make an arrest. It is apparently established that for a time the county police chief did, indeed, think that one of his detectives had obtained a confession from a neighbor of the Rones. But nothing came of it. The Bradens have naturally charged this to police collusion with the criminal; but it is difficult to believe that there ever was a real confession or, if there had been, that its suppression could have been concealed. Indifference and incompetence are the most reasonable explanations for the fact that the county police investigation yielded, so far as is known, no worth-while evidence whatever either as to those who set off the explosion or even as to the way in which it might have been done.

HAMILTON would presumably have let the whole affair slide into oblivion had not the Wade Defense Committee continued to put strident pressure upon him for a grand-jury investigation—a pressure which seems to have exasperated the Commonwealth's Attorney. In mid-August he at last agreed to lay the matter before the September grand jury, but at the same time he warned the committee that there were "two theories" as to the explosion and that he would consider both of them. One, of course, was that the house had been dynamited by neighbors to drive out the Wades. The other was that "it was more or less of an inside job, done to stir up trouble between the white and colored races in Louisville, and that some people even thought that it was inspired by a principle of communism."

The week after the Wades had moved into the house—and thus long before the dynamiting—the Shively *Newsweek*, a small local sheet whose editor has been hospitable to racist and "nationalist" propaganda, had put out the suggestion that the subterfuge purchase of the house had been part of a Communist plot to "encourage panic, chaos, and riot," and the editor had not allowed the notion to die. But it was not until Hamilton's warning that he would pursue both of the "two theories" that communism seems officially to have entered the situation.

When the grand jury took up the case on September 15 it became evident that the trouble with both theories was the almost total lack of significant evidence for either. But whereas the Rones and their friends were responsive, if highly uninformative, witnesses, efforts to question the Bradens and their friends as to their possible Communist connections at once ran into indignant refusals to testify on the grounds of "irrelevancy" and finally, when the court directed answers, into pleas of privilege. These witnesses emerged from the grand-jury room, moreover, to issue flaming statements to the reporters denouncing Hamilton for conducting a "political inquisition." The *Courier* ran the statements, which angered the short-tempered Commonwealth's Attorney, and editorially rebuked him for investigating "beliefs" instead of the "bombing," which angered him a good deal more. "Scotty" Hamilton clearly began to sharpen his knife for the Bingham papers.

IN THE meantime Vernon Bown, the truck driver who had lived in the Wade house, had taken up quarters with a retired river man, I. O. Ford—an ancient of nearly eighty who had never concealed his Communist connections. A raid on these quarters, without a search warrant, yielded a "jackpot" of Communist literature, together with various indications that Bown was or had been a hard-core Communist. One theory, not completely untenable though supported by only the slimmest evidence, was that Bown—unknown to the Wades and their friends—might himself have set the bomb under the floor of his room to be discharged by some kind of timing device. But with the raid on the Ford-Bown quarters, Hamilton seems to have realized for the first time that it was unnecessary to worry any longer about the dynamiting. He had the makings of something much more personally advantageous, and much less difficult and embarrassing, to pursue—a sedition case.



There was sleeping on the Kentucky books a globally worded and savage anti-sedition statute, a product of the hysteria of 1920. It had never been tested; it had been employed in only a few minor cases, to which the courts had held it inapplicable; and it had been a dead letter for years. But it had never been repealed. "Scotty" Hamilton had not previously sought fame as an anti-Communist. But here was an opportunity. The statute was so broad that it could be made to cover almost any kind of Communist or even pro-Communist activity; certainly, one did not have to do anything so tedious as proving a dynamiting charge in order to bring the statute into play. Toward the latter part of the grand-jury proceedings Hamilton told the court, in the course of an argument over the pleas of privilege, that "this thing has really gotten to the point there's not only an explosion involved in it, but now there's a question of sedition"; while his assistant added, dropping the explosion altogether, "We have uncovered evidence which we think warrants the grand jury investigating whether or not there is a sedition plot in Louisville."

On October 1 an indictment for sedition was returned against Carl and Anne Braden, Bown, I. O. Ford, Larue Spiker, and Mary Louise Gilbert—the last two being white women who had participated in the Wade defense. The indictment said nothing about the dynamiting; it did little more, indeed, than repeat the language of the statute, in effect charging these persons with sedition in that they had been seditious. The grand jury did pause to indict Bown for blowing up the house; while a few weeks later Hamilton sought to bolster his position by securing the indictment—again under the sedition act—of the Bradens, Bown, and one Lewis Lubka for conspiring to dynamite the house to achieve a "political end." But it was "sedition" which had become the sensation; and up to the present there has been no effort to try any of the facts concerning the dynamiting, which so far as is known remains a complete mystery.

The motives for this dramatic shift in the prosecutor's strategy were presumably mixed. Hamilton has firmly disavowed political ambitions, but to become the hero of a "little Smith Act trial" in Louisville could scarcely do him any harm. The sedition charge offered an obvious means of punishing the Bradens for their deeply resented and in a real sense underhanded blow for equality in housing, without raising any delicate issues as to Negro rights. No Negroes were indicted; and throughout there was to be careful avoidance of any suggestion that the dummy purchase of the house had been wrongful. The sedition charge covered up the failure of the police to protect the house they were supposed to be guarding, and the failure of Hamilton as well as the police to discover the perpetrators, whoever they were, of a fairly serious crime.

THERE were more obscure factors involved. If Hamilton was out to "get" the Bradens, he was also quite clearly out to "get" the Bingham newspapers. Hamilton appears to have been personally enraged by their criticisms of him. But there is a considerable section of upper-crust Louisville, Democratic as well as Republican, which has been increasingly restive under the generally liberal, New Dealish, anti-segregation policies of the *Courier* and the *Times*. A one-newspaper city does not present a desirable situation, however enlightened the single voice may be; and the undercurrents of resentment were stronger because there was no opposition medium through which to discharge it. Hamilton must have realized that to convict the Bingham papers, in the public mind, of having kept a "Communist editor" on their payrolls—the newspapers were never able to convince the community of the relatively lowly and non-sensitive character of a copy-reader's job—would hit them where it hurt. And in such an enterprise Hamilton knew that he would have a large segment of top-bracket Louisville on his side.

The one motive which, it would seem, cannot possibly have operated with Hamilton was any fear that the Bradens' communistic or seditious activities represented a significant threat to the security of the United States or the Commonwealth of Kentucky. The F. B. I., which knew more about those activities than Scott Hamilton did, obviously thought them too unimportant for a Smith Act case or federal action of any other kind.

Braden was not proceeded against in any way for his subterfuge in purchasing the house. He was not indicted for the crime which gave rise to the grand-jury investigation. It may fairly be said that he was not in fact tried for the crime (sedition) for which he was indicted, but rather for being an active and proselytizing Communist; he was probably given the heavy sentence not for the fault for which he was tried but because he appeared to have lied to the jury; while the sentence is clearly and appallingly disproportionate to anything of which he may in fact have been guilty. That this sequence represents a gross miscarriage and misuse of justice it seems impossible to deny. But precisely where justice went astray, precisely why and how, and where the remedies lie, are questions less simple than they may seem.

THE sedition indictments themselves were vague, doubtless to the point of reversibility, but the accompanying report of the grand jury brilliantly illuminates the nature of the process upon which Hamilton embarked:

> One of the appalling facts determined by this investigation is that the ultimate purchasers of this house (the Wades) apparently surrounded themselves with persons reputed to be Communists or Communist sympathizers. . . . We are certain the colored people will only harm themselves by relying on persons having communistic tendencies. . . .
>
> We cannot overlook the serious threat to the United States from Communist governments and agents and sympathizers in this country. The grand jury believes in freedom of speech and freedom of the press, but when our national security is involved we object to Communists and Communist sympathizers hiding behind these freedoms . . .
>
> We believe that if we are to preserve our form of government and our national security, it is the obligation of everyone to see that he is not being unconsciously used as a means of dispensing propaganda inspired by those who desire to see the overthrow of our government by force and violence. . . .
>
> The members of this grand jury have found it most disturbing here to have uncovered in the short period of three weeks definite activities here in Louisville of Communists.

In making this discovery and in preparing the first trial to result from it "Scotty" Hamilton had outside assistance. Emissaries of the Un-American Activities Committee—then under Representative Velde—were in Louisville. Hamilton importuned the local F. B. I. office to make available to him any undercover operators they might have; how much the F. B. I. told him is unknown, but it would be naive to suppose that he learned nothing from them. He gathered evidence of his own by raiding Carl Braden's house; this time there were search warrants, but obtained by the highly questionable device of inducing Braden's fifteen-year-old foster-daughter in effect to inform upon her parents. Again there were hauls of Communist or communistically colored literature; again there were letters and papers tending to link the Bradens with well-known Communists. On November 29 Hamilton was ready to proceed with the sedition trial of Carl Braden.

The state's case followed two main lines. One involved a parade of professional ex Communist "experts" out of the Velde committee stable, intended to demonstrate that to be a Communist is to be a member of a seditious conspiracy. The fact that this parade included such dubious persons as Manning Johnson, of fame in the Ralph Bunche case, is neither here nor there; none was acting as an informer as none had known Braden or even claimed to connect him with the conspiracy which they described. They were a kind of background chorus, used to establish the proposition that, as the assistant prosecutor was to put it in his final address to the jury, "sedition is communism and communism is sedition—there is no distinction." But to be a Communist is still not in itself a crime in Kentucky. The other main line of the state's case sought to show, from the books and papers taken from Braden's home, that he was not only a Communist, an active supporter of Communist-backed causes, a parrot for numerous Communist themes—one of his worst moments came when he had to defend a letter written in 1950, in which he had indicated that he did not believe the North Koreans started the Korean war—but also a distributor of Communist literature, an advocate and teacher of the seditious "line."

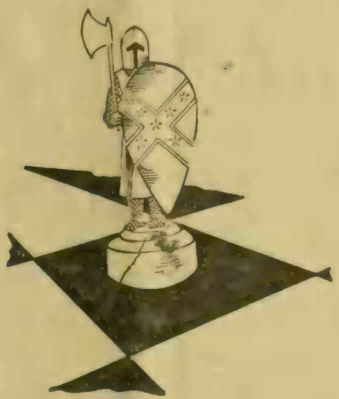
Braden's attorneys put him on the stand, knowing that a failure to do so would be asking for a conviction. He stoutly denied that he was or had been a Communist. He admitted supporting or contributing to a large number of Communist-front causes, but insisted that his interests had been those of fairness and justice, not of communism. As the defense was drawing toward a close on Friday, December 10, it began to look as though "Scotty" Hamilton might lose his case after all, and the lights burned late in the Commonwealth's Attorney's office. Saturday morning went to clearing up the last odds and ends of the defense; then Judge L. R. Curtis announced that the state wished to call, briefly, one "rebuttal" witness. It was Mrs. Alberta Ahearn, the white friend of Negro rights, who had been active in the Wade Defense Committee and long associated with the Bradens in various of their good works.

Alberta Ahearn, who described herself as a "seamstress," is a rather thin, tense woman, not without suggestions of emotional stress and with a distinctly checkered background. She now announced that since 1951 she had been a paid agent of the F. B. I. She went on to testify that early in 1951 Carl and Anne Braden had recruited her into the Communist Party; that she had paid party dues to them, bought Communist books from them and had been a member of a Communist cell or series of cells, which had embraced in all the two Bradens, I. O. Ford, a Mrs. Beatrice Pearson (who had been fired from a job with the County-City Health Agency because of her refusal to testify before the grand jury), and a Negro, Chester Higgins. Taken totally by surprise the defense could only ask for a continuance.

Hamilton was later to explain that he had "suspected" that Ahearn was an F. B. I. plant ever since he had subpoenaed her before the grand jury. A "federal government office" had then called him to ask him to go easy with her; and he had not required her to appear. But the F. B. I. would not "release" her to him as a trial witness. Only on the Friday, when Hamilton's case seemed in doubt, did the F. B. I. relent; the "release" was granted and the prosecution spent Friday evening and some hours Saturday morning going over with Mrs. Ahearn her F. B. I. reports, on which her testimony was based. The consequent introduction of her testimony as a "rebuttal," itself improper, since the defense had introduced no new evidence authorizing rebuttal, gave it a surprise effect which was crushing.

ON MONDAY, December 13, the defense did what it could to shake the testimony, but it was not allowed to do much. Called to the stand, the Kentucky head of the F. B. I., Edward F. Boyle, vouched for Ahearn as an F. B. I. agent. But when the defense demanded the reports on which her testimony rested, the Federal District Attorney, who had taken no part in the proceedings, rose and somewhat sententiously announced that "the United States objects." The United States was objecting on the ground that the reports affected the internal security of the nation and could be introduced only with the special permission of the United States Attorney General. They had already been shown to the prosecutors, who were presumably not "cleared for secret"; the plant herself had been "compromised" and the security interests at stake are less than obvious. But the objection was sustained.

Defense did get on record the fact that Mrs. Ahearn had started to work for the F. B. I. in the late forties for expenses only; that it was when she reported her recruitment by the Bradens that she was put on a salary of $50 a month, and that as her reports upon Communist activity in Louisville continued to come in, her salary rose to $125 a month with expenses in addition. The defense was not allowed to introduce evidence concerning a previous disorderly-conduct charge which might have thrown doubt on Mrs. Ahearn's credibility. The jury went out near midday and returned three and a half hours later with its conviction and its staggering sentence of fifteen years' imprisonment and a $5,000 fine.



The community generally applauded. The Louisville Bar Association had long before saluted Hamilton's handling of the case. American Legion posts, civic associations, and luncheon clubs passed resolutions commending his "courage." Through the Chamber of Commerce, an anonymous group of "outstanding leaders of our community" presented Mrs. Ahearn with a gift of $225. The Bingham papers had throughout felt themselves indirectly under attack. They had suspended their copy-reader, with pay, on his indictment; they now announced his "permanent" separation, regardless of the outcome of any possible appeal. And they finally spoke editorially in language which to many seemed less than heroic or even, perhaps, altogether correct:

> **Carl Braden has been given a full and extended trial in a courtroom atmosphere in which sensationalism was held to a minimum. The case was extensively reported so that the general public had a good opportunity to judge the evidence. Only in a democratic country could a sedition case be tried in such a way.**

It might have added that the sedition statute itself is almost certainly unconstitutional; that even under its generous terms, the indictment was grossly insufficient; that the trial record is full of probably reversible errors and that the Commonwealth's Attorney frequently showed a high hand with law and evidence.

It might also have pointed out, what it would be useless and only obfuscatory to deny, that the Bradens invited the lightning and were by no means wholly without responsibility for the disaster which resulted. Whether or not they were engaged in Communist conspiracy, they did much to create the impression that they were. It might have observed, at the same time, that a short-tempered, dictatorial, and somewhat lawless prosecutor—feeding his own ambition, or his own grudges or simply his own irritations —seized the opportunity to crush the Bradens and those popularly identified with them, along with liberalism, anti-segregationism, the protections of the Fifth Amendment, and even some of those of free speech and press. He set out to crush them under a fearful thunderbolt; yet it was a thunderbolt forged out of a statute indubitably upon the books, sharpened and intensified by popular attitudes in the community, popular fears and hatreds which are unavoidable facts of political and legal life, whatever the Constitution may say.

COMMENT might analyze much more closely the peculiar role of the F. B. I. It was gathering its own secret police information on communism in Kentucky. What it discovered was such small potatoes that it apparently took only a casual interest in "Scotty" Hamilton's own crusade to save the state of Kentucky and the United States from the perils of subversion. But at the last moment it used both its secret information and its prestige, not for the protection of the United States, but to help a fellow prosecutor out of a possible personal defeat. It fed him enough to enable him to destroy a few individuals so undangerous that the F. B. I. itself would not bother with them, and then drew the security curtain over any attempt really to test the value of this information. A thorough examination of Mrs. Ahearn, her testimony, and the reports upon which it was based might have thrown a very valuable light upon the nature, utility, and even the soundness of the F. B. I. work in the anti-Communist field; possibly it was for that reason that the F. B. I. refused to permit the examination. But the refusal underlines, on the one hand, the safeguards that should still be thrown about the utilization of such secret information in criminal process and, on the other hand, the extraordinary powers to bind and loose which we appear to be placing in the hands of our secret police.

Comment might have made all these points. One hopes that the appeal—if the Bradens are not finally sunk under the appalling financial burden of appeal – will develop most of them. But it is still not a simple case of a gross violation of civil liberty. It is a case of obvious and gross injustice, which even a more scrupulous observance of the letter of civil liberties might not have averted. Hamilton's case would have been impossible without the old Kentucky statute. But it would equally have been impossible without a climate of opinion which has never know what to do about such statutes, which has never yet been able to distinguish between communism and sedition, which has never yet, on either "liberal" or "conservative" side, really faced up to the problem of how to fit the Communist heresy into a structure of civil liberty and due process which that heresy is avowedly determined to destroy.

THINK RIGHT!

Reverend Peale's Panacea . . *by R. C. Murphy, Jr.*

THE human mind is a fluid into which you can drop a few words of the Bible to dissolve and spread a healing balm, a machine that can be thrown into neutral and "lubricated" with peace, a container that must daily be drained of bad thoughts as you let dirty water out of a sink. Religious experience is something that gets results. God is a partner, a personal friend who "rates you by the size of your prayers," someone who if necessary "runs a beauty parlor," someone to whom you need only turn once and for all, here and now, in order to solve at a single stroke all the problems of life. Man's ultimate destiny is to become popular, esteemed successful, a sincere and thoughtless exponent of the status quo, and to make money.

These are some of the teachings found by an eager public in the Reverend Norman Vincent Peale's "The Power of Positive Thinking," of which nearly a million copies have sold to date. It is a folksy, monotonously cheerful book in which the problems of a frightened and desperate America are offered guaranteed solutions in easy steps. With boisterous salesmanship the reader is assured in the introduction that there is no such thing as failure, that this "perfected and amazing" method is certain to work for him as it has worked for everyone exposed to "these techniques." He is then whisked into the substance of the book with a number of anecdotes showing how religion pays. The guaranteed formula for business success is prayer, and the reader is frequently reminded that failure would come only from lack of diligence in applying the instructions. Prayer brings faith, and may be turned into a neat profit if one is sufficiently alert. Take the down-and-outer who after a session with the author imbedded a mustard seed in a plastic ball as a symbol of his tiny core of faith. Pretty soon he commercialized this novelty, and ever since then he has been in clover.

The goal of life, Mr. Peale believes, is to feel peaceful. If you don't feel peaceful but are troubled by the state of the world, the individual's lack of value, the nature of truth, or any other concept which arouse a certain amount of anxiety, then you are his man. The bad thing is the anxiety; if getting rid of it requires you to amputate your whole struggle toward personal or religious growth, you must do so. Furthermore, unpleasant realities are to be avoided, since they are likely to create unfavorable moods. For example, after establishing his own conventional anti-communism and pro-Americanism, Mr. Peale advises that the less thought about communism the better, because it's an unpleasant subject. Facts, thoughts, creative strivings, self-contemplation, all these fall under his ready knife if they can be shown to cause mental anguish.

On the other hand, if you are a manufacturer of hydrogen-bomb casings or crime comics and are satisfied that all is right with both God and the world, there is every indication that Mr. Peale will leave you alone. His central message of reassurance, indeed, is that you must not worry about what you are but must accept and have confidence in yourself. Except to get rid of troubling suspicion that you may not be living the good life while conforming to a world of possessions, cutthroat competition, and mechanization, soul searching is taboo. Anxiety is "just a very bad mental habit" which must be cast (or "flushed")

ROBERT C. MURPHY, JR., a psychiatrist practicing in Tacoma, Washington, contributed a psychiatric diagnosis of McCarthyism to The Nation *of March 27, 1954.*

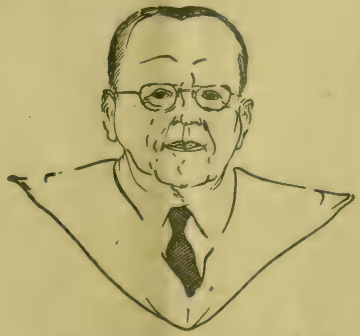
out through the repetition of certain daily rituals. Self-knowledge, in Mr. Peale's understanding, is unequivocally bad; self-hypnosis is good.

GIVEN the massive longing for spiritual anchorage apparent in much of the nation, how has a book which merely strips religion of its richness and depth become so popular? The question points to a voracious public appetite for the tools of self-discovery. Perhaps this longing is a reaction to an age which does not easily grant independence to the human spirit. Mr. Peale's eminence itself, in fact, illustrates our habit of thrusting the experts of a scientific age into positions of authority over every conceivable branch of our lives. The non-expert senses this unhappy trend as a challenge to his very existence as an individual. It may be that the world's obvious eleventh-hour peril is simply the most tangible form in which this challenge has been presented to us. In any case, the threat is now imminent and the resulting craving for self-awareness intensely urgent. Being so, it is easily subverted by anything advertised as quicker and easier.

Mr. Peale's book is bursting with such advertising, which varies from the repetitive claim that its methods have never failed to the exhortation to "prayerize" your life. Through almost unlimited testimonial anecdotes the author ballyhoos prayer—his own style—much as Smith, Kline, and French proffers dexedrine. Both products provide the soothing message that one's problems are not really real. The claims of the drug house are by far the more modest.

All this advertising is vindicated, as it were, by a strict cleaving to the line of part truth. Aside from the implausible and woodenly pious dialogue running through the pages, one finds it hard—in some cases almost sacrilegious—to quarrel with any single statement. Good and potentially useful ideas, for instance, like the anecdote illustrating the value to one couple of religious reading, discussion, and meditation, can be found in almost every chapter. Concepts like the "self-emptying" aspect of worshipful meditation might have been formulated by a Jesus or a Gandhi. But what separates Mr. Peale from these leaders is that they believed in what they said, while he appears not to listen to his own words. They regarded religious growth as an end in itself; to Mr. Peale it is little more than a means to such banal goals as popularity, monetary wealth, and the like. They held that the human soul is too deep to be grasped by even a vigorously investigative mind in a lifetime of study. Mr. Peale appears to think he has the answers. This aura of finality makes the book not merely an incomplete presentation of religion, but a vigorous door-shutting assault on it.

The "soul" which he presents is one without depth, a personality without the vast matrix of an organized unconscious to hold it together. It is this very shallowness of his concept of "person" that makes his "rules" appear easy. If the unconscious of man, which it must be remembered is the reservoir not only of his hates and lusts but also of all his nobility, can be conceptualized merely as a container for a small jumble of psychic fragments, then ideas like "mind-drainage" follow. So does the reliance on self-hypnosis, which is the cornerstone of Mr. Peale's therapy. Hence the emphasis on "catharsis," on getting rid of "sin" simply by "pouring it out," and on safeguarding such gains by "mind-emptying at least twice a day." Hence also the one-dimensional picture of human suffering revealed by such comments as "It was not difficult to analyze his case," followed by an explanation of some pathological behavior with a single, stereotyped childhood cause.


Norman Vincent Peale

As a whole, the book seductively offers to replace the inner growth force by an external authority which says in essence, "I will do it for you," or at least, "I will lead you all the way." A subtler influence is its denial of unpleasant reality. With saccharine terrorism Mr. Peale refuses to allow his followers to hear, speak, or see any evil. For him real human suffering does not exist; there is no such thing as murderous rage, suicidal despair, cruelty, lust, greed, mass poverty, or illiteracy. All these things he would dismiss as relatively trivial mental processes which will evaporate if thoughts are simply turned into more cheerful channels.

This attitude is so unpleasant that it bears some search for its real meaning. It is clearly not a genuine denial of evil but rather a horror of it. A person turns his eyes away from human bestiality and the suffering it evokes only if he cannot stand to look at it. By doing so he affirms the evil to be absolute; he looks away only when he feels that nothing can be done about it. In religious terms this orientation corresponds to a profound conviction that the devil is alive and active, that evil is a positive and unredeemable force. But belief in the devil is not a static fact; it is a powerfully experienced obligation to try to destroy him. Whether one seeks with Mr. Peale to starve him to death through non-recognition or more kinetically to bomb him to death, one is getting into the familiar ethical contradiction of trying to "destroy" those forces in the world which appear to be "destructive." In this regard Emile Coue, whose teachings for the turbulent 1920's are very much like those of Mr. Peale, made less use of a religious framework but more frankly recognized a devil, whom he regarded as the author of failure. Although Mr. Peale's words affirm only God, his elaborate restriction of his material to the syrupy can be understood only as an underlying belief in evil as a living force.

HEREIN lies the mischief in his offering. The belief in pure evil, an area of experience beyond the possibility of help or redemption, is automatically a summons to action: "evil" means "that which must be attacked." Anything which strengthens the belief that evil exists as a tangible force outside oneself thereby indorses the cruelties which men commit against each other. Between races, for instance, this belief leads to prejudice. In child-rearing it drives parents into trying to obliterate rather than nurture one or another area of the child's emerging personality. In our whole sad penal system it leads to a routine assault on whatever humanity remains to those who have been hurt and are in need of help, and thus to the weakening of what may still be noble in the criminal. In political activity it leads to attacking "reactionaries" instead of doing something constructive. In international relationships it leads to war. As soon as a religious authority indorses our capacity for hatred, either by refusing to recognize unpleasantness in the style of Mr. Peale or by the more classical form of setting up a nice comfortable Satan to hate, it lulls our struggles for growth to a standstill. We are encouraged to give up our strivings and feel free to hate as much as we like and wherever we see the work of Beelzebub, whether under our own roofs or on the other side of the ocean.

Thus Mr. Peale's book is not only inadequate for our needs but even undertakes to drown out the fragile inner voice which is the spur to religious growth. While people honestly seeking help will find it almost anywhere they look, the book as a whole is anything but friendly to religious experience.

INDIA'S LAND REFORM

Danger of Gradualism . . *by Sidney Lens*

Calcutta

THE American press, ever on the side of virtue, has seen something sinister in the recent amendment of Article 31 of the Indian constitution. The Chicago *Daily News* calls it "legalized robbery" and obliquely suggests that India is no longer worthy of American aid. This is a typical example of how the West fails to understand the East. Fear of "socialism" often causes Americans to lose sight of economic realities.

The constitutional amendment is obviously directed at the landlord class. The government will now be able to acquire property without judicial review.* It may requisition land, perhaps even factories, and set the price. Foreign property is excluded from this edict, but it is feared that once the monster is let loose it may end by expropriating even foreign holdings.

Admittedly there are dangers in granting an administrative agency the right to determine how much to pay a landlord or a factory-owner for his property. If everything were running smoothly, there would be no excuse for the exercise of such arbitrary power. Specifically, if the planned distribution of land to the peasant who tills it were being carried out, the amendment would not be needed.

The government has been patiently trying to coax along the land-reform program for eight years. As Nehru points out, more than half the people are waiting to receive the land they were promised. They want action, an end to legal delays. "If we do not change things peacefully and in time," he has said, "we expose ourselves to the danger of all kinds of storms rending our people."

The implication of Nehru's words is obvious: unless measures are taken immediately to help the peasant, India may travel the road toward communism just as China and northern Indo-China have done. Americans who shrink in horror from such a prospect are at the same time appalled by action which alone can halt the march of communism.

Consider the background: India has 363,000,000 people. The average annual income is only $57—a dollar a week, $5 a week for a family of five. But I know a rajah in Madras whose yearly income until recently was $8,000,000 a year. Incidentally he is a Socialist and favors the confiscation of large holdings. He owned some 2,500 *villages*—he couldn't remember the exact number—and yet he was by no means the richest of the landowners. How many peasants, then, must earn less than the $57 average to offset the rajah's $8,000,000? As you walk through the streets of Madras you see thousands of people with no home but the sidewalk, no other place to cook, to sleep, to procreate. In Calcutta the number runs into many tens of thousands. How can such abysmal poverty be relieved?

IN INDIA as in other underdeveloped areas the beginning of all change must be on the land. Agriculture is far and away the biggest industry. Some 242,000,000 people live on the land. When India became independent in 1947 most of them were share-croppers. They paid 50 per cent of the crop or more as rent and were at the mercy of 5,000,000 feudal landlords who owned at least 70 per cent of the land and exercised unchallenged political power in the villages. The peasant had little incentive to produce more. The higher yield would go mostly to his landlord, and the peasant was never sure that he would be permitted to work the same plot next year. In addition, 35 per cent of the peasants are hired as agricultural workers at fantastically low rates. In one village women paddy workers told me they earned 11 cents a day if they brought their own food and 7 cents if they ate the landlord's food. Male workers irrigating four acres of land nearby earned 25 to 33 cents a day. These were the employed. Beyond them are 90,000,000 Indians who are either un-

---

SIDNEY LENS, director of the United Services Employees Union (A. F. of L., Local 329), recently returned from a trip to India.

employed or only partly employed.

Such poverty calls for radical action, and the pivot of all action is obviously land reform. India, like all revolutionary countries, seeks to create new wealth by making the land more productive. But if the peasant is to undertake real improvements, he must feel that the land is his, that he can pass it on to his children, that they can enjoy the fruits of increased productivity. Once the peasant owns his land he adopts better methods, produces more, begins to sell to the cities, perhaps even to export. And as he produces more, he consumes more, thus laying the groundwork for an expanding industry. Land reform has ushered in capitalism and industrialization everywhere.

The problem for India is pretty much what it was for Western countries a century or two ago. India's national income is some twenty billion dollars a year, only one-eighteenth that of the United States, though India is more than twice as populous. India saves perhaps 5 per cent, thus making one billion dollars a year available for capital formation. When you consider that it costs $2,500 to buy the plant and machinery to create *one* job in light industry and perhaps ten times that in heavy industry, you realize how insignificant is this one billion. Even if used exclusively for new industry it would mean only 400,000 new jobs a year—in a country where the population is growing at the rate of 4,000,000 a year. These figures are staggering, as the realities of Indian life are staggering.

To save more the country must produce more, and to produce more it must revitalize its main industry, agriculture. When the Congress Party came to power after independence it tackled the land problem with such patience and moderation that more radical elements were in despair. Nehru's government eschewed the expropriation of landowners practiced by the Communists in China. Reform was to be handled exclusively by the states. But only in Kashmir, which is semi-independent, has drastic action been taken. There all holdings larger than 125 acres have been confiscated and divided among the peasants. In the twenty-eight states of India proper reform has been far more limited.

Article 31 of the constitution provides that no land can be taken by the state without proper compensation. This obviously imposes a load that no underdeveloped state can carry. Where is the money to come from? The state must either itself pay the landlord or obtain the purchase price by selling the land to the peasants. The state cannot possibly bear the full cost out of revenues and if it prints money to pay for the land the result is inflation and an undermining of the whole industrial program. The Indian states have tried to solve this problem by giving the landlords long-term — thirty- or forty-year — bonds covering approximately one-third the value of the land. But this has created two other difficulties: first, it adds a heavy fixed-interest charge to the overburdened state budget; and, second, it permits the landowners to go to court to challenge the amount of compensation.

THE meager land reforms of the Indian states have been held up by these obstacles. The laws finally passed usually provided merely for the reduction of rents and permanency of land tenure. Attempts to acquire large holdings to distribute among the peasants have often been stymied by adverse court decisions. Moreover, when the state has succeeded in acquiring the land, the peasant often finds it impossible to pay the compensation demanded. In some states a tenant in order to establish ownership must pay the former landlord ten years' rent in instalments that are much higher than the old rent. How can the ordinary peasant, already living on the brink of starvation, manage this? He can't and he doesn't. In Japan, where MacArthur divided land holdings after the war, the peasants were favored by a skyrocketing inflation and had to pay only about 3 per cent of the actual value of the land. But India is not in this situation, and the prospects for the tenants are far less favorable.

After eight years of experimenting with "gradualism" Nehru sees the danger signals. Landowners are still powerful in the villages, still control much of the administrative and judicial machinery. In many places they have burrowed into the Congress Party and have real power in its councils. If they can continue to stall land reform, the peasants may take radical action; they may even turn to the Communists.

At the moment the chance of this is reduced by the fact that the Communist Party of India is dominated by the "softs." There are four party factions, two "soft" and two "hard." The "softs" believe in concentrating on parliamentary activity rather than violent action, one soft group favoring a popular front which excludes Nehru and the other being willing to include him and the Congress Party. The "hards" favor direct action to seize land and seize the government, one "hard" group being oriented toward a Chinese type of revolution based primarily on the peasantry, the other toward a Soviet type based on the city workers.

The winds from Moscow and Peking have kept the Communist ship on the moderate course. Nehru, the neutralist, can expect that internally the Communists will hesitate before shifting toward a new Yenan or a new October. Should the winds change, the Indian Communists may do again what they did in Hyderabad after independence—seize the land and start guerrilla warfare.

Nehru probably still favors gradualism but may let it be *less* gradual. Given the weapon of the new constitutional amendment he can take stern action to expropriate land and turn it over to small holders without delay or fear of court action. This will solidify the peasantry behind the regime and make possible more rapid progress toward industrialization.

BOOKS

Decline of the Classic Moderns

By Maxwell Geismar

ON THE face of it, the famous names in American literature today are flourishing. Ernest Hemingway has just won the Nobel prize, and William Faulkner won it in 1949. (Not to mention the American-born poet T. S. Eliot, who received the award a year earlier.) Hemingway also got the Pulitzer prize in 1953, and Faulkner has been awarded two National Book Awards within recent years. Among the other surviving members of the celebrated younger generation of the 1920's and their immediate successors in the early 1930's, John Dos Passos has fallen somewhat from critical favor, and John Steinbeck has moved over to the edge of popular entertainment. But there is no question as to the commercial value of their work.

There is indeed only one question which has not been asked about these four major talents. Why has not any of them produced a fresh or important literary work in the last ten years? Why is the combined output of the group so repetitive of their best earlier work, so empty of any kind of growth or maturity—as though *their* world had stopped moving somewhere in the 1940's? In Hemingway's case one is grateful that "The Old Man and the Sea" is as good a tale as it is. But the theme which Hemingway still celebrates is that of solitary suffering in a black Darwinian universe—not too far removed from Jack London's—where one must kill the brothers whom one loves, even one's fish brothers, and where the sharks are the masterpieces of nature. The old man's luck was broken because he went "too far out." This verdict on the tragedy is typical of an artist who has always presented a world of painful consequences and no causes.

That Hemingway has always refused to understand the nature of his own private orbit of anguish is, I think, also clear. Signs of an absorbing narcissism, of childish heroics, of sadism and brutality within a sealed-off zone of torment, as it were, were found in his previous novel, "Across the River and into the Trees." When we turn to the work of William Faulkner, we see greater possibilities of change and growth—and of the capacity to meditate about life which after all has been the mark of the major world writers until this century. Faulkner has always had a wider frame of reference than Hemingway, including a sense of social organization and of the different kinds of human individuals who exist along with lovers, fighters, and animals. But in recent years he too has fallen below the level of his best early novels—"Light in August," "The Sound and the Fury," and "Absalom, Absalom!" all written before 1936.

THERE are even more puzzling issues here. Certain elementary facts have been consistently ignored by the New Critics, who have descended like a swarm of locusts upon this author's work. (Or, more accurately, like the mechanized corps of technicians that they are, armed with their laws of strategy and their canons of criticism, their depth-gauges, their tactile-meters, their handbooks of proper taste and codes of symbolism—all in a massive literary critique which should be called Operation Mississippi.) Directly after receiving the Nobel prize, for example, how could Faulkner think of writing "Requiem for a Nun"? For this was not a serious work at all. It was a rather tedious sequel to "Sanctuary," but with all the horrors gone stale and the sensationalism rationalized by a noble and moralistic "message." Was this to show that Faulkner, as the official spokesman for American letters, was repenting his past in public—or that he too, like John Steinbeck, was writing with one eye on the Muse and the other on Broadway?

What was distressing in this play was the author's lack of taste and self-criticism, as though, bewitched by a decade of homage, he could no longer make any distinction between the good and bad things in his work. The new novel, "A Fable," although it received the National Book Award this year, is unique among Faulkner's books in being neither good nor bad but simply mediocre. The purpose of the novel is surely admirable. It is a plea for pacifism which suggests that people should simply refuse to fight any more. Yet as the story develops we realize it is giving a pseudo-religious interpretation, and a sort of Hollywood-miracle effect, to the false armistice at the end of World War I. It has succumbed to the present fashion of seeking supernatural causes for events that are purely natural, human, or, God forbid, social in their origins. And what really remains in our mind after reading "A Fable" is the familiar Faulknerian stance of horror and terror rather than the scenes of purified human nobility or religious piety. Yes, that, and the beautiful folkloristic tale of the three-legged horse, which has no connection whatsoever that I can determine with the central story.

This is an old habit of Faulkner's—throwing together completely extraneous stories, joining them with a great pretense of mystery, and letting the critics find the answer. Mark Twain did it too, without any pretense. But the serious question that is raised by Faulkner's much-quoted Nobel speech, by the moralistic sequel to "Sanctuary," and by "A Fable" itself is of course that of his return to "faith." And it is also true that the code of moral precepts which the mature writer has apparently adopted is just as romantic and rhetorical as is, at base, his whole view of the Southern scene. I have always doubted whether Faulkner understands the deep South in the way that Tolstoi understood Russia, or Dreiser the American scene of his time, or even the way Ellen Glasgow understood the middle South. Faulkner has actually fashioned a more complex and modern myth of the old South, in which all the heroic virtues are in the decaying aristocratic families

---

MAXWELL GEISMAR, literary critic and contributing editor of The Nation, *is the author of several books on the history of the American novel.*

(Sartoris-Compsons); all the vices in the rising middle-class "modern" Snopes clan: a black and white society indeed, where all the "good" Negroes are peasants or primitives, like the Sam Fathers of "The Bear," if they are not servants.

Richard Wright presents another view of the Southern scene, one which Faulkner does not ever quite see. But Faulkner too belonged to that generation of the 1920's which grew up to scorn the society around them but which was forced, somewhere around middle life, to fall back upon it as a central source of moral support. The later books of Sinclair Lewis are false and flat precisely because of this dilemma. What Lewis had satirized without full comprehension he tried to apotheosize without conviction. Very similarly the last five or six books of John Dos Passos present a "conspiratorial" view of the United States in which those dangerous radicals of the early 1930's are still busily undermining the foundations of the free world, as in "Most Likely to Succeed," in a way they never really achieved in their prime. Or else these later novels of Dos Passos present the same standardized moralistic picture of the "good" American hero who has renounced his youthful radical "errors" and becomes, as in "Chosen Country," a perfect Jeffersonian landlord, a husband and lover, a taxpayer, a patriot.

NO middle course seems to be possible between the extremes of Marx and the extremes of Horatio Alger. And what one misses in this whole group of writers, what shows up most clearly in the failure of their mature work, is just that ingrown, inherent, and actually *biological* belief in life—rather than any sort of intellectual or rhetorical affirmation—which marked the earlier generation of American realists from the turn of the century to the First World War. I mean the generation which extended from Dreiser and Ellen Glasgow to such figures as Sherwood Anderson, Willa Cather, and in his own odd way even H. L. Mencken. The separation of the artist from the communal life had not occurred then. These earlier writers were whole figures, not experts in their own eyes; they were rebels, but not expatriates or out-

THE NATION
now available on Microcards

The new inexpensive form of opaque microtext, printed on 3 x 5 index cards for easy handling and filing.

Complete —— and currently

v.1-100, 1865-1915	$248.60
v.101-179, 1916-1954	308.00
	$556.60

or you many buy it in "units" as follows:

Unit I,	v. 1- 10 and Index	$31.20
Unit II,	v. 11- 20 and Index	21.20
Unit III,	v. 21- 30 and Index	22.50
Unit IV,	v. 31- 40 and Index	33.20
Unit V,	v. 41- 50 and Index	28.50
Unit VI,	v. 51- 60 and Index	25.20
Unit VII,	v. 61- 70 and Index	25.70
Unit VIII,	v. 71- 80 and Index	27.70
Unit IX,	v. 81- 90 and Index	32.70
Unit X,	v. 91-100 and Index	37.70
Unit XI,	v.101-110 and Index	64.50
Unit XII,	v.111-120 and Index	62.70
Unit XIII,	v.121-130 and Index	60.60
Unit XIV,	v.131-140 and Index	60.90
Unit XV,	v.141-150 and Index	66.30
Unit XVI,	v.151-160 and Index	68.40
Unit XVII,	v.161-170 and Index	66.60
Unit XVIII,	v.171-179 and Index	49.50

Current years are available at the end of each year (enabling you to discard weekly issues and save binding and storage space.) They will cost about $3.80 a year.

Send your order to

THE MICROCARD FOUNDATION
GODFREY MEMORIAL LIBRARY
MIDDLETOWN, CONNECTICUT

Do You want to read...

THOMAS MANN on Chekhov
D. W. BROGAN on France
WILL HERBERG on Reinhold Niebuhr
ROBERT BENDINER on A. D. A.
SAUL BELLOW on Dostoevsky

Two articles on Bandung, written from the conference
A symposium on psychiatry and religion

New Republic 1826 Jefferson Place, N.W.
Washington 6, D.C.

Yes . . . I would like to read the next 30 issues of the New Republic. $3 is enclosed.

Name ______________________________

Address ____________________________

City ________________ State ________

Subscribe today to
New Republic
at this ½-price rate
30 weeks
$3

casts. Sharply dissenting as they did from their immediate social or literary tradition, they still found enough in their general cultural heritage to support their life convictions, a far deeper thing than the matter of political labels or social ideas.

The new writers of the 1920's were specialized in this sense. They were technical innovators, strong individualists, gifted talents who discarded not only the past, of which they were often ignorant, but the commonplace present. Where is the density and texture of ordinary life in the literature of this period; or the complexity of natural and social character that we meet in the literature of the past; or the involved, tormented, resilient fabric of human relationships? (Steinbeck has often sought after and never quite achieved this; Faulkner has had it, at his best, and often dropped it for purely literary effects.)

Exactly as in the current musical play about the 1920's, "The Boy Friend," the typical figures in the literature of this period talk to the audience, not to each other; as in Scott Fitzgerald's work they are always perfecting their roles before their mirrors. In one sense, at least, the whole period now seems to be a miraculous fairy tale where nothing real could ever happen, and where the typical writers of the epoch, such as Fitzgerald, or Hemingway himself, or T. S. Eliot, were masters, not of life, but of a kind of romantic enchantment; wizards of illusion, who took us for a moment under the spell of their art.

Yet beneath the enchantment, where common life should be to sustain as well as to confine us, there was a void which no amount of cafe society or wild-game hunting, or even of political theorizing, could quite cover up. For in this process too the great attraction of communism in the 1930's was just as artificial as had been the flight from reality in the post-war period. The new social radicalism was in part at least a salvation from a personal emptiness which had slowly become apparent. Its purpose was to save the masses, the nameless faces whom these writers had never really known in the way that the older American writers had.

One perceives this attitude very clearly in Hemingway's social-protest play, "The Fifth Column," and even in "For Whom the Bell Tolls." A sudden convert to the Spanish crusade, Hemingway spoke about the American depression in a ridiculous way. The great disenchantment of Dos Passos with the Communist cause also occurred during the Spanish civil war; even while the radical artist of this period, from his leftist point of view, was dismissing the New Deal, just as the later Dos Passos did from the extreme right. Meanwhile Faulkner had been slowly swinging over to the only political stand which could emerge from his writing. The South could take care of its own, he said in "Intruder in the Dust." Northern agitators should keep out.

So now in the middle 1950's, when what often seems to be a nightmare of reaction has settled down over the nation, perhaps it is not surprising that this group of writers cannot really function. None of them—not even Steinbeck, who *needs*, one might say, a social cause to ballast his fantasy—has been able to deal with his own society in his work, or to speak up on the fundamental issues of life and art today. Their writing shows this inertia, or worse. For if the history of the 1920's and 1930's was so largely an enchanted dream in their minds, then perhaps the present period is the true reality.

Influence of the Alger Myth

THE DREAM OF SUCCESS. A Study of the Modern American Imagination. By Kenneth S. Lynn. Atlantic—Little, Brown. $4.

By Robert H. Elias

MODEST in scope but ambitious in intent, this volume provides an important corrective influence in the study of our culture. Where disciples of Van Wyck Brooks and Parrington have considered our literary tradition to be opposition to the values idealized in Horatio Alger's myth of success and have treated novelists like Theodore Dreiser, Jack London, David Graham Phillips, Frank Norris, and Robert Herrick as men estranged from their society, Mr. Lynn argues that those very five writers were in fact molded by their society, accepted the Alger myth as the key to the meaning of our national life, and having discovered that reality did not correspond with boyhood dreams of a world in which earnest effort was materially and spiritually rewarded, devoted their art and lives to trying to adjust to the reality, only to fail because they subscribed to the very values that had created the world that had disillusioned them.

ROBERT H. ELIAS is associate professor of English and chairman of the American Studies program at Cornell University. He is preparing an edition of Theodore Dreiser's correspondence.

Dreiser, the major figure discussed, is appropriately used to introduce Mr. Lynn's pattern. Dreiser's themes, the argument runs, are confined to pecuniary and social success. Brought up in poverty and filled with dreams of escape to the cities, he experienced failures that left him with the image of death as failure's inevitable result and, ultimately, achieved successes that allowed him not only to accept the world with its struggles but also to glorify it and its amorality by emphasizing in his principal works the importance of the powers of mind and will, the same powers that were the equipment of Alger's heroes. Dreiser's acceptance of the values he portrayed is borne out by the impasse he reached as novelist. For he was unable to envisage anything beyond boredom for Carrie, death for Lester Kane, and interminable financial and social conquests for Frank Cowperwood, and when the last possibilities for Alger's heroes were destroyed in 1929, he had nothing more to say in the form of a novel until just before his death sixteen years later, when he completed two "hollow shells of books" —and requested burial in southern California's most glamorous cemetery.

London similarly fell into the trap of his own assumptions. Born a bastard, reared in want, wretchedly exploited in youth, he yearned to succeed like an Alger hero. Chancing upon Marx, he denounced capitalism for preventing the truly fit from fulfilling themselves, and labeled himself a Socialist. Yet the socialism that he affirmed, with, ironically, considerable profit to himself—he eventually was earning more than $60,000 a year—was in the interests of such as the dog Buck and muscular and mental supermen like Wolf Larsen and Ernest Everhard, who needed a competitive society to assert themselves. Indeed, not only could London never adequately visualize the workings of a Socialist state, but his heroes had no use for the masses. No wonder that Martin Eden, bored with success and disillusioned with socialism, should find the world wanting and commit suicide. No less wonder that London himself finally emulated his prophetically autobiographical character. Determined that a bastard could live like an aristocrat, he had undertaken life on a scale beyond even his means. Unable to accept the dream of serenity he offered himself in "Burning Daylight," he became fiction's slave until his overdose of morphine sulfate released him.

Phillips, Norris, and Herrick fared no better. Phillips, voicing middle-class aspirations, seemingly assailed success when his hard-working protagonists, superior to the effete children of the rich, fought privilege; but at the same time, believing that fear of economic failure prevented corrupting idleness, he created heroes who sought to be gentlemen, who married heiresses, and who exhibited the pluck and push of the celebrated self-made man. Norris, the victim of tensions between a father who was a business success and a mother who was a thwarted thespian, spent his career trying to justify his artistic interests according to his father's standards. Although he believed that "everything I have I owe to my mother"—a tenet of the success mythology—his theory and practice of literature indicate domination by his father's point of view: he called the growth of business enterprise modern fiction's proper subject, made his protagonists hard, self-reliant men, and concluded his final novel, "The Pit," with the capitalist Jadwin winning over the artist Corthell. As for Herrick, most passionately dedicated of the five to finding an alternative to success, he created anti-success heroes who were so successful in their careers that they could not escape either self-

YOUR STAKE IN THE ATOMIC ERA

READ THIS BOOK on what has, what will happen

DIPLOMACY UNDER ATTACK

by Gen. Julius Klein,
Special Consultant to
Senate Committee on Appropriations,
Sub-Committee on Armed Forces:

"Our findings point to serious impairment of the prestige and effectiveness of our diplomatic service. Factors contributing are: The ease with which foreign countries are by-passing our ambassadors to deal directly with Washington; the multiplicity of special missions dispatched by Washington to deal with individual problems; excessive bestowals of ambassadorial and ministerial rank on emissaries assigned to special tasks in Europe; and finally, the frequency with which heads of American diplomacy have traveled to Europe from Washington." — Report submitted **Sept.-Oct. 1954**

DAVID LAWRENCE in an editorial
J. S. News and World Report **Feb. 11, 1955**

"We shall not make peace by attending conferences or writing treaties with cliques of evil men. We cannot win them by exhortation."

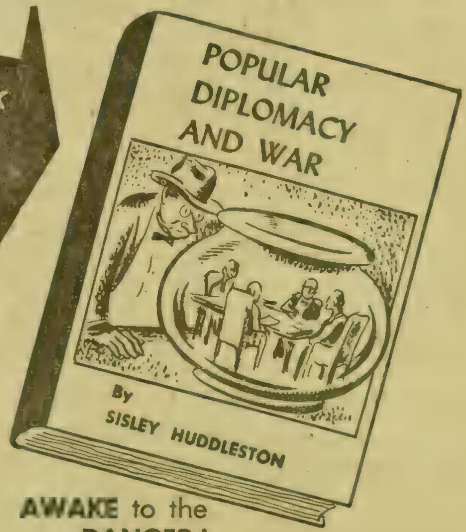
UTMOST INSTABILITY

Harold Nicholson in his EVOLUTION OF THE DIPLOMATIC METHOD, **published 1954,** says:

"In place of the old methods of stability, a new method of the utmost instability was introduced. All rational discussion is abandoned in favor of interminable propaganda speeches. The invective exchange adds to the sum of human tension and bewilderment."

"OPEN COVENANTS UNOPENLY ARRIVED AT" is the revision of Wilson's slogan sought by Drew Middleton in his article in the New York Times of **February 27, 1955.**

"The record of Open Diplomacy since World War II," he says, "presents one salient lesson — it does not work."



AWAKE to the
DANGER!
Read

POPULAR DIPLOMACY AND WAR

which was published in **September 1954.** In this compelling book are presented the historical background and the analysis and interpretation of events which explain the thoughts and conclusions of the men quoted above. To understand this fateful subject and to intelligently reach your own stand, read

POPULAR DIPLOMACY AND WAR

Order today from your bookstore or the publisher

RICHARD R. SMITH PUBLISHER, INC.
Topside • West Rindge, New Hampshire
$3.50, Postpaid

destruction or, worse, their author's insistence that they be shown fit to win in a success society, and frequently he was unable to devise denouements to resolve the problems he had posed. Finally, hoping that World War I would purge America of its poisons, Herrick concluded that actuality had betrayed him; left among the disillusioned, he appropriately entitled his autobiography "Waste."

Mr. Lynn's study cannot, to be sure, be read as a comprehensive account of the five writers; certainly in the discussions of Dreiser and Norris it is incomplete and at times possibly misleading. But Mr. Lynn's subject is American civilization, not literature as such, and his book should be read for what it shows of the prevalence of the success myth in our society, for the extent to which it helps define, with wit and penetration, what the assumptions of the first decades of our century were. Aware that a novelist's values are disclosed not by pronouncements mainly but by tone, plot, characterization, Mr. Lynn has admirably related literary analysis to biography on the one hand and to social history on the other. In addition, he illuminates the vital question of how our writers have confronted the key figure in our so-called business civilization. The fact that Mr. Lynn's five symptomatic novelists were always seeking justifications is evidence of some vestigial sentimentality about what their world might be and skepticism about what it was. It may be obvious that the American imagination has yet to see business in the light in which it sees art and science—namely, as a realm in which the self can be faithful: an artist may fulfil himself in art, a scientist in science, but what may a business man do? Must he collect pictures, subsidize an observatory, or give unto the needy? Nevertheless, the persistence of the problem validates Mr. Lynn's subtitle and enlarges the relevance of his book, a work of the first importance.

Margaret Sanger

THE MARGARET SANGER STORY AND THE FIGHT FOR BIRTH CONTROL. By Lawrence Lader. Doubleday and Company. $4.

By Henry Pratt Fairchild

THIS book provides case-study material on a number of important questions, both general and particular. In the general category: What are the qualities of leadership, and where do they come from? What is the influence of heredity and environment? Can a powerful and determined will master the frailties and disabilities of the body? What are the possibilities of a "career woman" preserving what are considered the "normal" relationships with husband and children? What is effective organizational procedure in a pioneer field? And especially, how much validity is there in the "great man" theory of history?

In particular, as the title indicates, this is an account of the impact of a single forceful and devoted woman on a world-wide social movement. Born of a rebel father, Margaret Sanger was never overawed by conventions or traditional concepts. Beginning her professional life as a trained nurse, she was appalled by the suffering and human wastage caused by abortions and superabundant child-bearing. She began to visualize a crusade devoted to the emancipation of woman from sex slavery and the achievement of the freedom of her own body and her procreative capacities. She was deeply impressed by the obvious relationship between poverty and unduly large families. The turning point in her life came through the often-told and tragic episode ("Tell Jake to sleep on the roof") of the death of Sadie Sachs following a second attempted abortion. Mrs. Sanger determined to go to Europe to find out what could be done about it.

The career that followed was so crammed with events and experiences that even this book is of necessity scarcely more than a summary of it. There is enough drama here for half a dozen Broadway hits. Mrs. Sanger made powerful friends and bitter enemies. She came to grips with prejudices, laws, governments, and the Roman Catholic church. But one victory after another was won, culminating in the recent formation of the International Planned Parenthood Federation. Few women have been the recipient of such an outpouring of love and gratitude from the humble, and glowing honors from those in high places, as Margaret Sanger—and been so unspoiled by it.

One of the secrets of Mrs. Sanger's success is her unlimited capacity to grow. Animated in the beginning by an emotional concern for the welfare of the individual woman, she became in time a thorough expert in the field of population in its broadest sense. She is the exact opposite of the conventional concept of the woman reformer. Those who, in the early days, not having seen her, pictured her as a massive, masculine, blustering creature, a sort of combination of Carrie Nation and Mrs. Pankhurst, brandishing a hatchet in one hand and a contraceptive in the other, were amazed, if they had the good fortune to meet her, to find a rather slight woman, very beautiful, with wide-apart gray eyes and a crown of auburn hair, combining a radiant feminine appeal with an impression of serenity, calm, and graciousness of voice and manner. But woe to him who was misled by this calm exterior into ignoring the tremendous fighting spirit, the self-generating energy, and the relentless drive that lay beneath it.

No doubt there would have been a birth-control movement eventually anyway, but who can believe that it would have come when or as it did without Margaret Sanger?

HENRY PRATT FAIRCHILD, formerly vice-president of the Planned Parenthood Federation, is the author of "People: The Quantity and Quality of Population" and other books.

IN EARLY ISSUES

"The Hound of Earth"
by Vance Bourjaily
Reviewed by Herbert Gold

"The Contemporary French Novel"
by Henri Peyre
Reviewed by Albert Guerard

"Rebels and Democrats"
By Elisha P. Douglass
Reviewed by R. R. Palmer

Uses and Misuses of Eccentricity

THE LION AND THE HONEYCOMB. By R. P. Blackmur. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $5.

By Arthur Mizener

THIS is the second volume in the collected edition of Mr. Blackmur's essays. The first, "Language as Gesture" (1952), contained a selection of his essays on poets and poetry. Here are those in which Mr. Blackmur has considered the relations between "letters and society." A few of them—notably Toward a Modus Vivendi and The Economy of the American Writer—deal directly with what he feels is the effect of the world situation on the intellectual life. Most of them, however, come at society indirectly, by considering a problem for a novelist like Henry James, or a social critic like Henry Adams, or a literary critic like Lionel Trilling. What Mr. Blackmur does in these essays is to examine some aspect of the writer's work which involves his relations to his society.

The essays collected in "The Lion and the Honeycomb" range in time over a period of twenty years, from The Critical Prefaces of Henry James, written in 1934 and originally published as an introduction to James's collected prefaces, "The Art of the Novel," to Toward a Modus Vivendi and Between the Numen and the Moha, both published in 1954 though written in slightly different forms somewhat earlier. The chronology is interesting; it reveals that, with one or two exceptions like the Loose and Baggy Monsters of Henry James (1951)—Mr. Blackmur is always very eloquent on James—the best of these essays were written between 1934 and 1944, the less successful between 1944 and 1954. This decline in quality corresponds roughly with the shift of Mr. Blackmur's attention from the art of literature to the institution of literature, from an interest in Henry Adams as a social critic, which led him to write the best essay in this book, The Expense of Greatness (1934), to the practice of social criticism, which led him to write Toward a Modus Vivendi (1954), which is probably the worst.

This shift of attention seems also to be connected with the change in quality in Mr. Blackmur's comments on criticism itself. He has always been concerned with the function of criticism in the present time. In his earlier attacks on the problem he was usually trying to envisage the precise character of the literary critic's work and recognizing that for the life of the intellect "failure is the expense of greatness"—certainly social failure and probably personal failure too. In the more recent essays on this subject, however, he has occupied himself with the state of the world and has yielded to the temptation to prescribe social remedies for the dilemmas of the "intellectual proletariat" of our overpopulated society, with its "mass illiteracy." He has taken to reviewing the statistics of magazine circulation in America in a confused way, to drawing odd, random conclusions from his passing observations of the

---

ARTHUR MIZENER, a member of the English Department of Cornell University, is the author of "The Far Side of Paradise. A Biography of F. Scott Fitzgerald."

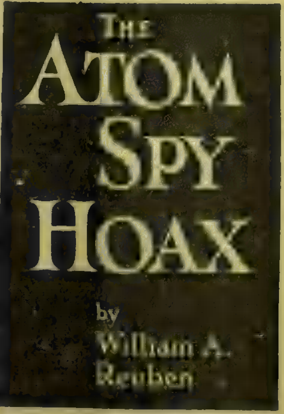
"One of the Most Important Books of Our Time"

"William A. Reuben's name should rank with Mark Twain, John Reed, Lincoln Steffens and a very few more who have told the truth when it was more fashionable to tell lies. That is where it will rank when the histories come to be written. . . . THE ATOM SPY HOAX is a fascinating and very frightening book . . . a picture of well-nigh an entire nation bamboozled in the interest of arms manufacturers and corrupt politicians . . . it is one of the most important books of our time."
——Derek Kartun, LONDON DAILY WORKER.

"The witch-hunt and anti-Red hysteria which followed the first world war convinced H. L. Mencken that 'the administration of justice in the Republic is stupid, dishonest, and against all reason and equity.' In THE ATOM SPY HOAX, William A. Reuben brings to light fresh evidence which indicates that the aftermath of World War II has been, if anything, worse. His story is sensational."
——YORK GAZETTE & DAILY.

"Page after page of documentation . . . a mountainful of evidence which indicates that much of the furor over 'atom spying' has seemingly been fabricated; that people against whom apparently irreproachable evidence had been tendered were in fact unjustly incarcerated, shamefully smeared by the press, and in two instances, wrongfully sent to their deaths. . . . Certainly this book . . . should give impetus to a re-evaluation of the spy cases. . . . It traces each case, points out the fantastic inconsistencies, outright contradictions and dubious conclusions surrounding the proceedings. . . .Considering the very careful documentation, Reuben's book sheds what can be called a new and revealing light on a subject whose depths have been kept in shadow."
—THE DARTMOUTH, oldest college newspaper in the U. S.

"THE ATOM SPY HOAX is by long odds the most challenging (and most fact-crammed) arraignment of fraud and frame-up of our government and its allies to come between two covers since the Cold War began . . . reads like a well-constructed whodunit."
——John T. McManus, NATIONAL GUARDIAN.



Special: Autographed
First Edition to
THE NATION readers
$3.75

BARGAIN QUANTITY RATES
Three Books $10
Seven Books $20
Ten Books $25

Special Bulk Discounts to Organizations

ACTION BOOKS Dept. 102
Room 2800, 165 Broadway, N. Y.

Please send me ______ copies of THE ATOM SPY HOAX by William A. Reuben at $3.75 each complete. I understand if I am not satisfied with this book for any reason whatsoever, I may return for full refund.

☐ Check here if you would like your copy autographed by the author, at no extra cost.

Name ____________________
Address ____________________
City ________ Zone ______ State ________

intellectual life of Egypt and the Lebanon, and even to toying with the idea of an academy for the United States.

THERE is an obvious explanation of this parallel between the shift in Mr. Blackmur's attention and the decline in the quality of his work: he is a very gifted literary critic; he is not a gifted social critic. The explanation seems to me true as far as it goes, but the question of why it is so remains. The answer to this further question seems to lie in the oddity of Mr. Blackmur's mind, the almost mechanical efflorescence of remote ideas and strange relations which occurs in his mind when a subject is planted there. When this efflorescence depends on itself for control, it becomes portentously commonplace, or incoherent, or—what is least easy to bear—laboriously playful, as when it buries a perfectly good though not at all novel argument beneath the amateur pedantry of "the Numen" and "the Moha."

But if Mr. Blackmur's misuses of his brilliant eccentricity disturb us, we ought never to forget how much we owe him for his successful applications of it, illustrated here by the fine essays on Adams, James, Melville, Babbitt, and Eliot. Here what he himself refers to as "tykish impulses and wild insights" is controlled by the design of the works he is studying and so can show us more of what they ought to mean to us than can a dozen minds so disciplined that they have forgotten, if they ever knew, what discipline is for—the raw, irresponsible, intolerable vitality which discipline exists to bring to order and meaning. "As order is what we do with disorder," he remarks of Mr. Eliot, "impersonality is what we do with personality," for "Mr. Eliot is a substance besieged by orders." In contrast, Babbitt's humanism, he says, "by acting as if it were complete in itself, as if it were itself the unity of what it saw, became . . . a barrier between the mind and the sensibility in which it lodged. . . ." This is Mr. Blackmur's central insight. It is made to flash on our minds with extraordinary brilliance again and again in his discussions of particular writers, because, with the most natural air in the world, he shows them to us from the most unexpected points of vantage and down the oddest perspectives. He shows us the greatness of Melville by showing us why Melville failed as a novelist in the ordinary sense; he shows us the loose and baggy monsters that live in the depths of James's novels by showing us the merely provisional value of their "executive form," about which James talked almost exclusively; he shows us how profoundly Henry Adams understood that "the whole test of the democratic process is whether or not the seat of power attracts the scrupulous intelligence and gives it rein" by showing us how completely Adams failed to persuade the seat of power to try to attract him.

Mr. Blackmur has the vices of his virtues like everyone else, and he perhaps adds a few out of sheer wantonness or at least a very bad estimate of his resources. But the virtues are so great that we ought to endure the vices patiently and with gratitude.

A Strip of Common Ground

CRUSADE IN ASIA. By Carlos P. Romulo. The John Day Company. $4.

INDIA'S WALKING SAINT. By Hallam Tennyson. Doubleday and Company. $3.50.

By O. Edmund Clubb

THESE two authors approach the Asian revolution from different ideological quarters. Carlos P. Romulo, the well-known former Philippines representative in the U. N., offers a political view which is an amalgam of Western and Eastern elements. Hallam Tennyson, great-grandson of the poet, describes a working Indian philosophy.

Romulo wanders far from the generous confines of Asia. His work has no claim on the category of belles-lettres, and contains much chaff, especially in the first part, where he sets up the Soviet world conspiracy as his backdrop. But there is substance deserving rumination.

Romulo finds the root cause of Asia's contemporary revolution to be the basic urge of Asians to free themselves from the domination of the white man, and asserts, without citing evidence, that "the great enemy to peace in Asia . . . is not communism. It is colonial imperialism." But he finds that the post-war Hukbalahap rebellion in the Philippines resulted from social injustices experienced under the Quirino regime. Then came Ramon Magsaysay. Acting first as National Defense Secretary, next as President, he cleaned up administration, vigorously implemented a program for the benefit of the common man, and downed the revolt by combined military and economic measures, giving due consideration to the problem of land tenure.

This is still not Romulo's "Crusade in Asia." He springboards from his native land to all Asia, where "America stands at the crossroads," facing the challenge of communism. He holds that the time has come to counter-attack communism in the political, economic, and military spheres; and that the United States must win the friendship of the 466,000,000 uncommitted Asians who are democracy's potential allies. The weapons for the assault would be SEATO—which he would have extended and given teeth—and the Pacific Charter.

Romulo quotes his President: "Communism is an idea you cannot kill with sword or gun." He thinks that "the simple art of understanding . . . proved more powerful than bullets in conquering the Huks." He contends that with good government, "representative of the wishes and needs of a people," communism has no chance. He would have the democracies learn the lessons of Magsaysay's accomplishments, and make Southeast Asia into "an economic show window for the world."

TENNYSON'S book is in sharp contrast. It is delightful in style, novel in subject. It brings interestingly into perspective a remarkable Indian phenomenon—Bhoodan, or land-giving. "India's walking saint," Vinoba Bhave, proposes that landowners

---

O. EDMUND CLUBB, a retired American Foreign Service officer, spent twenty years in Far Eastern posts.

shall voluntarily donate fifty million acres to the landless. Visionary? Nearly three and a half million acres had been received by Vinoba as of last August; redistribution has begun; and the program has been expanded to include wealth-gifts—of farm equipment, seeds, farm wells. Vinoba is "leading his country toward a social revolution unprecedented in the whole history of mankind."

But the essence of that revolution is its spiritual content. Vinoba elucidates: "We do not aim at doing mere acts of kindness but at creating a kingdom of kindness." He would introduce an age of love, in which the service of man would guide. Tennyson dedicates his book to Vinoba's ideal—*sarvodaya,* the welfare of all.

In the end, one sees a strip of common ground between Romulo and Vinoba. They both appreciate that the Asian revolution works chiefly in the minds of men, and that considerations of the general welfare are exerting great influence.

Vinoba toils in the villages of India. Romulo would relate the United States to the tremendous changes in course. In his epilogue he says that "Asia will decide the course which human history will take in the next millennium. . . . It is for America to decide whether Asia will be a partner or an enemy in the great task that lies ahead for all the human race." And Tennyson adds *his* warning: "We should beware lest our virtuous complacency blind us to a pearl of great price still hidden in India's squalid dust: the pearl of vision." Asia, with its "pearls of vision," may still find answers that have eluded the groping Occident.

OVERTIPPING a problem to 4 out of 5 tourists

Travel experts say 80% of Americans abroad overtip. Chief cause is not ostentation, but ignorance of widely different tipping practices from country to country. Now the new "1955 Money Converter & Tipping Guide" lists exact amounts for 21 European countries, covering taxi drivers, hotel clerks, waiters, porters, ushers, ship personnel, et al. Also foreign currency rates, cable & telephone rates, duty-free imports, passport & visa data—plus many extras. This unique 128-page booklet may save you up to $100 and more—yet costs only 65c. Remit to Dover Pubns., Dept. LAN 6, 920 Broadway, N. Y. 10, N. Y. Add 10c postage. Cash-back guarantee.

25% Discount
ON ALL BOOKS
(10% on Texts and Technical Books)
*ANY BOOK YOU CHOOSE
1) Deduct 25% from list.
2) Add 15c per book for postage.
3) Send check or money order.
*Only obligation, you agree to buy at least 4 books during first year.
N.Y.C. residents add 3% tax.
THRIFTY BOOK CLUB
206 West 15th Street
Dept.N. N.Y.C. 11, NY
Phone: CHelsea 3-6499
NO MEMBERSHIP FEE

Russian National Art

THE ART AND ARCHITECTURE OF RUSSIA. By George Heard Hamilton. Penguin Books (Pelican History of Art). $8.50.

THE MOSCOW KREMLIN. By Arthur Voyce. University of California Press. $10.

By S. Lane Faison, Jr.

SINCE most of the bibliography on Russian art and architecture is in the Russian language and access to the original works is impossible to most Westerners, knowledge of this vast field has been as secluded as Russia itself. These two volumes make a considerable contribution, the first through a broad survey, the second through a detailed study of the very heart of Russian culture. Both of them required exhaustive research in Russian publications and a great effort to assemble adequate illustrative material. Both are exercises in objective scholarship, both are primarily descriptive in character, and neither carries the history of its subject beyond the revolution of 1917. Neither, therefore, should attract the attention of our committees on subversion, unless we have reached the point that to manifest any interest whatever in understanding our adversary is ground for suspicion.

Professor Hamilton's survey has, of course, the broader import. The format of his volume is similar to the five others in the Pelican History of Art which have already appeared. Nicolaus Pevsner, the able editor of this great British effort at synthesis, has managed as before to keep the attitude and even the style of his writers in line. The text runs to about three hundred pages, the plates of illustration to nearly two hundred, and there is a good supply of text figures, as well as a map, scholarly notes, a critical bibliography, and an index.

Hamilton begins with the Christianization of Russia in 988 and ends with the ballet decor for Stravinsky's "Petrouchka" (1911) and "Sacre du Printemps" (1913). All the visual arts are included, as far as feasible, with architecture occupying the central place as the matrix of the varied decorative expression. The basic point of view was suggested by Catherine the Great's dictum that "Russia is a European state." As a historian—with generous acknowledgment to his elder colleague at Yale, Professor Vernadsky—Hamilton surveys "the formal structure of a national art." A major demarcation in Russian culture is provided by the return of Peter the Great in 1697 from his first visit to Western Europe. The earlier culture of Kiev and Moscow was thereupon deflected into a direct connection with the West: the sequence of events in the great eighteenth century runs from Peter's baroque to Elizabeth's rococo to Catherine's classicism.

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE

Buy Your Books through THE *Nation*

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular retail price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the retail price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to

Miss O. LePach

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
333 Sixth Ave. New York 14, N. Y.

The material contained in Voyce's detailed study of the Kremlin is summarized for the most part in Hamilton's chapters on the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, although the addition of Red Square on the east side of the Kremlin complex and the recent restorations of the

---

S. LANE FAISON, Jr., is chairman of the Art Department at Williams College.

Kremlin itself form part of its subsequent history. It contains four cathedrals, two churches, a great belfry, the Grand Kremlin palace, and two smaller walls. It should be thought of as a combination of Acropolis, Capitoline Hill, Hagia Sofia-plus imperial palace, and Carcassonne. More than perhaps any other center of government it was a concentrate of the whole national culture. Its great period began in 1472 when Ivan III married Zoe, the niece of the last Byzantine emperor. A trek of artists and artisans then began from Western Europe as well as from Constantinople. It is not generally realized that in the decades before and after 1500 the chief architects of the Kremlin were imported Italians. Readers who are familiar with Italian military architecture in northern Italy will discover a number of similarities.

Voyce's publication is the first comprehensive study of the Kremlin in the English language. Architecture, decoration, and a fabulous collection of art treasures are all inspected. There are more than a hundred illustrative plates as well as many text-plans, and a map of Moscow in 1610 is used for endpapers.

Theater and Films

Robert Hatch

ON THE face of it, the Scopes trial ought to make an exciting play with a sharp moral for our time. But "Inherit the Wind" (National) is rather leaden business despite the presence of Paul Muni, a notable rabble rouser; and the epic duel between Clarence Darrow and William Jennings Bryan never becomes more than a remote and innocuous tempest in Tennessee.

The authors, Jerome Lawrence and Robert E. Lee, have meticulously restated the circumstances of the famous monkey trial: how Bryan, defending the Book of Genesis, won the case in the courtroom, but how Darrow, upholding Darwin, won before the court of public opinion. They are very solemn and prolix about all this, and optimistic to suppose that our hearts will pound as we await the outcome. It requires the tautest writing and most perceptive characterization to build suspense out of an episode that is part of common knowledge, and these authors do not work at that level. Their dialogue is ponderously instructive, and they have caught little more of their two great protagonists than the obvious features of caricature. Of course Muni and his opposite number, Ed Begley, work prodigiously to look and sound like Darrow and Bryan, but it is all surface trappings and gives an effect of two astonishingly diminutive titans.

As for the moral, I am not sure it would have hit the nail on the head even if it had been more effectively presented. Darrow had no legal case, as he well knew, for Scopes was obviously breaking the law when he taught evolution in Tennessee. So, relying on his great name and great showmanship, he made a national joke of the law and a national clown of Bryan, who appears to have died of the experience. It happens that we think Darrow was right—that the people of Tennessee were drunk with Fundamentalist fervor—but the technique he used is an uncomfortable one for the champions of democratic process. The moral of Scopes himself might be something else again, but Scopes is a minor figure in the play—as, indeed, he was at the trial.

IF WE are to have more "evenings" like "All in One" (Playhouse), the theater will have to develop a new kind of technician—the expert programmer. "All in One" is composed of three independent units: a miniature opera by Leonard Bernstein called "Trouble in Tahiti"; a Paul Draper program of dance; and "27 Wagons Full of Cotton," a short play by Tennessee Williams. Each of these items has a good deal to recommend it, but the sum does not add up to its parts, and one goes home feeling somewhat indigestive and undernourished. A good programmer would presumably know how to put together a program better balanced and more harmonious in flavor.

Paul Draper appears after the opera and before the play. He is a tap dancer of peerless brilliance and taste, and the only thing that mars my delight in his elegant virtuosity and charming presence is the suspicion that if he had put away the taps in his youth he might have been a great artist instead of a splendid entertainer. There are those who say that he has raised tap dancing to an art; if that is possible, he has certainly done so. But do serious artists improvise on suggestions called out from the audience?

Bernstein's opera is a small tragedy of suburban incompatibility and inarticulate ennui. It has two main characters, the husband and the wife, sung by John Tyers and Alice Ghostley; and a chorus trio whose job is to close-harmonize a ditty about "that little white house in Scarsdale (or Shaker Heights or Paoli or wherever)" at appropriate intervals in the action. Constance Brigham, John Taliaferro, and James Tushar perform this task with fine satiric understanding of the "intime" style and content.

Satire, in fact, is the salvation of "Trouble in Tahiti." I am no judge of their singing abilities, but Miss Ghostley and Mr. Tyers are both excellent comics and they are each given a glorious solo spot in which to display their talent for mockery. When he tries to cope with the subject of middle-class malaise directly, Bernstein gets a little moist himself.

The performance by Maureen Stapleton and Myron McCormick, with the strong assistance of Felice Orlandi, in "27 Wagons Full of Cotton" is the best acting I have seen this year on Broadway. They create in the small compass allotted to them the illusion of utter and inevitable tragedy. The play itself is a kind of Tennessee Williams synopsis, stripped down to the cruelty, weak meanness, stupidity, and sexual horror that constitute his view of humanity. In this skeleton form the formula is brutally effective theater; the three actors have given it a vitality that is more than theatrical.

"STRATEGIC AIR COMMAND" is the biggest yet. Biggest screen: Vista Vision—wow! Biggest and fastest airplanes: B-36's and B-47's (jet bombers)—again wow! The dramatic content, as opposed to the vista content, is exceedingly small: James Stewart loves June Allyson, but the mean old air force keeps them apart. In essence "Strategic Air Command" is a public-relations and recruiting poster for the Strategic Air Command. Everyone in it keeps telling everyone else in it that the stronger and jumpier S. A. C. makes itself, the safer we can all sleep at night. S. A. C. is the unit that will deliver nuclear bombs should that become necessary, and as this picture makes clear, it can deliver them any damn place it wants. Its planes are beautiful and they look invincible; if my memory were shorter my nerves would be quieter.

In "Chance Meeting" the J. Arthur Rank studios have done several things: they spin a chase story a la Hitchcock, they tell a tender love idyl, and they strike a blow for world understanding. It is possible to admire the ambition without applauding the result.

"Chance Meeting" is just plain incredible—in detail, in toto, psychologically, and in fact. The boy works in the code room of the American embassy in London; the girl is the daughter and private secretary of the minister to England from some unidentified country east of the Danube. They persist in talking nonsense over tapped wires, they refuse to understand why their clandestine affair should perturb the security offices immediately concerned, they stammer and swallow when asked the most obvious questions, they are outraged when they are shipped home but elude their guards with devices that will astonish you to the point of exasperation. Then they set sail in a small boat at the height of a gale and presumably drown. The point is not made clear, but representatives from Washington, Whitehall, and whatever that third country is meet on the storm-racked beach to shake hands and heads in mutual shame. Foreign affairs are tough enough without this balderdash.

Records

B. H. Haggin

ROSSINI'S "L'Italiana in Algeri," written when he was twenty-one, is a delightful operatic comedy in the style that is familiar to us in "The Barber of Seville" and rises to incandescence in "La Cenerentola." Angel 3529-B offers a superb La Scala performance conducted by Giulini, with an excellent cast in which Simionato and Valletti are outstanding in beauty of voice and style of singing.

Cetra A-50175 offers, among other things, an early performance by Callas of the aria *Qui la voce* from "I Puritani," in which one hears the full bloom of the extraordinary beauty of the voice she began with, and hears this voice used with less than the extreme intensity and reckless forcing that produce the occasional stridency in *Ah! fors' e lui* and *Sempre libera* from "La Traviata" and *Suicidio!* from "La Gioconda" on the same record. The distentions of these performances are not possible in the finale of "Tristan und Isolde," in which her voice is steady at first but becomes tremulous with the increased intensity later on.

The Cetra *Qui la voce* enables one to hear how much of its bloom her reckless forcing had cost the voice even by the time of the Angel complete "I Puritani"; and the new Angel "La Forza del Destino" (3531-C) provides evidence of additional cost in the tremulous shrillness and stridency of much of her singing. Only in soft passages is the voice still beautiful; and even there sustained notes sometimes wobble. Tucker's tenor is powerful but lusterless; Tagliabue's baritone has lost much of the beauty it had in the Cetra performance of this opera; and indeed the only beautiful and satisfying singing is that of the bass Caselli in two small parts. The performance is paced and shaped well by Serafin.

London's "La Traviata" (LLA-26) offers lovely singing by Tebaldi, good singing by the baritone Protti, dry and tight singing by the tenor Poggi, with chorus and orchestra of the St. Cecilia Academy in Rome. The performance conducted by Molinari-Prandelli is one that slows down the feverish music at Flora's party to Tebaldi's tempo for Violetta's *Ah, perche venni incauta!;* but of that kind of performance it is a good one.

Cetra's "Un Ballo in Maschera" (B-1249) is for those for whom opera is singing, and specifically in this instance the singing of Tagliavini, Valdengo, Tassinari (in the mezzo-soprano part of Ulrica), and two singers new to me—Maria Curtis Verna, an occasionally tremulous

Soviet Periodicals

Published in English
In The U. S. S. R.

Mailed to you from New York

SOVIET UNION
A monthly picture magazine of life in the Soviet Union. Many full color pictures. 12 Issues, $3.00

SOVIET WOMAN
Illustrated monthly. The life of Soviet women in all its aspects—careers, home life, child care, fashions. 12 Issues, $3.00

SOVIET LITERATURE
Monthly magazine of literature and art. Novels, plays, short stories, poems, critical articles. Color plates. 12 Issues, $3.00

NEWS
Semi-monthly survey of political and economic development in the U.S.S.R. and the world. It seeks to reach a common understanding which leads to friendship and peace. 24 Issues, $3.00

NEW TIMES
A weekly survey of the foreign policies of the U.S.S.R. with analyses of world affairs. Read by statesmen, diplomats, trade unionists, political thinkers, students everywhere. 52 Issues, $6.00

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS
A monthly journal of political analysis. Invaluable to students of world affairs. Over 150 pp 12 Issues, $4.00

Send for FREE catalog of books in English or in Russian from the Soviet Union. FREE listing of periodicals and books from China.

Imported
Publications
& Products

DEPT. NA, 22 East 17th St.
New York City 3

MEETING

REV. STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN
1st Unitarian Church, Los Angeles
will speak on
"HAVE THE PREACHERS SOLD OUT SOCIALISM?"
Hear also
THE EDITORS OF MONTHLY REVIEW
U.S.A. 1955—Report by Leo Huberman
New Factors in the Int'l Situation
—Paul M. Sweezy
Date: May 16, 8:30 P.M.
Place: 133 W. 44th St. NYC
Admission: In advance $1. At door $1.25
MONTHLY REVIEW ASSOCIATES
218 W. 10th St. OR 5-6939

CONCERT

THEATRE CONCERT OF JEWISH CULTURE
Featuring
Howard Da Silva, Sarah Cunningham, Lucille Blackton, Louise & Robert De Cormier, The Amir Dance Group and the Jewish Young Folk Singers, conducted by Robert De Cormier.
SUNDAY, MAY 15, 1955 8:00 P.M.
Palm Gardens 52nd Street & 8th Ave.
Tickets: $2.30—$1.50 (tax incl.)
N. Y. Council, Arts, Sciences and Professions 35 West 64th St., NYC 23 SU.74677

PUBLICATIONS

One of the reviews of
John M. Work's new book,
X-RAYS ON HUMAN AFFAIRS
calls the book "sheer magic". That's because the book is so easy and enjoyable to read.
It is a book of essays—light, heavy and medium—covering a large number of subjects and discussing many problems that arise in anyone's life. It will do you so much good that it will be worth a lot more than the purchase price.
Order it at your favorite bookshop or get it by sending $3 to Vantage Press, Inc., 120 West 31 Street, New York 1, N. Y.

BRITISH BOOKS—All Subjects—direct from London to you. Bargain catalogues free. Transbooks, Box 22-N, Brooklyn 26, N. Y.

SOCIALIST BOOKS. Catalog, literature, Free New York Labor News Company, Dept. M, 61 Cliff Street, New York 38, New York.

PERSONALS

ENGLISH BIKE—3 speed, hand brakes, tourist bag, etc. Regularly $69.95 value. SPECIAL $39.95. Standard Brand Dist., 143 Fourth Avenue (13th & 14th Sts.), N. Y. GR 3-7819. 1 hour free parking on 2 tokens.

LOSE WEIGHT CARDS, the higher I.Q. way to lose weight $1 per set 45 different flash cards. Also, QUIT SMOKING CARDS, $1. HSF GAMES, 1918 No. Jefferson St., Arlington 5, Va.

BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES

$200 WEEKLY CLEANING VENETIAN BLINDS. Free book. Burtt, 2434AB, Wichita 13, Kansas.

and shrill Amelia, and Maria Erato, a somewhat sharp-voiced Oscar. It is not for those for whom opera includes an orchestral part, and who—recalling the expressively inflected orchestra playing with which Toscanini pointed up every vocal phrase in his broadcast of "Un Ballo" a year ago—will not be satisfied with the perfunctory and insufficiently audible playing of the orchestra of Radio Turin under Questa.

Il mio tesoro and *Dalla sua pace* from "Don Giovanni" and *Tu che a Dio* and *Tombe degli avi miei* from "Lucia di Lammermoor" are sung beautifully by Valletti on Cetra A-50176, with some Massenet arias.

And *Ah! fors' e lui* and *Sempre libera* from "La Traviata" and Nanetta's aria *Sul fil d'un soffio* from "Falstaff" are sung beautifully by Gueden on London LD-9165, with some Puccini.

Epic's "Pelleas et Melisande" (SC-6003) offers the important orchestral part played very beautifully by the Lamoureux Orchestra under Fournet and reproduced so as to be heard clearly with the vocal parts. There is good singing by the tenor Camille Maurane as Pelleas; and the rough baritone of Michel Roux suits the part of Golaud; but the soprano of Janine Micheau—pallid and thin much of the time—is unsatisfying in the part of Melisande.

Bruckner's Te Deum, the one work of his that I find impressive, is performed on Columbia ML-4980 by Bruno Walter with the New York Philharmonic, the Westminster Choir, and a solo group comprising Frances Yeend, Martha Lipton, David Lloyd, and Mack Harrell. Except for the cold and tremulous singing of Yeend the performance is excellent. On the reverse side is the superb performance of Mahler's "Kindertotenlieder" that was issued originally on a ten-inch record—with the singing of Ferrier and the playing of the Vienna Philharmonic under Walter.

Letters

Light on Formosa

Dear Sirs: For your editorial The Price for Formosa Peace, in the February 12 issue, you are entitled to the thanks and congratulations of all United States citizens who want to see decency and humanity given priority in our dealings with other nations. You are right in insisting that the Security Council must work for peace, regardless of pressure put upon it.

Elma, N. Y. RICHARD W. BAUM

More on "Ivan"

Dear Sirs: In his article, How Much for Ivan? in the March 5 issue Mr. Condoide writes that "the average [Russian] citizen's real income has increased little if at all since industrialization began in 1928," and he quotes three statistical studies in support of that statement. It would be pointless to quote studies demonstrating the opposite because the non-economist reader would be faced with an arbitrary choice. But there are simpler ways of establishing the essential facts.

In 1928 the peasants wore birchbark sandals and rag leggings, as every visitor noted. Today, they wear leather boots, as every visitor, including Hearst, is careful to report. In 1928 they wore homespun. Today they wear manufactured clothing. In 1928 the population was entirely housed in pre-revolutionary structures. Today observers remark on the vast new modern apartments, and the enormous housing construction in progress. In 1928, when there were more cattle, the non-kulak majority of the peasants ate meat only on religious holidays, and the 2,000,000 unemployed workers not at all. Today enough meat is marketed to put it on the average city person's table twice a week, and according to all foreign observers the peasants eats better than the city dweller. Today, unlike 1928, all city and many farm homes have electricity, some cities have gas, most cities and collective farms have some form of mechanical passenger transportation, free health facilities cover the nation, and there is education for all.

WILLIAM M. MANDEL
New York

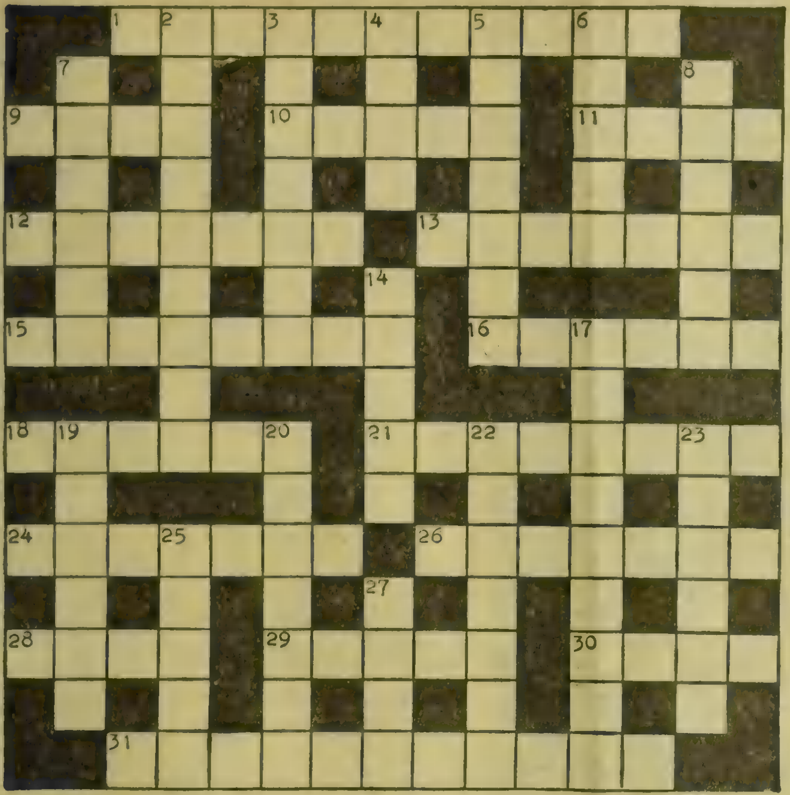
Reporting, Not Criticism

Dear Sirs: Can't the young generation —or "our" generation, as John W. Aldridge chooses to call it—ever afford a smile? His condescension to Malcolm Cowley's light-hearted view of the literary situation (February 19) is as pompous as it is wide of the mark. Cowley's preface states that the book is reporting, not criticism. For Cowley as critic, Mr. Aldridge should turn elsewhere.

New York DANA CHAMBERS

Crossword Puzzle No. 618

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Neither hard nor elastic enough, somewhat like Mr. Bangs. (3-8)
9 and 10 See 11
11 10, 9, 8 down and 28 across Vampire woman. (1, 3, 1, 4, 3, 1, 4, 2, 4)
12 One who makes a test pattern in it, perhaps. (7)
13 Races like skaters? (7)
15 The sort of attitude, if one gets used to it, that describes married people. (8)
16 Six down, perhaps — but a little vicarious experience might. (3, 3)
18 Approachability. (6)
21 See 31
24 What people might get at college, and so on. (7)
26 With the beam out of one's eye, as well? (Saw inside the act, too!) (7)
28 See 11 across
29 Complexion of an un-fussy state. (5)
30 You might think hair a queer thing to show it. (4)
31 21, across, 2 down Evidently the copper ground isn't favored by Gilbert. (1, 10, 3, 2, 3, 1, 5, 3)

DOWN

2 See 31 across
3 Horn might be representative of them and the Red Star. (7)
4 Secure an open spot in the race. (4)
5 One who picks and chooses? (7)
6 The sort of wise man found around a 16. (5)
7 These people are obviously potted! (6)
8 See 11 across
14 This year last month, for example, in full bloom? (5)
17 How to turn a snob into a person who is not necessarily snobbish. (9)
19 Part of the ring that comes up on the tub? (6)
20 Oil acts impassive, obviously. (7)
22 The more you change it, it shows, as a rule. (7)
23 A prose version might still have rhythm. (6)
25 Put steel to hide, perhaps. (5)
27 A group of politicians who sounds fair and square. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 617

ACROSS: 1 and 15 SIGN ON THE DOTTED LINE; 9 OSSICLE; 10 IN BRIEF; 11 PUFF UP; 12 REST HOME; 14 HOLDS WATER; 17 UNCO; 19 ADVISEMENT; 22 DIAPASON; 23 ATHENA; 25 ROEBUCK; 26 MULATTO; 27 DOUBLED IN SPADES. DOWN: 1 STOOP-SHOULDERED; 2 GUSTFUL; 3 OF COURSE; 4 TIES; 5 EPIGENESIS; 6 ORBITS; 7 TRIPOLI; 8 DIFFERENTIATORS; 13 LANDLOCKED; 16 TENT-FLAP; 18 CHAPEAU; 20 EXERTED; 21 CASUAL; 24 AMEN.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept. The Nation 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York

RESORTS

Stonegate LODGE

Informal Adult Resort in the Adirondacks
Charming Estate — Limited to 90 — Pollen Free
Folk-Sq. Dances—Concert Trio—Dance Band
All Sports ● Fishing ■ Arts & Crafts
BACHELOR CLUB RATE—FINE FOOD
N. Y. Office: 250 W. 57th ● Circle 6-6386
Red. Rates to July 10 Louis A. Roth, Dir.

CONCORD ACRES

Co-Ed Ages 6-15 Hancock, New York

FOR AN EXCITING PROGRAM
IN A RELAXING SETTING

The Tone: Non-regimented, friendly and understanding atmosphere where individual needs are met. Mature staff under top educator and camping leadership.
The Program: Rich and varied program includes all land and water sports, camping and boating trips, nature, arts and crafts, music, dramatics, dancing, archery, photography, and many special features.

Inspected and approved member of the American Camping Association.

Write or phone for brochure, interview, parent references
Moderate Fee
HAROLD ROSENTHAL
149-06 61 Road, Flushing, N. Y., FLushing 3-7750

50 Miles to FOREST HOUSE

Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes. All sports.

FOREST HOUSE
Lake Mahopac, N. Y. ■ Tel. Mahopac 8-3449

ROUND POND LODGE

Walden, New York
100 acres, secluded, landscaped, vast shade lawns, quality food. German-American, refined atmosphere. Solarium, spring fed pool, sports. Modern conveniences. Good beds. Capacity 30. Adults.
Pre-Season Rates, $40-$45; Weekends, $7.50-$9.00
Make Reservations Now. Telephone: Walden 2-4964

Echo Lake Lodge

In the Green Mts. Brandon, Vermont
A delightful Vacation Resort for the Entire Family
- On lovely Echo Lake—all water sports
- New canoes, boats, swim and fish
- Tenns, ping-pong, shuffleboard
- Music, square dancing, camp-fires
- Summer theatres nearby

Diana & Abe Berman, N.Y.-WA4-6046, Hubbardton 17-2

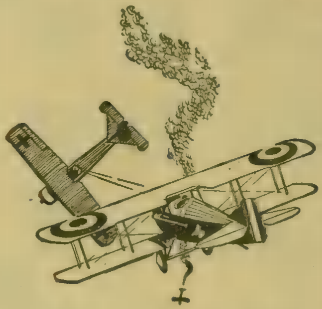
AUDIO

HI FIDELITY
RADIO-PHONOGRAPH
sales, installation and service
VECTOR LABS
217 3rd Ave. ● N. Y. C. 3 ■ GR 3-7686

THE NATION
RESORT CLASSIFIED DISPLAY
$7.42 per inch, one insertion
Generous discounts for multiple insertions
Write or phone today for further information
ADVERTISING DEPARTMENT
The NATION
333 SIXTH AVENUE
New York 14, N. Y.
CHelsea 2-8400

Printed in the U. S. A. by Southern Farmer, Inc., P. O. Box 509, Montgomery, Ala.

A red-nosed Fokker slowly spun to earth



At 4:35 P.M., on October 30, 1918, a lone Spad biplane, marked with the symbol of the "Hat-in-the-Ring" Squadron, hawked down through the quiet skies over Grande Pré. Seconds later, a twenty-round burst of its guns smashed full into the center of a low-flying Fokker and sent the German plane swirling earthward like an autumn leaf.

The C.O. of the squadron, Captain Eddie Rickenbacker, had downed his last enemy plane of the war, setting a record for aerial combat never equaled: 26 victories in 7 months. It made him the American ace of aces.

A year earlier, his mother had written, "fly slowly and close to the ground"; but it was advice that Eddie Rickenbacker—like many of his fellow Americans—has never been able to take. His calculating courage, ingenuity and drive are typical of our greatest asset.

Which is not simply factories, farms, or gold—but millions of a particular kind of people called Americans. And it is these people—people like yourself—who stand behind what is probably the world's finest investment: U. S. Series E Savings Bonds.

To buy United States Series E Savings Bonds is to join them in their proud confidence of their country and its future—and to protect your own personal security as well.

* * *

It's actually easy to save money—when you buy United States Series E Savings Bonds through the automatic Payroll Savings Plan where you work! You just sign an application at your pay office; after that your saving is done *for* you. And the Bonds you receive will pay you interest at the rate of 3% per year, compounded semiannually, for as long as 19 years and 8 months if you wish! Sign up today! Or, if you're self-employed, invest in Bonds regularly where you bank.

Safe as America—U. S. Savings Bonds

The U.S. Government does not pay for this advertisement. It is donated by this publication in cooperation with the Advertising Council and the Magazine Publishers of America.

SAN FRANCISCO: DEATH RATTLE OF THE U. N. HATERS BY GENE MARINE

BURLINGAME
PUBLIC LIBRARY
Burlingame, Calif.

THE *Nation*

May 14, 1955
20c

An On-the-Spot Report

The China We Face

by Kingsley Martin

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

Emily Balch, Crusader — *Dan Gillmor*
Childhood's End — *Hiroshima Memoirs*
Plenty Is Too Much — *Leslie Hale*

Letters

More on New York City

Dear Sirs: I was surprised to read the article in your issue of March 12 by Paul Ross, whose experience and knowledge of city affairs should have prevented him from presenting such a distorted picture.

New York City is not helpless. The problem that quite correctly distresses Mr. Ross most is the housing problem. It has been handled appallingly in this city. But the responsibility is local. Without recourse to the state we ourselves could have prevented the present intolerable conditions and long since could have devised cures.

Of course the dwellings law and also the tenement house law of 1901 were sustained by the courts as within the power of the state. However, the city has full power to enact supplementary local legislation more restrictive than the state laws and giving better protection to tenants. The city recently has actually presented such legislation, drafted by the office of the City Administrator, but the bills have lingered in the City Council for months.

The merger of the Tenement House Department with the Buildings Department when the new city charter was adopted was a grave mistake. This mistake could be rectified by the present administration overnight if it chose to do so. We have established a Department of Air Pollution Control, a Department of Traffic; we have just created a Department of Commerce with the power, at heavy expense, to entertain visiting firemen; but we have no independent department to supervise and control proper maintenance of housing, proper protection of tenants. The present courageous and intelligent Deputy Commissioner cannot begin to cope with the problems that she recognizes and faces without the power of a Commissioner heading an independent department. All of this requires no state intervention or help.

Mr. Ross complains of the failure of the city magistrates properly to enforce existing law. The magistrates are appointed by the Mayor. They are responsible to the local community. The state government has no control over them whatsoever. To appoint more independent and courageous magistrates is within the power of the Mayor, not of the Governor or the state Legislature. To stimulate them to more effective enforcement of housing laws is a matter for local handling, not for Albany.

The overcrowded conditions that we face today in New York City are appalling. They are due in large part to the program of housing construction, which of recent years has been dislocating twice as many families as are provided for in the new structures, and this at a time when there are substantially no vacant apartments. This is the responsibility of the local Planning Commission, the City Housing Authority, the city Construction Coordinator, and the Board of Estimate. We must provide for those displaced from their existing homes before we displace more and more helpless tenants. There is available vacant land in Queens, but that borough's resistance to new public housing has been generally acquiesced in by the city administration, and the planning of the new housing on vacant land has been curtailed. This too is a problem of local administration, not one that concerns either the Governor or the Legislature.

It is time that New York City faced its own problems and exercised its own powers. We have the power here and should use it. We should not constantly pass the buck to Albany.

STANLEY M. ISAACS
Office of the Minority Leader
Council of the City of New York

Mr. Ross's Reply

Dear Sirs: Councilman Isaacs has mistaken the import of my piece. I did not intend to exculpate the present city administration or its numerous predecessors from their due portion of the blame for the present housing situation in New York City. Mr. Isaacs is quite correct in stating that under the law the city could, with some exceptions, make and enforce more restrictive regulations.

I was directing attention to the fact that in reality home rule for the city of New York is more "shadow" than "substance" because of the constitutional setup which makes the city beholden at all times to the Republican state machine. I used housing as an example of the extent to which home rule has not been too meaningful since the Republican Legislature has preempted the field. Especially in the field of new housing the city is virtually dependent upon what the Republican Legislature is willing to grant. The Governor's message announcing his eight-point housing program, to provide 170,000 new housing units in the state each year for the next ten years, indicates that this program is essentially all that could be obtained from the Republican Legislature. In the main it provides for private housing construction with substantial municipal and state subsidies—which is the Republican program for reducing the amount of public low-cost housing. Perhaps it is the best the Governor could do under existing circumstances, but it does not detract from the essential point I tried to make. That is, basically, that the city of New York does not have the necessary constitutional autonomy to solve its own problems without recourse to the Republican Legislature or the Republican state machine.

New York PAUL A. ROSS

Book on Kenya

Dear Sirs: May I call the attention of Nation readers to a booklet entitled "The People of Kenya Speak for Themselves"? Its author, Mbiyu Koinange, has been in England for the past two or three years representing the outlawed Kenya African Union and vainly, as it appears, seeking to call the attention of the United Nations and United Kingdom to facts that are grave for Africans and also for the so-called white world. The booklet, which is not a commercial publication, is issued by the Kenya Publication Fund, Room 500, 600 Woodward Avenue, Detroit 26, and costs 25 cents. The essential truthfulness and perspective of this document will be evident to all readers.

New York JOHN COLLIER

Singapore Experiment

Dear Sirs: The experiment in political democracy in Singapore, a British colony with a cosmopolitan population of millions of Malayans, Indians, and Chinese, represents a reorientation of British Far Eastern policy. In the recent election 53 per cent of the voters went to the polls—163,395 persons; even more surprising is the fact that the majority were women.

The West is now watching with interest the Singapore experiment, which might suggest an effective way to win the ideological war in Asia. Millions of overseas Chinese are living under the British flag, and most of them, except for those enfranchised in Singapore, do not enjoy the political rights of full citizenship. If the Singapore formula could be extended to Hongkong in the near future, another two million overseas Chinese would become first-class citizens who from self-interest would stand ready to defend the colony against any threat from Peking.

San Francisco JUN-KE CHOY

VOLUME 180, NUMBER 20
NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 14, 1955

THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

American Dilemma in South Vietnam

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER in April of last year graphically likened Indo-China to one of a row of dominoes, and said that if it went down, all the other states of Asia would fall. Communist control of North Vietnam was formalized at Geneva, three months later, and the United States rushed to bolster South Vietnam. Now South Vietnam is visibly shaking.

It would take much space to straighten out the tangled web, but the essential elements in the situation are plain to see. The United States is deeply involved in the politics of independent Vietnam. Ngo Dinh Diem, the Catholic whom Chief of State Bao Dai made Premier in June, 1954, is effectively our man. After the Geneva agreements of July, 1954, for an Indo-China truce, his basic task was unquestionably to unify South Vietnam for the trial of July, 1956, when general elections are to be held in all Vietnam to determine its "national will," that is, whether it is to be democratic—or Communist.

Ngo Dinh Diem's particular problems were to organize an effective administration, provide for the 750,000 refugees from the North, get control over the various armed forces in South Vietnam, and evolve policies near enough to the desires of the potential electorate to win a majority in that decisive voting two years later. Ho's Communists, consolidated and tempered by years of guerrilla warfare against the Japanese and the subsequent civil war with the French, were at least a decade ahead of the South Vietnam regime in terms of organization—quite apart from the discipline that characterizes all Communist groups. They promised to be tough opponents, even at the polls.

In actuality, the first tug of war has occurred in Saigon itself. The smoldering issue of power was brought into the open by the demand of the Cao Dai and Hoa Hao religious sects and the tough Binh Xuyen faction that they be represented in the government. The Saigon fighting was the result. The Premier's forces emerged victorious from that first armed clash; the leadership of the two religious sects appears to be split; and two groups of political leaders met in Saigon on May 5 in nominal support of Ngo Dinh Diem, one demanding that Bao Dai be deposed and a republic proclaimed, the other advocating that Bao Dai transfer all power to the Premier as an interim measure. In the radical atmosphere of the day, an American suggestion that South Vietnam needed a constitutional monarchy got short shrift.

The composition of the Saigon meeting was mixed, but army and strongly nationalistic elements were present, particularly in the stronger "National Revolutionary Committee." The position of the majority of the rank-and-file of the sects is still unclear. But it is hardly likely that the defeat of the Premier's opponents will induce all of them into supporting the totality of his new policies—when determined. The Binh Xuyen remains disaffected. And Bao Dai, under attack, still commands the loyalty of important Vietnamese leaders: severance of Ngo Dinh Diem from that source of legitimacy at this juncture can only weaken his regime. Military victories today or tomorrow may temporarily steady the situation, but it has become inherently unstable, "fluid."

Vietnam, it may be noted, does not have a natural heritage of democracy. It lacks both the traditions of Western representative government and the requisite pool of skilled administrators. And Ngo Dinh Diem has aggravated a natural poverty of personnel by a refusal to employ in his Cabinet even such experienced men as are available and by his unwillingness to delegate authority. The two congresses meeting in Saigon themselves plainly desire a government with a broader base. Ngo Dinh Diem's family rule is threatened.

THE French still retain about 90,000 troops in South Vietnam. In theory—especially, *American* theory—the French might deploy those forces to support the Saigon regime against rebellion. But Article 12 of the Geneva accords binds France, *inter alia,* "to refrain from any interference" in the internal affairs of Vietnam, and certain practical considerations reinforce that legal restriction. Since American aid began to be channeled to Ngo Dinh Diem directly instead of through the French, a steady attrition of French economic interests in South Vietnam has been in process. The French are hardly likely to exercise proscribed military power to help an inimical Saigon regime safeguard political and economic interests now slipping into American hands.

The United States contributed hundreds of millions of dollars to the efforts to defeat Ho Chi-minh by the Navarre Plan of 1953, but Ho was victorious. It is now preparing to invest new hundreds of millions in the Ngo Dinh Diem regime. But Canadian Foreign Minister Lester Pearson warned as late as April 14 against "any false idea that we can or should purchase allies"

In This Issue

EDITORIALS

American Dilemma in South Vietnam 413

Sovereign Germany 414

ARTICLES

The China We Face: An On-the-Spot Report by Kingsley Martin 415

Emily Balch, Crusader: The Long War for Peace by Dan Gillmor 417

The U.N. Haters: Death Rattle in San Francisco by Gene Marine 419

Plenty Is Too Much: The Weird Wheat Market by Leslie Hale 421

Childhood's End: Memories of Hiroshima A Translation 423

BOOKS

Whitman's Centennial by John R. Willingham 426

Science as Aid to Morality by J. D. Goheen 428

Western Folk Hero 429

THEATER by Robert Hatch 430

RECORDS by B. H. Haggin 431

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 619 by Frank W. Lewis opposite 432

LETTERS opposite 413

Editorial Board

Freda Kirchwey — Editor and Publisher
Carey McWilliams — Editorial Director
Lillie Shultz — Director, Nation Associates
Victor H Bernstein — Managing Editor
J. Alvarez del Vayo — Foreign Editor

Martin Solow — Assistant to the Publisher

Harold Clurman — Theater
B. H. Haggin — Music
Robert Hatch — Films
Gladys Whiteside — Copy Editor
Caroline Whiting — Assistant Literary Editor
Alfred Maund — Editorial Assistant
Mary Simon — Advertising Manager

Contributing Editors: Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K Smith, Carolus, Keith Hutchison, H H Wilson, W Macmahon Ball, Maxwell Geismar, Bruce Catton.

The Nation, May 14, 1955, Volume 180, No. 20

The Nation, published weekly by The Nation Company and copyright, 1955, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879 at the Post Office of New York, N Y under the act of March 3, 1879 Reentered as second class matter at the Post Office, Montgomery, Alabama Printing Office 1603 Reuben Street

Subscription Prices Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12, Three years $17 Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks notice is required for change of address which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs, Information Service, Dramatic Index.

in Asia. And it is necessary to heed the March report of a French National Assembly subcommittee that Ngo Dinh Diem has been unable to bring about "that unity without which it is vain to hope that the South will be able to resist the pressure of the North, or even to obtain, in the elections of 1956, an honorable result." In 1956 the United States should not be found alone in South Vietnam.

France and Britain are concerned here; so are our ANZUS allies. The SEATO pact would appear to be applicable. French Foreign Minister Pinay has twice said that three-power discussions on Indo-China are planned, and at this writing it appears that they may take place during the Paris meeting of the American, British, and French Foreign Ministers on May 8. At that meeting and in any consultations with the SEATO powers as a group, the United States will be at some disadvantage in defending its present Asian policies. Both Paris and London are ready to try to "coexist" with communism in Asia, and the anti-colonial spirit of the Bandung conference affected even so stalwart a champion of the United States as Carlos Romulo of the Philippines. But we want collective action, we have our coalitions, and the first tactic of any coalition is perforce consultation. Now is the time—and not some critical last hour in 1956—to consult with our allies, and with our Asian friends, on the subject of Franco-American policy toward South Vietnam.

Sovereign Germany

ONE WONDERS how the West Germans of the future will celebrate May 5, 1955. Will they learn to look upon it as a day of liberation? Or will they, holding to last week's dour mien, mark it as the day they lost the Saar and 18,000,000 of their kinsmen? Certainly no people ever regained sovereignty and an army with less enthusiasm than those of the Bonn republic. On the Left, the Social Democrats scorned the end of the occupation as postponing the day of unification; on the Right, the unregenerate nationalists and neo-Nazis were beginning to mutter about the *Diktat* of Paris.

The apathy of the West Germans was matched elsewhere in the West. The fact that there is again a German nation a short ten years, minus exactly three days, after the collapse of Hitler's "1,000-year-Reich" moved the editors of serious newspapers to headline the news. But who read it with more than passing interest? Nevertheless, we are on the threshold of a new era. Reverberations of May 5, which has put West Germany on the path to military domination of Europe, are still to come from the other side of the curtain and from the German people themselves. It was coincidence that the German Federal Republic should have gained sovereignty on the same day that another powerful nuclear bomb was set off on Yucca flat. It remains to be seen which event, in the end, will prove the more explosive.

THE CHINA WE FACE

An On-the-Spot Report . . *by Kingsley Martin*

[*Kingsley Martin, editor of the London* New Statesman and Nation, *has just returned to England after a visit to Communist China and other countries in the Far East. This is the first of several articles reporting his experiences.*]

IN CHINA I discussed Formosa and the offshore islands at great length, both with men of letters and with top-ranking officials. I said something like this: "I have from the beginning held that Formosa was Chinese, that it was intolerable that it should remain in the hands of Chiang Kai-shek and be used as a basis of operations against China. I fully understand your determination to incorporate Formosa into China as it was before 1895 but I am alarmed at the uncompromising nature of your propaganda. Just as it is a fact that you feel that you must regain Formosa, so, realistically, it is also a fact that, even if the Americans wanted to shed their Formosa commitment, it would not be technically possible for them immediately to rid themselves of Chiang with his 300,000 men. Why not consider some gradual method of asserting your rights, carrying with you your many friends in Asia and beyond, and offering less good propaganda weapons to the China Lobby than your present reiterated declarations, which certainly sound warlike?"

The reply was unanimous and invariable. The Americans, they said, are out to reconquer China and reestablish world capitalist domination. "Any concession, any compromise with imperialism such as you suggest would be fatal. You must stop aggression where it begins. Formosa is Chinese. The least compromise would be a Munich."

A month after these conversations in Peking, Chou En-lai told the Bandung conference that he was ready to talk directly with America about the Formosa situation. He added what no one should have doubted—that this offer "would not, in the slightest degree, affect the sovereign rights of the Chinese people to liberate Formosa." How far does this declaration lessen the danger of that terrible "moment of truth" when great powers confront each other, as at Munich, each deeply committed to incompatible propositions?

It is as yet too early to say. Clearly Chou En-lai's gesture has brought to his side non-committed countries which have always thought it absurd to risk a war to bolster up Chiang Kai-shek and to give America an additional base in the Pacific.

Certainly in Asia, Chou En-lai has achieved a great success. Even a statesman as bitterly anti-Communist as Sir John Kotelawala has rebuked the State Department for its initial hasty and negative reply to the Chinese offer, while Chou's further gesture in signing a treaty with the Indonesian Foreign Minister about the status of overseas Chinese in Indonesia has done much to reassure not only Jakarta but also the other Southeast Asian capitals which have feared that the Chinese might act as fifth columnists.

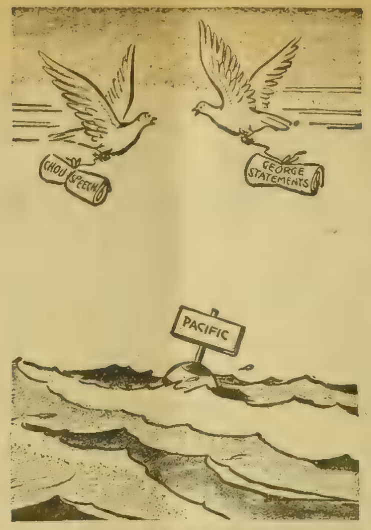
IN PEKING I did my best to discover whether there was any basis for the Hongkong-American view of divisions, discontent, and instability in China. For this my best sources of information were necessarily Europeans who had lived in China during the last decade. I talked, for instance, with a European expert who as a Roman Catholic and conservative cherished a particularly strong animosity against the new order in China. I asked him how many people had really been "liquidated" in the great counter-revolutionary purge of 1951. ("Liquidated" meaning killed was a mistranslation of a speech by a Chinese general who boasted that two million enemies had been "rendered harmless.") We did the sum as best we could, adding up the hundreds of publicly announced executions in towns and village groups all over China. These included gangsters, landlords, moneylenders, and ex-Kuomintang soldiers in southern China who had refused to surrender their arms and were believed to be a fifth column waiting to help Chiang Kai-shek when he attempted his much-advertised reconquest of China. It certainly came to hundreds of thousands—perhaps a million or a million and a half. "But," said my informant, "if it came to two millions it would not alter the fact that fewer people have died violent deaths in China in the last five years than in any other five years in the last century."

It seemed at first a surprising statement; it may have overlooked some odd periods of five years such as those that immediately preceded the Boxer riots at the end of the century. But if you read the story of the Taiping rebellion and the great Moslem revolt that followed it, you are likely to decide that the generalization was broadly correct. In the Yunnan rising, for instance, the population of that single province was reduced from sixteen to six million. By comparison with the past the present Chinese regime has been economical in the matter of killing.

We must pursue the point rather further if we wish to understand why, as an old China expert put it, the peculiar appeal of the present China is its "extraordinary stability." A middle-aged Chinese who allows his mind to run over events in which he has willy-nilly taken part in the last forty years recalls the republican revolution of 1911 with its accompanying explosion of national sentiment; the Three Principles of Sun Yat-sen; Japan's Twenty-one Demands; the ravages of rival war lords and the long agony of the civil war between Chiang Kai-shek and the Communists, which never ceased, in spite of the simultaneous twenty-five-year war with Japan, until 1949, when Chiang and the rump of his government took refuge in Formosa. He recalls, most vividly of all, the chaos, murder, and corruption of the last days of the Kuomintang in Chungking and the American attempt, after the Japanese were thrown out, to give the victory to the completely discredited Generalissimo.

AT the end of a generation of civil and international war it required no great effort of propaganda for Mao Tse-tung's government to persuade the mass of the Chinese people that their revolution was not complete as long as Chiang Kai-shek and the rump of the Kuomintang remained on Formosa, equipped and protected by the American invaders, blockading the southern coast, and bombing or seizing ships that would supply trade with Canton or Shanghai.

That this is a biased and simplified version of the events of forty years in China, I am well aware. I know, too, that Chinese propaganda often rewrites history as unscrupulously as Soviet propaganda has done. But it is important for the West to understand how the story must appear to almost everyone in China. Whatever educated Chinese may think about their Russian allies, and whatever inherent rivalries there may be between Peking and Moscow, it is likely that in the mind of any Chinese you may meet—whether a peasant tilling a tiny paddy field or a blue-uniformed official in Peking—the Soviet Union will appear as a strong friend in a hostile world, and that as long as the Americans support Chiang Kai-shek, the Communist bloc from Moscow to Peking, Shanghai, and Canton, will remain solid and menacing. One meets today in China no display of Russian arrogance, but groups of stolid Soviet technicians, starting out with their briefcases for discussions in Chinese administrative offices. All the Chinese are told that about 160 of the most ambitious and advanced projects in the vast plan of Chinese industrialization—500 projects are listed in all—are directed by Soviet technicians and equipped with Soviet machinery which the Chinese cannot, as yet, themselves supply. The Russians are regarded as friends and allies; the Americans as enemies and aggressors; the British seem to them half-hearted stooges of the United States; the Indians and other people of Southeast Asia are potential allies but until they have thrown off Western capitalist influence only too capable of being used as bases for Western aggression.



Herblock in the Washington Post

"What do you hear?"

That this is the picture that most Chinese see is, I think, not open to doubt. I recall mentioning the issue of foreign policy to a liberal Chinese who was discussing whether or not it was right to call Mao's government a People's Democracy. What, for instance, I said, would you do to express your dissatisfaction if Chou En-lai should involve you in another war of which you did not approve? He brushed this aside as too bizarre a hypothesis even to merit discussion. He was willing to consider the danger of ideological uniformity; he saw the point when I questioned him about uninformed and conditioned minds; but he could not even imagine any national divisions arising over Formosa and the American imperialist threat. Even those who have a long anti-Communist record have been united by Mr. Dulles in support of Chou En-lai. The Chinese feel that a great, an almost despaired of, aspiration has been suddenly accomplished. The invading foreigners, British, Japanese, and Americans alike, have been thrown out; communism has inherited the long-frustrated nationalism of China.

With this nationalist victory behind it the Peking government would have had to make more and worse mistakes than it has made to forfeit popular support. So far it has not done anything to endanger stability, in spite of the counter-revolutionary urge, the brain-washing of intellectuals, and the now perhaps too rapidly accelerating drive toward collective agriculture. The future of the revolution depends on Peking's failure or success in handling the peasants and its ability to resolve that struggle between town and country which is at the root of government difficulties in every Communist country. Recent references in the *People's China* to some instances of cattle-killing by peasants recall the worst of all Soviet errors in antagonizing the peasantry, but from Peking's point of view they are reassuring, since the instances seem to be few and local, while their publicity means that the error is admitted and being remedied. It amused me in Peking to congratulate high officials on their government's careful and gradual settlement of the land problem, which showed that it had recognized the shocking blunder of the Kremlin in handling the kulaks. The response to such a comment was always a deep and expressive silence. Every educated Chinese is aware of his superiority to the Russians; no one would dream of twiching an eyelid by way of admitting that the Soviet ally had ever committed fault.

PEKING has also avoided the other great error of alienating technicians and potentially friendly intellectuals, and it has even taken time and trouble profitably and ingeniously to squeeze out foreign businessmen instead of abruptly seizing their assets and thereby creating a rallying ground for its imperialist enemies. There have been exceptions, but on the whole the Peking government has prepared the way carefully for its changes. An austere and competent government may be oppressive to some of the community and unloved by many, but to the Chinese, after the experience of Kuomintang rule, honesty and constructive government, free from foreign influence, are "liberation" without query.

None of this, let it be understood, means that communism in China is anything but, in the full and menacing sense, triumphant Marx-Leninism. Chinese communism has the same philosophy as Soviet communism. The government is more broadly based than the Russian; the administration includes members of the old Democratic League and uses the services of many who have always opposed communism. This does not mean that it is tolerant; on the contrary it is as intolerant as medieval Catholicism and has equipped itself, like the papacy, with all the apparatus of the Inquisition. One may see the Big Brother of Orwell's unpleasing imagination in the offing. It is not my object to deny these facts. What I am anxious to establish is that whatever the West does in the future it should base its policy on the assumption that China is becoming not only a great power but one whose inhabitants have much to lose and will be inspired with a united hatred against any country which gives aid and comfort to Chiang Kai-shek or threatens to restore those foreign influences that are broadly lumped together as Western imperialism. Allow for all the unspoken criticism you like and it yet remains true that for the first time in history China has an organized, purposeful government, rapidly industrializing and commanding such authority as no Chinese government has ever before in history commanded.

EMILY BALCH, CRUSADER

The Long War for Peace . . *by Dan Gillmor*

SOMETIME this month various citizens of Communist China will receive a letter from "an American and what you perhaps call a capitalist." Postmarked "Wellesley, Mass.," the missive is a plea, written in blank verse, for patience, understanding, and generosity between Americans and Chinese. Its signer is Emily Greene Balch, honorary international president of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

Not even Premier Chou En-lai is likely to consider Emily Balch a capitalist. The closest she ever approached that condition was in 1946 when she shared the $35,000 Nobel peace prize with another recipient. Characteristically, Miss Balch invested her gains by giving the money to the League. This April the League celebrated its fortieth anniversary as the world's foremost non-Communist peace organization. On April 28, 1915, women whose countries' armies were slaughtering each other on the battlefield gathered peaceably together at The Hague under the leadership of two women from neutral America—Jane Addams and Emily Balch. The conferees decided to carry on their work by creating an international organization with Miss Addams as president, Miss Balch as secretary. Miss Balch has been the inspiration of the League ever since. Hearing her for the first time, a youthful member of the W. I. L. exclaimed breathlessly: "Why everything she says sounds like a ringing pronouncement!"

Today Miss Balch lives in semi-retirement in Wellesley. Her fellow-members in the League feel that at the age of eighty-eight she has earned a rest; yet from her modest apartment a stream of letters pours forth to correspondents around the world. The words differ but the themes remain the same—peace, cooperation between nations, good-will among men. Rarely do women gather to discuss world problems without receiving a message from Wellesley.

"Greetings and all good wishes to everyone here," wrote Miss Balch to a New York luncheon for U. N. women delegates. "It is my conviction that war is at last on the way out, though people seem not to be ready to accept the good news and to take the next step of ceasing to prepare for war. Once freed from the costly and cumbersome burden of armament, we can make better progress toward our happy goal—a world of friendly cooperating peoples."

Members of the League in the vicinity of Wellesley quietly conspire to make life easier for Miss Balch, though they go about it cautiously. She accepts their solicitude graciously, but makes it clear that the frailty of her years does not please her. After granting an interview to the writer, she retired to rest in a spare bedroom of her friend's neat suburban home. Suddenly she paused on the stair landing and looked back at me. "I'm still hanging, the last leaf on the tree," she said. "I hope you got what you need. It was very kind of you to come."

I assured her that the discussion had been most satisfactory, but Miss Balch shook her head doubtfully: "I hope you're right, young man. I wanted to stress the League and its work. I consider it a great effort to get together above the national point of view."

Miss Balch is inseparably linked with the W. I. L. "We were there when the League of Nations arrived," she said, recalling the days when she established the W. I. L. offices in Geneva. Originally the headquarters were in a "particularly banal" office "on a noisy dusty thoroughfare." Miss Balch found a former convent "with a garden of Christmas roses and ivy" to which she promptly moved the W. I. L. "I felt as if good people had lived in that house," she said. "It was the kind of hopeful atmosphere that seemed appropriate to our work." Good and helpful women have lived and worked there ever since, amid rugs, draperies, linens, and other furnishings supplied by national sections or individual members in thirty-five countries.

Miss Balch, who thinks interna-

DAN GILLMOR is the author of "Fear, the Accuser."

tionally without effort, declares that the peace movement is stronger today than ever before. In Denmark the W. I. L. is "on the political map," she remarked proudly. In India its president, Mme Pandit, is a former president of the U. N. General Assembly. In Japan the movement is growing with amazing vigor among the newly enfranchised women.

"After the First World War," she commented wrily, "half of the human race was at last admitted as adult. After the second, the Asians are being 'discovered' as also belonging to our species."

These and other achievements of the past forty years—radio communication, flight, atomic energy—have brought Miss Balch to the conclusion that peace is here to stay. " 'Peace' is a terribly negative word, though I say it that shouldn't," she remarked. "But I don't think either side intends to let loose atomic war. The world is at everyone's breakfast table today. Whatever happens in it we know about at once, and we know that it concerns us."

She regrets profoundly, however, that much of this concern is a product more of fear of atomic destruction than of moral revulsion from the use of such weapons. These sentiments have inspired yet another letter from Wellesley. It is addressed sent to be defended by atomic weap- to President Eisenhower and advises him that Miss Balch does not con- ons. "Not that I think he is waiting for my consent," she added.

Miss Balch's Letter to China

Dear People of China:

This is a letter of love that I am sending you.
Men and women with your patient faces,
Little children with your bright eyes,
How could I not love you?

I am an American and what you perhaps call a capitalist.
Need that be a barrier to love?
It does not hold back mine.

Of course there are many differences between us.
The traditions of our countries are different.
There are differences even in our features,
And in our languages and religions.
But how much more we are alike!
Alike we are born to suffer.
We laugh and we cry as only men can do.

Shall fellow-men be divided by ideologies?
No. No. They shall not be so.
Of course, "coexistence" has great difficulties.
Even men who have a common country,
Who speak the same language, profess the same religion—
Even such do not find mutual understanding, mutual trust too easy.
Yet the greatest barriers are not insuperable.
Let us strive to learn to live together.

You may know bad Americans. There are such.
But there are also here friendly, right-meaning people
Who want to help make the world better for everyone.
There are bad people and good people, I suppose,
In every country.

Let us be patient with one another,
And even patient with ourselves.
We have a long, long way to go.
So let us hasten along the road,
The road of human tenderness and generosity.
Groping, we may find one another's hands in the dark.

EMILY BALCH

Miss Balch also deplores our efforts to rearm West Germany, Japan, France, and other countries. Nevertheless, she believes that the President is a man of peace.

The Formosa crisis, she thinks, might be solved by the creation of a "neutralized" independent Formosa, because "the Formosans are now transmogrified Chinese." Further questions about the international crisis-of-the-moment Miss Balch waved aside. She wanted to speak of more fundamental ideas.

"The road to peace does not lie in world government," she said. "I mistrust governments. Government is the last stand of open coercion. What we need is more cooperation, not more coercion. Besides, it's much easier to get people to work together for something specific than to agree to a formula. A great congeries of international undertakings would be more promising than a hundred manifestoes."

Specifically, she rests her hope in greater and greater development, "under the umbrella of the U. N.," of world agriculture, of industry for backward areas, of peaceful uses of nuclear energy, of international administration of the high seas, international waterways, and the polar regions.

"And of the moon, when we reach it?" I asked.

"My internationalism stops at the stratosphere, young man. Beyond that you can say it's over my head."

And the peace movements of the world? How do they fit into her concept of "international functionalism"? She believes they should seek not only world disarmament but world development. "Coexistence is not enough," said Emily Balch, and there was a ringing tone to be heard. "We must have active cooperation for definite, constructive goals."

READERS whose memory does not reach back so far will be interested to know that Emily Balch was a member of *The Nation* staff in 1918-1919. She helped edit the International Relations Section, a fortnightly supplement which was an important feature of Oswald Garrison Villard's "new" *Nation*, and also wrote on questions relating to peace and foreign affairs.—EDITORS THE NATION.

THE U. N. HATERS

Death Rattle in San Francisco . . *by Gene Marine*

San Francisco

IN THE last week of April a little band of determined patriots met in the Veterans' Memorial Building in San Francisco to consider how the United States could be saved from the United Nations. They were attending the fifth annual convention of the Congress of Freedom, which according to its own publicity is "a coalition of patriotic American organizations concerned with increasing tendencies toward internationalism through the United Nations."

On April 25, 1945, the United Nations Charter was signed in the auditorium of the same Veterans' Memorial Building; this accounted for the date and place of the meeting.

Before the convention opened, a press conference was held by the executive director of the Congress, one Robert LeFevre—alert readers may recognize the name as that of the patriot who not long ago spotted un-American tendencies in the Girl Scout Handbook. LeFevre has filed a suit for $500,000 against the Retail Credit Company for issuing a "false and malicious" report on him, and because of the issues involved in this suit he declined to tell reporters whether he was the same LeFevre who was once associated with a move to turn Rudolph Valentino's Beverly Hills home into a "shrine for the lovelorn," or the one who was indicted for mail fraud in 1940 in connection with the religious-patriotic "I Am" cult. Such questions were referred to his attorney, Aaron Sargent, the Reece committee's chief "expert" on the machinations of tax-free foundations, who didn't answer them either.

LeFevre said the Congress was made up of about five hundred rightist organizations. Pressed, he reduced it to five hundred individuals who also belong to other organizations but may or may not be their official representatives. Prodded further, he conceded that if local chapters were not counted, there might be only a hundred or so organizations. Among those officially affiliated he listed Pro America, the Legislative Research Committee (of Detroit), and something called Liberty and Property, Inc., of San Francisco—a name not found in the telephone directory.

Liberty and Property, however, is known to have an executive director, Willis Carto, for he was in charge of the advance arrangements for this convention. He told me that the budget for the week-long affair was $25,000 ("but we'll hold it even if we can raise only $20,000"); that 1,000 people would attend (there were about half that many at the best-attended session, to which the public was admitted free and at which Westbrook Pegler was the featured speaker); and that they would come from all over the country (excluding officers and speakers, about 90 per cent of the badges had California address, most of them from the immediately surrounding area).

At first LeFevre went through the motions of treating the Congress as as impartial study group, but he dropped the mask within twenty-four hours. "The single objective of our gathering," he said bluntly at the Monday-night session, "is to take on the U. N., with no holds barred." And take it on they did. In the lobby pins could be had for the asking reading "Let's Get Out of U. N."; a grim-faced lady also passed out red-white-and-blue buttons reading "I'm for McCarthy." Included in the literature displayed, some free but more for sale, were copies of a special issue of the *Freeman* headed One Worldism and the United Nations, pamphlets by the speakers, a few books—a Mary J. Allen was on hand to autograph copies of her "Education or Indoctrination?"—and the sheet music to a song by Elizabeth Sheldon Walter bearing the original title Battle Hymn of Freedom and containing the uplifting stanza: "Defend our Constitution from traitors and knaves / With treaties and laws they plan to make us slaves."

Inside, an enraptured audience, 85 per cent women, listened not only to Mr. Pegler—"that lonesome warrior in the field of journalism"—but to Freda Utley, well-known propagandist against communism, ex-actress Corinne Griffith, Mrs. Suzanne Stevenson of the Minute Women, Professor A. T. Bouscaren of Marquette University, and seventeen other speakers, all described as authorities on one thing or another. Joseph Zack Kornfeder, who looks like an even shorter Victor Moore and speaks with a thick Russian accent, was an authority on Communist Party organization and activity, though he quit the party in 1934. Alice Widener was an authority on the Voice of America, having worked for it for five months in 1951 before being fired.

THE Reverend Claude Bunzel was apparently an authority on the attitude of Jesus Christ toward the United Nations; his address was devoted to the thesis that in Chapter XIII of Revelations the Apostle John prophesied the awful fate that awaits the world unless the U. N. is repudiated—a thesis from which he occasionally departed for pot shots at Bishop Oxnam ("Joseph Stalin and G. Bromley Oxnam are in favor of an international police force"), the Union Theological Seminary, Franklin D. Roosevelt, the National Council of Churches, and Harry Truman. The proceedings culminated in an "Americanism banquet" on Saturday night at which that old pro, Merwin K. Hart, who has written frequently for the virulently anti-Semitic hate sheet, *Com-*

GENE MARINE writes frequently for The Nation *about people and events in California.*

mon Sense, was guest of honor and featured speaker.

The Congress of Freedom, however, lists some impressive names on its national advisory committee: Generals Wedemeyer and Stratemeyer; former American Legion Commander Alvin M. Owsley, who once said, "The Fascisti are to Italy what the American Legion is to the United States"; Spruille Braden, former ambassador to Argentina; Hearst attorney John Neylan, and the active Mr. Hart. None of them showed up except Hart, although congratulatory telegrams came from Admiral Standley, Clarence Manion, Dan (Facts Forum) Smoot, and a score of other, less prominent right-wingers.

The Monday afternoon keynoter was a New York attorney named Bernard Montgomery. In the forty-five minutes he spoke, Montgomery attacked unions (for furthering "the Marxist doctrine of class warfare"), Oliver Wendell Holmes ("the godless man from New England"), Harold Laski ("a little British draft dodger"), Alger Hiss, Felix Frankfurter, Dwight Eisenhower, Justice Harlan, and the New York *Times*. He brought the crowd to standing cheers three times with the names of Westbrook Pegler, Douglas MacArthur, and Joe McCarthy. Speaking of McCarthy, he said Eisenhower was responsible for "waylaying, ambushing, and knifing in the back" that doughty warrior against the reds just as he was about to "put his finger on the mainspring of subversion." Eisenhower had also suppressed the "scandalous facts in the symbolic case of Major Peress." Amid all this Montgomery found time to refer to the "hybrid United Nations, teeming with enemies and spies and born in treason"; to scoff at hiring "emissaries from the Scandinavian peninsula" to "go crawling" to Chou En-lai; and to "demand" the return of American prisoners in China "even if it means making an atomic war certain."

THERE is no question that the audience consisted largely of sincerely frightened people. What they were afraid of it might take a psychiatrist to say, but it was easy to see that in most of them fear had turned into unreasoning hate and complete indifference to fact. Without a murmur the delegates accepted Freda Utley's analysis of the world's political structure: "Moscow keeps Mao Tse-tung in line; Mao Tse-tung keeps Nehru in line; Nehru keeps the British in line; and the British keep us in line." And when she added, "Countries don't go over voluntarily to communism," nobody mentioned Vietnam, let alone China.

Robert LeFevre

In general one theme was played, with variations. It started with Alger Hiss's role at Yalta. Yalta was the background of the United Nations. The Charter was written either by Alger Hiss alone or by Hiss with the aid of Harry Dexter White, Dean Acheson, and others in the United States delegation. The U. N., as one delegate put it, is "just two letters in the word communism."

Soviet administration of UNRRA was alleged to be responsible for "all those countries" going behind the Iron Curtain. Since the Baruch Plan provided for international control of the "products" of atomic energy, General Motors and Chrysler would be internationalized when they developed atomic-powered automobiles (this from Leora Baxter of Pro America). In 1947 Eisenhower referred to the Germans as "paranoid," which, significantly, was the standard Communist Party term for Germans at that time (impressed noises from the audience). The Morgenthau Plan was suggested by Moscow to Nathan Silvermaster, who gave it to Harry Dexter White, who passed it on to Morgenthau. The idea that we must prepare for a world war to fight communism had been implanted by "brain-washing" to save the Sixteenth Amendment from repeal (this from Corinne Griffith, who didn't seem to realize that it invalidated the whole convention; but then nobody else realized it either). Miss Griffith's argument against the income tax had a beautiful simplicity: if you abolish the income tax, you cut off the money being poured into the U. N.

NOT that the delegates spent all their time listening to speeches. Ten symposiums were announced to discuss one or another aspect of the U. N. The leaders of these symposiums, LeFevre told the Congress, had done "exhaustive research" on his or her particular subject. Despite the research, however, a plump Summit, Mississippi, editor named Mary Cain who was in charge of the discussion on Economic Aspects of the U. N., told the group in a rich backwoods drawl that she just didn't know where they should begin or end. She finally began by saying that she was "just sick to death of the giveaway program" of such U. N. agencies as the Children's Fund.

At a discussion of the International Labor Organization, the omnipresent Merwin Hart suggested that President Eisenhower "isn't looking well lately" and was ready with possible replacements—Governor J. Bracken Lee of Utah or Senator William Knowland of California (Knowland's name drew ovations from the assemblage). A lady said that Eisenhower probably had diabetes. Another noted that Washington's water is fluoridated, which "everybody knows is bad for diabetes." With the text that "mass medication is the first step by the Communists," the I. L. O. symposium then went off at full gallop after the evils of fluoridation.

Meanwhile, the UNESCO symposium was sticking closer to the subject. A gentleman from Southern California confided that the introduction of a UNESCO-influenced textbook had increased the unmarried pregnancy rate in Chico. A lady from Mill Valley told a shocking tale about a seventeen-year-old girl who had been permitted to attend an interracial summer camp. The Southern California gentleman, nodding solemnly, pointed out that her parents had been brain-washed.

LeFevre and his fellow-executives tried to have no overt expression of anti-Semitism or racism from the platform, but the shocked lady from Mill Valley was not the only one who indicated that a very thin line separated the Congress of Freedom from outright anti-Semites and white supremacists like Gerald L. K. Smith and Conde McGinley. Persons familiar with the utterances of those more overt hate merchants understood the implications of the repeated references to Baruch and Frankfurter, the constant use of the adjective "Christian," the religious tone that LeFevre chose to inject into an avowedly political gathering.

The issue broke out on the last day when the resolutions were voted on. Dr. V. Orval Watts attempted to change two of the resolutions to avoid offending non-Christians, insisting that to attain its objectives the Congress needed the support of "many who are not Christians—Jews, for example." About six delegates supported him. An overwhelming majority voted that the Congress should keep its original character as a leader in the "fight against the anti-Christ."

LISTENING to the speeches or to the conversations in the symposium, it was easy to be alarmed. "Victory may be just around the corner," keynoter Montgomery ended his speech, and the rest of the speakers echoed him. Pegler emphasized the coming victory of "the American resistance party." As usual, even in so extreme a group as this, he was the most extreme speaker. Along with his usual sort of vitriol ("old Meathead Stettinius"; "the C. I. O., the Democratic Party, or any of the more candid Communist fronts"; "the last more or less Republican convention") he produced a program that is worth glancing at: immediate withdrawal from the United Nations, passage of the Bricker amendment, abolition of the N. L. R. B. and repeal of all federal labor laws, abolition of the Federal Communications Commission, firm control of the assets of all tax-free foundations, measures to prevent the defense of "characters" like Oppenheimer by "outfits" like Alcoa and the Ford Motor Company (it isn't advertising, it's political propaganda, and shouldn't be deductible as a business expense); no pensions larger than the regular social-security payments due retired people—this applied to Harry Truman but not to members of the armed forces; *and* limitation of the income tax to 25 per cent. One item he missed was supplied by former Representative Thomas Werdel of California: decentralize the armed forces by returning their control to the governments of the forty-eight states.

Fortunately for my own peace of mind, in addition to following the Congress of Freedom I was also paying attention to other things going on in the city. I learned that while the Congress of Freedom could not fill the 700-seat main floor of the Veterans' Auditorium, the model U. N. to be held early in May by a group of college students from all over the state would easily fill the huge Opera House next door. I learned that the local press considered the Congress back-page news. LeFevre exhorted the delegates to write their home papers and ask them to have the A. P. and U. P. carry the story—which apparently was not important enough for the wire services. I learned that San Francisco is still proud of its place in history as the birthplace of the U. N.

PLENTY IS TOO MUCH

The Weird Wheat Market . . *by Leslie Hale*

London

"HE gave it as his opinion, that whosoever could make two ears of corn or two blades of grass grow . . . where only one grew before, would deserve better of mankind than the whole race of politicians put together." Jonathan Swift was of course writing of colonial Ireland, where he could see the peasant poverty and low productivity still unhappily characteristic of so many colonial territories.

Two hundred years later Dean Swift's advice had been taken with such success that the "civilized" nations suffered an "over-production crisis" and sent for the politicians to cure it. In a world in which the majority of the people were underfed it was first decided that food must be made dearer and then that it must also be made scarcer. There were idealists who said this was ethically wrong, but realism prevailed and we preserved our traditional calendar week—six days of economics and one of ethics.

The alternative policy is to plan agricultural production and consumption for world needs. That involves the startling conception that "effective consumer demand" is created not by a full pocket but by an empty belly. Unhappily it also involves the political difficulty of reconciling producer and consumer interests.

In 1948 precisely this task was attempted by the International Wheat Conference. The basis of agreement was the fixing of minimum quotas of wheat to be supplied by exporting countries at agreed maximum prices and the guaranteed purchase of the quotas at prices not less than a fixed minimum by the importing coun-

---

LESLIE HALE is a Member of Parliament from Oldham West, a cotton-spinning center.

Billion-Bushel Surplus

The whine of wheat combines starting the 1955 harvest this month will spotlight the United States' major agricultural headache—too much wheat. In crop calculations a wheat year ends July 1. Wheat that hasn't been eaten or exported on that date each year is called the "carryover." And this July 1 the carryover, or surplus, is expected to top a billion bushels for the first time. That will be four times the surplus of just three years ago. —Wall Street Journal, May 2.

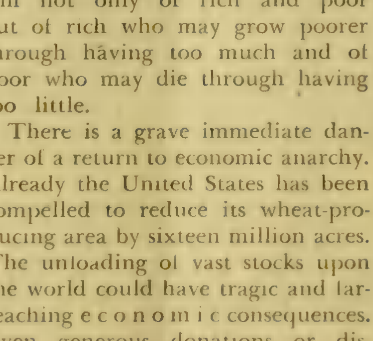
tries. The actual price within these limits was fixed annually by the council. The agreement proved abortive, and in 1949, after the U. S. S. R. had fallen out, a new agreement was signed and ratified by about fifty countries. It operated successfully for a time, but in 1953 the United Kingdom, an importer of nearly one-third of the wheat involved, withdrew on the ground that the price was too high. In fact the maximum price of $1.80 per bushel prevailed throughout the agreement, a figure to be compared with the minimum of $1.55 paid by the United Kingdom to Canada immediately after World War II and the $2.70 paid to Australia in the period of most acute scarcity. The agreement definitely did not operate to the detriment of consumer countries, which found themselves safeguarded by it against the enormous price increases caused by the Korean war.

THE difficulties of 1948-49 and 1952-53 admirably illustrate the basic problems involved in international planning. In 1948-49 the Russians claimed that a quota based on earlier production figures was wholly inadequate to a nation with so rapidly increasing a production; the United States complained that the Russians were always demanding a special status and that every concession given them resulted in a new demand; the British took the position that the overriding importance of full international participation was worth a concession. All three statements were true. In 1952-53 the United States said that its domestic wheat price compelled it to subsidize its exported wheat, with a resultant substantial loss to the Treasury; the United Kingdom, in turn, claimed that United States subsidies created an artificial wheat price which involved a heavy contribution by consuming countries to United States prosperity. Neither of these statements was unfair.

The recent report of the International Wheat Council discloses a disastrous accumulation of stocks on the American continent amounting to about eighteen months of effective demand and to a United States accumulation of two billion dollars' worth of wheat. So great is the surplus that Washington seems to be considering the gift or sale of considerable tonnage to the Russians. The surplus is due partly to unsuccessful world planning, partly to a reduction of stockpiling—both the United States and the United Kingdom had unaccountably voted against a policy of maintaining international emergency stocks—but primarily to the bumper harvest of 1953. Once again we face the problem not only of rich and poor but of rich who may grow poorer through having too much and of poor who may die through having too little.

There is a grave immediate danger of a return to economic anarchy. Already the United States has been compelled to reduce its wheat-producing area by sixteen million acres. The unloading of vast stocks upon the world could have tragic and far-reaching economic consequences. Even generous donations or disposals at heavily subsidized prices of huge surpluses to poorer countries with unbalanced economies can ruin the small peasant proprietors of those countries.

International cooperation necessarily involves mutual concessions. There is no responsible statesman in Britain who really thinks the United Kingdom has a vested interest in maintaining poverty in Manitoba or Montana; there is surely no statesman in the United States who fails to appreciate that selling to Britain while refusing to buy constitutes economic war upon an ally; there can be few people anywhere incapable of appreciating the hypocrisy of preaching war on poverty while simultaneously taking measures to restrict production. Every effort must be made to secure the renewal of the wheat agreement with the widest possible participation both of producer and consumer countries and for the longest possible period. If the U. S. S. R. can be persuaded to participate, so much the better. "A chicken in every pot" has rather disreputable connotations to American ears, but it is more sensible than "a Communist under every bed."



ALREADY there are indications of a campaign against a new wheat agreement by British merchants, who point out that since the United Kingdom opted out the price has fallen to $1.72 a bushel. This figure was actually achieved only by a United States increase in export subsidies. It is important to understand that although both farmers and domestic consumers need stabilized prices, mercantile entrepreneurs prefer wide fluctuations. The staggering price increase in commodities in 1952 brought little advantage to the producer. The domestic consumer in Britain seems to have gained nothing from the fall in wheat prices. Indeed, in Britain, between the wars, when bread prices rarely reflected the vast fluctuations in wheat prices, when farmers were bankrupt and the unemployed starved, large fortunes were made by millers. It would be well to ascertain who benefits and to what extent by price variations. Certainly it is not the United States farmer who gets a government-guaranteed price for his product or the domestic consumer of bread.

If the Pentagon is right in diagnosing communism as the enemy of mankind, then the abolition of hunger, communism's strongest ally, becomes the more important. Surely the answer lies in "planned plenty." The renewal of the international wheat agreement ratified by the greatest possible number of producing and consuming countries thus becomes an absolute necessity. The new agreement must envisage progressively expanding production for a world with a progressively developing purchasing power. It must provide coverage for losses incurred by any participating country. Stocks must be available for all kinds of emergency, from local famines to widespread harvest failures. Long-term credits may be needed to enable certain poor countries to participate in the agreement. Producer countries should understand that trade must be reciprocal.

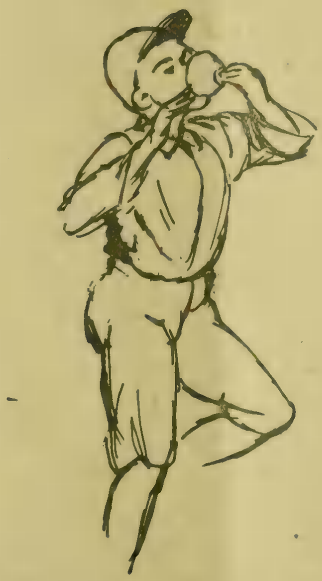
To create peace we must root out the cause of war; to combat communism requires the elimination of its predisposing factors; to liquidate colonialism means to provide not only liberty but the opportunity for prosperity; to achieve full international cooperation involves not merely understanding another's point of view but being prepared to make concessions to it. *Panem et circenses* was the old Roman prescription for satisfying the people. In the long run bread will prove the more important.

CHILDHOOD'S END

Memoirs of Hiroshima . . *a Translation*

[The A-bomb dropped on Hiroshima on August 6, 1945, killed 359 students and 10 teachers in Hiroshima High School, known locally as "Itchu." A year later the bereaved parents formed an Organization of Itchu Survivors to comfort and help each other. Masayuki Akita, president of the group, collected from members their personal accounts of the tragic day; later, a Tokyo publishing house, Masubosho, printed the stories in book form under the title "The Stars Are Watching Us."

The following extracts from the book were translated by a Japanese resident of the United States, who notes that she tried to retain in English "the simplicity and altogether unliterary quality" of the original Japanese. The translator also did the drawings.]



By Mrs. Tsunataro Mitsuho

ON THE morning of August 6, 1945, I overslept, and made breakfast in a rush. But I did not forget to slip into the rice the two tiny sweet potatoes I had found in the potato patch the day before.

As soon as breakfast was ready, I called my son, Isshin, but he had overslept too, and I found him so fast asleep that I hesitated for a moment to wake him. Then I shook him and called his name for I knew he should not be late for school. When he woke up and saw the time, he was going off to school without any breakfast, but I told him to eat some, as there were sweet potatoes in the rice. With his shoes already on, he sat on the edge of the kitchen floor, blowing on his rice and gulping it down. Then he ran out of the house. Who could know that this was the last we would see of him?

About an hour later the atomic bomb was dropped. We had no idea then, of course, of the invention of the new weapon, and we thought many bombs must have been dropped all over the city. From our place it looked as if the gas tank in Minami-michi had been hit. I was concerned for Isshin's sister, a student at Yamanaka High School, who had gone to the factory in Minami-michi for labor service that morning, and my husband started there right away. When he arrived he found no one, and the people around there said all the students and teachers had left; so he felt relieved about her. He then started off for "Itchu" to look for Isshin. The authorities would not let him go, however, without a fire costume, and so he came home and changed and left again, this time on a bicycle.

There were fires all over the city, and although he tried many routes he could not get near the school. As he turned back from Fujimi Bridge and passed the Hifukusho, he came upon Fujii, a classmate of Isshin's, lying on the ground. He picked him up and put him on the back of his bicycle and brought him to our house. After stopping at Fujii's home to tell them about the boy, he went off again to look for Isshin.

He searched everywhere, walking through crowds, calling Isshin's name. Until midnight he went on and on, but there was no answer anywhere. The next morning before it was light he went out again. Starting at the school, he searched in every direction, but he could find no trace of our son.

For twenty-four days he continued to look every day all over the city, taking with him a change of clothes for Isshin, some food, and a belt with which to carry him on his back. Every night he would come home miserably, with no news.

Finally one day he said, "Where

did he die? He must have wanted water and called our names, and we were not there to give it to him."

Every day he continued to go out, coming back at night with the bad smell of death on him from looking at the dead and touching them, hoping to find the body of Isshin.

He had never believed in ghosts before and had laughed at the idea. But now he began to go to the school at midnight to see if Isshin's spirit might appear. He went one night in the pouring rain because he had heard that spirits come out on rainy nights. He kept walking around and around the school calling as loudly as he could. "Isshin! Isshin!" But nothing appeared and he heard no answer. He came home weeping.

When I look back on all that happened, I feel that Isshin must have been born under a dark star. The day the results of his entrance examination were announced, March 19, 1945, the sky was covered with American airplanes and the Hiroshima Kosho was hit. After he started going to school, we were bombed twice. And then the atom bomb that brought his death. I only hope he sleeps in peace.

By Yasuo Yamamoto

THE year before the bombing of Hiroshima the younger of our two children, aged seven, had died of food poisoning from a can of government-supplied food. I was so shocked I did not think I would ever recover from it. After that I kept telling Masumi, the other child, a boy of fourteen, that he must live through the war as he was our only son now.

On the morning of the bombing I was making a trip on my bicycle in the opposite direction from the place where I worked, as I had to do some errands. I heard airplanes but did not think much of it; in those days we were so used to raids that if we kept worrying about planes we would never get any business done.

About two minutes later there was a column of fire about ten yards ahead of me—a regular waterfall of fire—with terrific explosions like the sound of a thousand thunderclaps. My bicycle was thrown high in the air, and I turned a couple of somersaults and landed behind a concrete wall. I looked myself over and found I was not injured.

When I was able to climb out from behind the wall, I found everything in frightful confusion; the screams of babies and women and the helpless calling for lost ones poured into my ears like water from a dam that has broken. As I started toward home, I saw a group of people running from the direction of the railroad station, some of them covered with blood, some holding together bleeding wounds with their hands, some with half their hair burnt off, all of them showing the greatest terror and suffering. It was a sea of fire beyond the station, and all the houses there seemed to be destroyed. I began to worry about my own house and about Masumi. He had left home that morning to go to work in the labor service, cleaning the city. Perhaps where he worked it would be safe.

When I got home, I found our house had no walls and the third floor was on a steep slant. My wife came out, holding a bandage over one arm and smiling, so I gathered she was not seriously hurt. Inside the house there were piles of broken glass and fragments of doors and ceilings.

Where was Masumi? Should I go and look for him? If I did, we might miss each other on the way. It would probably be better to wait at home. I did not know what to do, so I did nothing, feeling restless and worried all the time.

Suddenly I heard someone outside saying, "How dreadful you look, sonny. Who are you?"

"My name is Yamamoto."

That was surely our son's voice! I ran out of the house. There stood a practically naked form, with almost no skin left, and no hair. There was no resemblance to my son, but it was indeed Masumi.

"You have met with a terrible accident," I cried, "but how happy we are that you got home."

He could only say "Yes."

We cleaned a part of the room and made a bed for him, and got off what clothing was left on him.

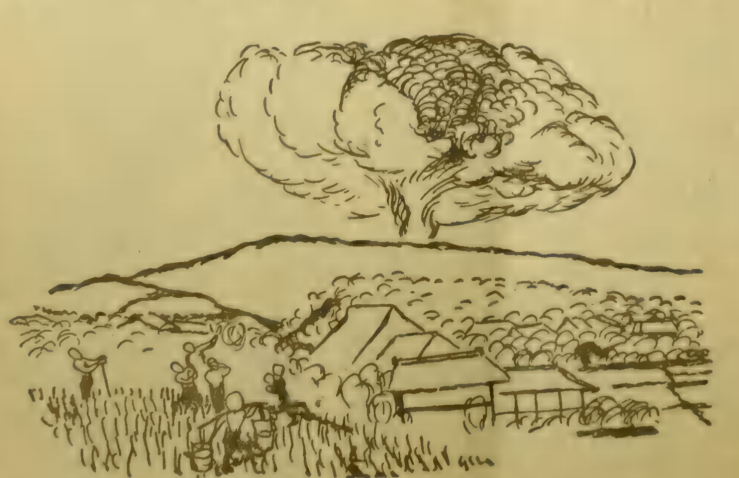
He asked, "Am I going to die?"

"Oh no," I shouted vigorously—more to reassure myself—"nobody dies of anything like this."

I began to wonder what could have caused such terrible wounds. It could not have been a bomb or incendiary bomb. It must have been something different. I thought it must be some new weapon with strong power. My mind was filled with curiosity and terror.

With the help of a neighbor we put our son on a door panel and took him to the first-aid station about ten blocks away. There was a long line of seriously wounded. There seemed no use of waiting our turn, so finally I asked an army doctor at the entrance to check him. He put some oil on him. Then, since there seemed nothing else to do, we took him back home. We could not stand it to watch him breathing with such difficulty lying there on the panel.

When we got him home and laid him on the bed, he was calmer. "I am not going anywhere any more," he said. Then he started telling us about what had happened, and ended by saying, "I wanted to see



Daddy and Mommy so I ran out from the hell without knowing what I was doing."

After it got dark, he seemed even calmer, but he wanted water more often. My wife knew that so much water was not good for him, but she could not resist giving him what he wanted. Still we did not give up hope. Sometimes he was delirious, but most of the time his words were clear.

From the voices outside we knew that the fire beyond Hijiyama Park had kept on burning since morning, but we did not go out to see it. We stayed by Masumi, and I tried to keep my wife from getting too much worked up.

About eleven o'clock Masumi asked a strange question: "Is it true that there is a heaven?"

I was shocked, and my wife seemed confused, but she managed to explain about the beauty of it, as she had heard. "Yes, there is," she said. "It is a calm and peaceful place, and there will be nothing like the war. It is full of natural music."

Our son listened intently, and then interrupted with a question. "Are there sweet jelly beans, too?"

"Yes, sweet jelly beans and everything," my wife answered tearfully.

"Then I am going to die," he said.

I could not move. I could not breathe. My wife too stood like a stone. My son started to say a prayer. After that he did not even ask for water.

At twelve o'clock he breathed his last. It was a very beautiful and calm end.

By Saburo Okada

OUR oldest son, Tatsuhi, was good at his studies and a gentle, honest child. To get in Itchu he worked very hard, and when he was admitted to the school he called on the long-distance telephone to tell me the news.

I was stationed at Ono army hospital as a petty medical officer. When I heard the news, I was very pleased and had drinks with my friends to celebrate. After that every morning I would watch for the train carrying my son to school to pass by the hospital so that I could give him a morning greeting.

On August 5, 1945, a Sunday, I was at home on a one-day leave. The children and I sat together on the mat floor and talked about everything. Tatsushi told me about his new school and new friends and his plans to become an army or navy officer. After a happy talk we went to bed about ten o'clock.

Next morning, August 6, Tatsushi had to take a train at half-past five. As I walked with him to the gate to see him off, he said as usual, "I must be going." Then he turned and came back. I thought he had forgotten something, but he just looked at me for a moment and then walked away again. We parted smiling, not knowing this would be our last sight of each other.

I went back to the hospital. Not long afterward there came the great flash and sound of the atomic bomb. As the hospital was about ten miles away from the city, we did not suffer any damage, but we were terrified by the mushroom-shaped cloud which covered all the eastern sky. I began trying to get through on the telephone, but I could only reach the Hatsukaichi police station. About ten o'clock we learned that a great bomb had been dropped on Hiroshima and that there had been tremendous damage and injuries. With medical soldiers in a car we started out for Hatsukaichi, where we set up a first-aid station. People were streaming in with miserable cuts and burns. It was a dreadful scene.

After working a couple of hours I got permission to go through the burning city to Itchu to look for Tatsushi. When I arrived, I found a hell on earth. The schoolhouse had been burned down. There were a few children in the pool. When they saw me, they cried and begged me to help them. Their shoulders were burned, and the water hurt the burns but outside it was too hot for the naked body. I did not know what I could do for them. I asked the children if they knew where my son was. They didn't, but one of them pointed to a man they said was his teacher. I ran to him, but he had already breathed his last.

I began to search for Tatsushi all along the way to his school—Takano Bridge, to Nishikannon, and to Koi station. Until it got dark I kept going back and forth, back and forth. The fires were becoming stronger and bigger. Finally I went back to our first-aid station, where there was now a line of people extending over a mile. I worked there until four o'clock, worrying all the time and hoping to find Tatsushi among the crowds, but there was no sign of him. Then I went back to the hospital, taking some badly burned people in a car.

From the hospital I called my wife, but she had not succeeded in getting any news at all of Tatsushi. For more than two days we could learn nothing. Then on the ninth my sister found out that he had been taken to the Akatsuki army camp in Taio. They told me there that he was already dead and that his body had been moved to Ninoshima. But when I finally arrived at Ninoshima to claim the body, they did not know what had been done with it. I was given a wooden box with nothing in it but an army envelope, not even any hair or nails. A soldier told me that before he died Tatsushi kept repeating "God damn! God damn!" That was at noon on the seventh.

When I remember how a few days before he had played and worked happily, and when I think how he must have looked out at the burning city from the Akatsuki camp and longed to come home, I feel my intestines being torn out. Now he is an empty box.

BOOKS

Whitman's Centennial

THE SOLITARY SINGER: A Critical Biography of Walt Whitman. By Gay Wilson Allen. The Macmillan Company. $8.

WALT WHITMAN ABROAD. Critical Essays from Germany, France, Scandinavia, Russia, Italy, Spain and Latin America, Israel, Japan, and India. Edited by Gay Wilson Allen. Syracuse University Press. $4.

LEAVES OF GRASS ONE HUNDRED YEARS AFTER. New Essays by William Carlos Williams, Richard Chase, Leslie A. Fiedler, Kenneth Burke, David Daiches, and J. Middleton Murry. Edited by Milton Hindus. Stanford University Press. $5.

WALT WHITMAN RECONSIDERED By Richard Chase. William Sloane Associates. $3.75.

THE WHITMAN READER. Edited by Maxwell Geismar. Pocket Books. 50 cents.

WALT WHITMAN, POET OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY. Selections from His Poetry and Prose. Edited by Samuel Sillen. International Publishers. Paper, $1.25; Cloth, $2.50.

WALT WHITMAN. A Catalogue Based Upon the Collections of the Library of Congress. United States Government Printing Office. 65 cents.

By John R. Willingham

WHITMAN'S "barbaric yawp" has sounded "over the roofs of the world" for a hundred years. In July, 1855, the first edition of "Leaves of Grass" was placed on sale in New York, and in 1955 an ambitious centennial program sponsored by college English departments, literary journals, libraries, museums, and book publishers is under way. Recent years have seen similar observances in honor of Melville's "Moby-Dick" and Thoreau's "Walden." Such observances have the healthy function of calling attention to the questions of whether or not we have come to grips with our classic writers, the validity of their claims to be considered classic writers, and the relationship of their work to contemporary literature.

In Whitman's case the important issues have been obscured more often than they have been clarified and explored. Virtually unknown as a serious artist in this country until about 1915, Whitman in the intervening years has been the object of a formidable body of scholarly attention, as the handsome catalogue issued by the Library of Congress eloquently testifies. But in the hands of either an Esther Shephard or a Newton Arvin, the tendency has been to emphasize a single aspect of the man or the poet in order to sustain some apparently irrepressible thesis. In the midst of World War II (Whitman has been trotted out during both world wars as a spokesman for American ideals) Samuel Sillen presented in his first edition of selected prose and poetry by Whitman a political spokesman who could be used as "a living force in the war against fascist barbarism." Of course, Whitman was a poser, a dabbler in socialism, a patriot, a severe critic of his country—all these, but a great deal more as well.

No one has been more aware of the enigmatic and paradoxical nature of both his life and his art than was Whitman himself. "Do I contradict myself?" he asked in Song of Myself; and the ready answer was, "Very well then I contradict myself,/ (I am large, I contain multitudes.)" To Edward Carpenter, a young English admirer, Whitman admitted, "There is something in my nature *furtive* like an old hen!" Simultaneously we find Whitman's attempts to hide and invent aspects of his life and work pathetic, amusing, and frustrating. The private fretting at Dr. Bucke's messianic portrayal of him linked with his energetic assistance to public indorsement of the picture foreshadowed the difficulties almost every biographer and critic has had to face. For it is certainly clear that he eagerly connived with his essentially naive disciples to present to the world the lineaments of a man and a mind that never actually existed. Never existed, that is, except spasmodically perhaps in Whitman's imagination as archetypal "eidolons" of the democratic poet-priest-comrade-hero.

THUS the Whitman biographies of the past have tended to be distortions of the man because they have relayed only refractions which must filter through some prismatic bias. But in "The Solitary Singer" Professor Gay Wilson Allen of New York University has neatly bypassed the pitfalls that so bemused his predecessors; Whitman the whole man emerges from this monumental 616-page work. The paradoxes are not glossed over; they are resolutely faced and explored. The metamorphosis of the essentially sentimental reformer-dandy of the 1840's into the idealist-rough of 1855 is traced through the relatively unknown journalistic writings and the notebook jottings of this transitional period. All through the book Allen keeps subtly moving and interweaving the separate threads of Whitman's movements and thought, the affairs of the various members of the Whitman family, the activities and relations of Whitman's comrades, and critical comments on the poetry and prose. No strange liaisons with shadowy if glamorous New Orleans Creoles or octoroons are inserted when the facts become difficult. There is little unsupported speculation of any kind. Notebooks, letters, newspaper editorials, drafts and revisions of the poems, and Whitman's known activities are all permitted to speak quite clearly for themselves.

And Professor Allen presents just enough American social and political and literary history to give Whitman's achievements and failures their proper focus. The various Whitman myths of his sweet, healthy, and sturdy family background, of his six children and "one living Southern grandchild," of his indifference to fame, of his eternally calm and commanding demeanor, of his persecution by the Washington bureaucracy, and so on, are juxtaposed to the tremendous resources of

---

JOHN R. WILLINGHAM is assistant professor of English at Centenary College, Shreveport, Louisiana.

known documentary evidence. In areas for which no reliable evidence is available—for example, Whitman's sexual aberrations — Allen is willing to offer theories, clearly labeled as such. One might cavil because his prose style is hardly suited to the always lively nature of his material, but his immense erudition and concern for truth make "The Solitary Singer" the biography of Whitman which we have too long awaited and easily the most important of the centennial publications.

In "Walt Whitman Abroad," Professor Allen has brought together significant essays and comments by critics and scholars in Asia, Europe, and Latin America. There is a nice mixture of nineteenth-century and recent criticism. As Allen points out, such evaluations from outside the Anglo-Saxon community are doubly useful: they supplement and correct American estimates, and because Whitman is viewed so generally abroad as a symbol of America and democracy, they provide unique insights into ourselves and our institutions from the vantage points of other cultures. Jose Marti's impassioned dispatch to *La Nacion* (Buenos Aires) on the occasion of Whitman's Lincoln lecture in 1887 rubs shoulders in this book with the outrageously funny, if shockingly misinformed, 1889 Copenhagen address of Knut Hamsun. The book would have been considerably better balanced if Allen had seen fit to include representative estimates from Great Britain, which on the whole has been kinder to Whitman, if more astutely critical of him, than the United States.

THE great success in recent years of critical symposiums (those on Lawrence, Eliot, Paul Rosenfeld, Donne, and others) no doubt suggested the feasibility of "Leaves of Grass One Hundred Years After." The editor has brought together critics of widely variant statures and inclinations. The liveliest offering is William Carlos Williams's modestly titled but trenchant An Essay on "Leaves of Grass." Williams is interested in Whitman's modernist formalistic experiments—"his struggle to free verse." Though Whitman may not have understood the background or nature of his instinctive structural advances, says Dr. Williams, "he knew only, as did those who were disturbed by his free verse, that something had occurred to the normal structure of conventional aesthetic and that he could not accept it any longer. Therefore, he acted." Who is better qualified to recognize and to assay this vital formalistic iconoclasm than a contemporary American poet who has been experimenting with the poetic line and rhythm with such distinction? In recommending an aesthetic commensurate with our other growing freedoms from taboos, Williams advises his reader: "Best, if you do not approve of what writing has become, to follow in Mr. Eliot's footsteps."

Leslie Fiedler's interest in the masks and artifices of Whitman—in the Hindus collection—is echoed and augmented by Richard Chase in his "Walt Whitman Reconsidered," parts of whose first chapter make up an essay in the Hindus volume also. Chase, the author of substantial books on both Emily Dickinson and Herman Melville, calls his Whitman volume "an essay in 'appreciation' of a cultural-historical sort." The genesis of such perceptive "appreciation" is in the classic "American Renaissance" of the late F. O. Matthiessen. Chase gives fairly detailed treatment to such characteristic works as Song of Myself ("Whitman's greatest and richest work"), Song of the Open Road ("a great exemplum of the American spirit and . . . not only in its crude, boosting aspect"), Crossing Brooklyn Ferry, the "Calamus" and "Children of Adam" poems, "Drum Taps," "Democratic Vistas," and "Specimen Days." Extending the line followed by Constance Rourke, Chase finds Whitman to be at his best when his work falls into the tradition of American humor (" a style . . . which is 'literary' and conversational at the same time, a style which has one eye on the individual and the concrete and one eye on the general and the transcendent"). Chase sounds less reliable when he points out "the notorious fact that wherever Whitman's influence has been most direct it has been most deplorable—as on the Sandburgs, the Benets, the Thomas Wolfes, even the Hart Cranes."

It is certainly encouraging in this centennial year to see Maxwell Geis-

NEW BOOKS FROM

California

RISE OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN LOS ANGELES

By Grace Heilman Stimson

The economic, political, and social evolution of the labor movement in Los Angeles from its beginning in 1875 through the dynamiting of the *Times* Building in 1910 to early 1912.

545 pages $6.00

NATIONALISM IN JAPAN

By Delmer M. Brown

An introductory historical analysis of the rise of Japanese nationalism; its influence not only on Japanese affairs but also on other Asian nationalistic movements, and the failure of Western peoples to comprehend its social force.

348 pages $5.00

PREJUDICE, WAR, AND THE CONSTITUTION

By Jacobus tenBroek,
Edward N. Barnhart,
and Floyd W. Matson

The historical origins, political characteristics, and legal consequences of the Japanese American evacuation of World War II. This study received nation-wide notice in the press.

420 pages $5.00

ZAIBATSU DISSOLUTION IN JAPAN

By T. A. Bisson

Explores the background of the Zaibatsu business combines and the Occupation's policy toward them.

326 pages, charts $5.00

At Your Bookstore or

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS
Address: Berkeley 4, California

mar's splendid, richly representative selection of Whitman's best poetry and prose in a paperback edition. This inexpensive and attractive Pocket Book will get Whitman the wider audience he so fervently desired if anything can. Mr. Geismar has probably, and wisely, profited from some suggestions F. O. Matthiessen once gave for handling Whitman's prose: "Democratic Vistas" has been sensibly cut for the general reader, and The Tramp and Strike Questions (1879) is included. Geismar's own introductory essay, a condensation of which appeared in *The Nation,* March 26, 1955, is a perceptive examination of Whitman's claim to fame. It reinforces Van Wyck Brooks's appraisal of Whitman as a "great link" between the transcendentalists and the realists, and adumbrates quite a lot which has been said, neither so precisely nor so clearly, in the last month or so.

Science as Aid to Morality

ETHICAL JUDGMENT. The Use of Science in Ethics. By Abraham Edel. The Free Press. $5.

By J. D. Goheen

PROFESSOR EDEL has written an excellent book which should command the attention of all readers interested in the relations of ethics to the sciences. It emphasizes what our common intelligence assumes: that there are wise decisions and foolish ones, and that the wise ones are made on the basis of information and knowledge. The author outlines the modern controversy concerning the foundations of our ethical beliefs and judgments, a controversy which has been concerned with to what degree, if any, our moral judgments are rational or scientific. With great erudition he points out the extent to which judgments of good and bad are in fact influenced by the sciences relevant to human life. It is not his intention to maintain that the diversity of ethical judgments does not exist and will not continue to exist. Rather he seeks to point out how these differences in moral commitment tend to disappear as we bring to bear relevant knowledge from psychology and the other human sciences. When this occurs, sound decisions can be made and intelligent policies formulated.

It is not as easy to defend this general point of view as one might initially suppose. Professor Edel observes on the one hand the classical contention that ethical judgments are completely determined by either moral precept or appeal to "reason." On the other hand, there is the prominent modern view that ethical judgments are "indeterminate," relative, or perhaps even the expression of personal taste. Here the book is very informative for the general reader but certain to arouse some philosophers to protest. It will be admitted by all, however, that the author's treatment of relativity in ethics and the reasons which have led to it is sensitive with regard both to the "facts" of relativity and to the linguistic study of ethical judgments which has so much preoccupied contemporary philosophers. Professor Edel's own position is formulated as follows:

> How far ultimate disagreement may in fact be dissolved, or whether it remains central in ethical theory, are thus questions requiring extended scientific exploration and policy decision based on the results of such investigation. Just as ethical absolutism could not be established in semi-a-priori fashion by the feelings of conscience, the properties of reason or the sense of moral law, so ethical relativity cannot be established in semi-a-priori fashion by the phenomenon of ultimate disagreement, real as conflicts are among human beings, nor by the many devices that have sought to give disagreement a central and dominating place.

A major part of this book is devoted to a survey and analysis of the human sciences for whatever they can offer for the choice of values. For example, the contemporary study of frustration and its effects on human nature is valuable for determining certain ethical decisions and judgments. In such information Professor Edel finds the basis for a kind of ethical precipitate—a body of ethical rules or principles grounded on science. These "phase rules," as they are called, are not final, for they are dependent on the state of our knowledge about man. Both "universal and local elements" are expressed in this body of rules.

> The universal are the fundamental human needs, the perennial aspirations and strivings, and the discovered high values that are deeply grounded in these needs and aspirations. . . . The local elements will be the central problems of the age, including its central necessary conditions and special contingent elements (not necessarily values themselves) which may press heavily upon men's pursuit of values in the given age.

It is refreshing to find a book on ethics which grapples so directly with the problems of good and evil. The complex problems of a theory of value as such are left for detailed development elsewhere, and the reader finds himself confronted with a large number of arguments designed to reach some degree of "determinacy" as to what is ethically good or bad in human affairs. Here, then, are exhibits of the reflective mind at work on materials that range from biology to world history. It is impossible here to cover the important topics discussed. Suffice it to say—and this may fit with the author's intention—that there are many passages in the book which will provoke discussion and the search for relevant information elsewhere.

It is argued, for example, that the decline of Rome is a recognizable degeneration in the quality of Roman life of the period. After the inroads of the barbarians, the Romans failed to maintain and develop what previous generations had achieved. The criterion for this judgment is "creative power," illustrated by the contrast between Athens as a center of creative power and Sparta which was not. It is admittedly unfair to wrench this argument out of the context of an entire book, where it is imbedded in a detailed argument and a system of values, but what is one to make of it? It might well be shown that there was a change in the quality of Roman life, but could it not as well be argued that, in the actual historical context, this change

---

J. D. GOHEEN is a member of the Department of Philosophy of Stanford University.

was for the better? The "coordinates" of judgment in matters of this sort are exceedingly complex and the results perhaps more "indeterminate" than Professor Edel is prepared to admit. Is this indeterminacy a matter only of lack of knowledge and a failure to evolve sound judgments from it?

The answer may lie, in part, in a more complete and articulate system of values than now exists, a system continuously guided and influenced by relevant scientific knowledge. It is this program which is proposed in the present work and to which Professor Edel will make other valuable additions to in the future.

Western Folk Hero

THE MAN WHO NEVER DIED. By Barrie Stavis. Haven Press. $3.

For most of us Joe Hill has slipped from the pages of history into legend. If we know him, it is chiefly because of the moving song "Joe Hill" by Alfred Hayes and Earl Robinson. And yet, in 1915, when Joe Hill sat in a Utah prison under sentence of death, President Wilson intervened twice in his behalf, the Swedish government asked for clemency, and the A. F. of L. unanimously condemned his trial and called for a new and "fair" one. When he was executed on November 19, 1915, for the murder of a grocer and his son which he and his friends swore he never committed, some 30,000 men and women marched in his funeral procession.

Several years ago Wallace Stegner in "The Preacher and the Slave" presented a less than complimentary picture of the "Wobbly" organizer and minstrel. In this new book Barrie Stavis restores him to his place as a Western folk hero. Drawing upon previously unpublished letters and other documents, Stavis has produced a unique book, combining a play about Joe Hill's trial and execution with the factual material about his life.

The biographical notes are fascinating, but the play is the heart of the book. There are many eloquent and moving passages as well as sharp, dramatic scenes. "The Man Who Never Died" should make for an exciting evening in the theater if it is ever produced.

Program of Social Justice Wanted By Public Now

Social Justice Our Object in War for Independence.—The government of George the Third was entirely controlled by the Tory, landed aristocracy of Britain, which definitely represented social INJUSTICE, both in Britain and in America. The Tory government of Britain corruptly UNDERTAXED the private landed possessions of the aristocracy, while corruptly OVERTAXING the industrial and commercial classes in the towns and cities of Britain without their consent. Our rebellion against Britain was for the purpose of driving out the Tories and establishing social justice.

Corrupt Tory Fiscal Practices Bequeathed to America.—Our methods of taxation, inherited from the British Tories, have, in the main, followed the corrupt Tory practice of overburdening Production, while undertaxing and favoring land. The overtaxing of Production is added to the price of goods. This increases the cost of living, and seriously restricts the buying power of the general public.

Equally bad effects are caused by the undertaxation of land, which leads to speculation in vacant suburban areas and vacant city lots. This artificially raises the price of land everywhere, and inflates rents.

In other words, our inherited methods of taxation PENALIZE Production and PROMOTE Speculation. Our war of Independence drove the British Troy aristocracy from America; but that war will not be logically completed until we learn how to abolish our inherited Tory tax methods.—More about this in the next advertisement.

Three circulars free on condition of sending postage amounting to nine (9) cents. If you have either of the first two, you need send only six (6) cents; and if you have both of the first two, you need send only three (3) cents.—No. 1, *Bulletin of Bible and Hebrew History,* touching, in part, upon land and taxation.—No. 2, *Restoration of Social Justice to Belief in God.*—No. 3, *Basic Facts in Today's Economic Problem.*—The first two are ready to be sent out at once; and the third, still in preparation, will be sent as soon as ready.—No formal letter needed. Simply put your name and address, very clearly, on outside and inside of envelope enclosing the stamps, pinned or otherwise attached to card or sheet of paper. It seems necessary to add (because of misunderstanding) that if no stamps are sent, no circulars will be forwarded.—L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, New York.

ADVERTISEMENT

Theater

Robert Hatch

THE curious thing about "Phoenix '55," the revue with which T. Edward Hambleton and Norris Houghton are topping off their second successful year on the lower East Side, is that it succeeds and fails for the same reason. It was an ingenious idea—credited to Nicholas Benton and Stark Hesseltine—to build a revue around *Fortune's* solemn researches into the new ways the American middle class has found to spend its money. Intelligent satire needs some consistent springboard for its flights, and *Fortune's* statistics on the current popularity of do-it-yourself, bargain travel, paper books, small boats, large families, the ballet, the suburbs, and so on offer a good base for spoofing ourselves. The show was written largely by Ira Wallach, a man with a literate tongue in his cheek, and it has some excellent comics—notably Nancy Walker, Joshua Shelley, and Harvey Lembeck—to keep the satire bouncing.

But as a show "Phoenix '55" never quite bounces. It is held down partly by a failure to sense when enough is enough but more by a too close dependence on the original idea. Each of the sixteen scenes is introduced by some member of the cast who comes out before the curtain and reads from *Fortune* the appropriate paragraph or statistic. The comments are intended to be dry, but for the most part they are wet, and each little speech neatly takes the edge off the skit that follows. Once the idea was established, it should have been pushed to the background. The meticulous follow-up becomes an ache and knocks the pace and spontaneity out of the show.

If "Phoenix '55" develops no sensational momentum, it has some exceptionally bright moments. I dislike going into details; skits seldom sound funny in print and you rob them of their freshness when you try to describe them. Four or five of the Phoenix numbers seemed to me genuinely witty, the best, perhaps, being a take-off of neurotic ballet and more specifically of Jerome Robbins's "The Cage." The one on paper books I thought missed the mark. It is a rather sweatily explicit comment on lurid jacket blurbs, but the point for satire is not the middle class's discovery of bargain-counter pornography—we have always known about that—but its sudden enthusiasm for bargain-counter culture in the form of Toynbee, the Greeks, De Tocqueville, Whitehead, and "readers" beyond counting. The rest of the numbers are amiable at a surprisingly high level. The music is no more than pleasant—except for the brilliantly funny ballet music concocted by John Morris for Boris Runanin's demented choreography—but David Craig has provided the show with the most intelligent and ingeniously rhymed lyrics I have heard in some time.

"Phoenix '55" is a small-scale production, with principals doubling as chorus and everyone taking a hand at songs, dances, and dialogues. Mostly, however, it is carried by Nancy Walker, a sturdy girl and an admirable clown—she even tries a "laugh, clown, laugh" number, which she shouldn't. Miss Walker is blessed with an orderly mind and a rowdy personality; she is funny in the way Beatrice Lillie is funny; sometimes she is too obviously funny in that way—it is one thing to study the Lillie method and another to swipe the Lillie tricks. There is, nevertheless, more to Miss Walker than close study of a great original; she is a considerable original in her own right.

Joshua Shelley is a quiet comic, perplexed and average-minded. Harvey Lembeck is noisily extrovert with a happy gift for caricature. Elton Warren, a pretty girl, has a sweet voice for sweet songs. She is the only Negro in the cast, and you cannot help noticing that fact. Kenneth Harvey does an impersonation of Ed Murrow—in a TV "visit" to America's most fecund couple—that is perhaps the individual high point of the evening.

I take it from the title that the Phoenix may be planning a similar romp to round off the seasons in '56, '57, and so on. It is an excellent idea.

IT IS astonishing what people will laugh at if they are told it is funny. "The Honeys" (Longacre) is advertised as a farce comedy, and the night I was there people were laughing their heads off at the spectacle of two cruel and empty-headed women murdering their sickly, ill-tempered husbands in the messiest fashion imaginable.

I remember "Arsenic and Old Lace" and do not maintain that murder is an impossible topic for farce. But certain rules have to be observed. You must move the killing straight out of the world of probability and logical consequences; the victims should be people you do not care about; the killings should be merciful and if possible invisible; and the murderers must in some eccentric way be pure of heart.

What goes on in "The Honeys" is as probable and as awful as murder for profit usually is. I didn't care much about the husbands, but I liked them a lot more than their ignorant, pretentious wives; those two silly old girls were as dirty a pair as I've been forced to contemplate for quite a while. Consider their methods; being stupid as well as heartless they have to use quite a few: they leave an old man to starve to death in the jammed elevator of an empty house; they feed an old man oysters rotten with ptomaine; they chop up something in his medicine that will perforate his bowels. Or, splendid jest, they crush a man's head with a frozen leg of lamb, then cook the weapon and eat it with gloating glee. And all the time they speculate on how much money their husbands will leave and how many young men can be bought with it. I am convulsed, but not with laughter.

I know I should not get excited—"The Honeys" is a calculated risk, a cold-blooded potboiler. Roald Dahl, who wrote it, figures that if you show the most conventional and boring people engaged in the grossest villainy, the incongruity will seem so deliciously funny that no one will be upset. Unfortunately, I assume that gross villainies are usually perpetrated by otherwise conventional and boring people, and I was upset plenty.

The principal actors in "The Honeys" are Jessica Tandy and Dorothy Stickney as the wives, and Hume Cronyn as both husbands. This is not such a trick, for they are twin brothers. It provides a chance, however, for some of that trapdoor tomfoolery that always gets a big hand. I thought Mr. Cronyn looked remarkably like a comparatively young actor impersonating a couple of old geezers; his tremors were not much more plausible than his wigs. Miss Tandy and Miss Stickney so much resembled each other, not in looks, but in quality and address, that I had to keep referring to the program. But that is not really their fault; Mr. Dahl wrote one part for them both. Mary Finney, the only other member of the cast except Dana Elcar, who plays a stock policeman, takes the part of a breezy, horsey widow who is known to have disposed of her husband by the comparatively decent method of shoving him out a window. She is heartily coarse and jolly—with none of the sickening refinement of the other two—and since we do not meet the late Mr. Fleishman, she seems less foul. I thought Miss Finney was the one point of humor in an evening of pretty ugly fun.

Records

B. H. Haggin

HAVING been unable to attend the National Orchestral Association's performance of Berlioz's Requiem two years ago (the first in New York since Edgar Varese's famous performance at the end of World War I), I am grateful to the association for its recent repetition of the work with the Collegiate Chorale and the Juilliard Chorus, which gave me my first hearing of it in an auditorium. More specifically it gave me my first hearing of the effect of the movements which employ the additional four brass groups placed around the hall; but lack of the additional hall-rehearsal that would have enabled Leon Barzin to achieve proper balance of these groups with the chorus and orchestra resulted in my hearing the effect of a hair-raising sound of brass that made the chorus and orchestra inaudible; and the additional rehearsal also would have enabled Barzin to achieve the precise coordination which the brass groups occasionally lacked. But these comments concern only certain passages in the Dies Irae and Lacrymosa; and in the rest of the work Barzin's powers as musician and conductor enabled me to hear the full realization in sound of the marvels in the quiet writing that are not fully realized by the Columbia recording of Fournet's performance—notably the exquisitely wrought textures of the quiet interludes in the Lacrymosa, and the constantly new orchestral invention accompanying the chorus's reiteration of its two-note motif throughout the Offertorium. Moreover, in the Sanctus Barzin was helped by the ability of Lawrence Avery to produce for the taxingly high tenor solo tones of breath-taking purity, fullness, and ease.

EPIC LC-3100 offers Mozart's Quartet K.499, one of his finest, and K.589, a lesser work but one with occasional lovely passages, played by the Netherlands String Quartet. The first violin's tone is agreeable with treble reduced; the group's sound is good; its phrasing is beautifully sensitive and integrated; and the pacing of the performance is excellent.

Mozart's Piano Concertos K.453 and 595, two of the greatest in the series, suffer from Pritchard's hurrying of the first two movements of K.453 and the first of K.595 in the performances on Epic LC-3117 in which he conducts the Vienna Symphony; and from Henkemans's insensitive treatment of the piano in his musically unperceptive playing of the solo parts. In addition, reverberant recording gives the piano's sound a sort of after-vibration.

The first movements of Mozart's Symphonies K.504 ("Prague") and 338 are also played too slowly, and the slow movements too fast, by Boehm in his performances with the

A Cross-Section of America Speaks Its Mind

By Samuel Stouffer
Harvard University

"Have you ever known anyone you expected of being a Communist?" "What things do you worry about most?" These are typical questions asked of 6,000 community leaders and average citizens in two newsmaking polls on civil liberties. Professor Stouffer brilliantly compiles the results into a revealing, surprising, often disturbing picture of America's current attitudes toward the Communist threat. "Facts and figures are rarely so fascinating as you find them here . . . a major study of the American scene."—W. G. ROGERS, *Associated Press*. With 30 pages of lucid charts.

COMMUNISM, CONFORMITY AND CIVIL LIBERTIES

at all booksellers, or direct from Doubleday & Co., Inc., Dept. N-5, Garden City, N. Y.

READ MANAS

the 8-page weekly of current comment—on science, religion, education, philosophy—with substance-providing reviews of whatever books and articles seem to the editors to be shaping future thought and lighting new directions.

$5 a year

For 3 free sample copies, write

The Manas Publishing Company, P.O. Box 32112
El Sereno Station • Los Angeles 32, California

BOOK MANUSCRIPTS INVITED

If you are looking for a publisher, send for our free, illustrated booklet titled To the Author in Search of a Publisher. It tells how we can publish, promote and distribute your book, as we have done for hundreds of other writers All subjects considered New authors welcomed Write today for Booklet 103 It's free

VANTAGE PRESS, 120 West 31 St., New York 1
In Calif.: 6253 Hollywood Blvd., Hollywood 28

CURRENT BOOKS 25% Off Publishers List Price

Text, technical books 10% off. Just subtract 25% from publisher's price, add 15c per book for shipping. Send check or M. O.

BOOK LOFT, 4 Washington Pl., NY 3

PUBLICATIONS

SOCIALIST BOOKS. Catalog, literature, Free New York Labor News Company, Dept. M, 61 Cliff Street, New York 38, New York.

BRITISH BOOKS—All Subjects—direct from London to you Bargain catalogues free. Transbooks, Box 22-N, Brooklyn 26, N. Y.

LITERARY SERVICES

NOBODY BUT NOBODY BUT MEAD!

Nobody gives more in personal service to writers than MEAD LITERARY AGENCY, 419 Fourth Avenue, Dept. Y15, New York, N. Y. What have you to sell in the way of Short Stories, Articles, Books and T.V. plays? No obligation. Write TODAY!

MEETINGS

CLAUDE G. BOWERS, former Ambassador and noted historian, will speak on "THE JEFFERSONIAN TRADITION AND CIVIL LIBERTIES TODAY", Sunday, May 22, 2 P.M. at Hotel New York, 34 Street & 8th Avenue. Entertainment, Refreshments. Admission 50c. Auspices: N. Y. Jewish Conference.

HEAR

PAUL M. SWEEZY
"New Factors in the Int'l Situation"

H. H. WILSON
"Induced Gullibility--A Case Example"

LEO HUBERMAN
"USA, 1955—A Report"

FRANK WILKINSON
"What YOU Can DO About the Witch Hunt"

Date: May 16, 8:30 P.M.
Place: 133 W. 44th St. NYC
Admission: In advance $1. At door $1.25

MONTHLY REVIEW ASSOCIATES
218 W. 10th St. OR 5-6939

FOR SALE

NORELCO FULL-FIDELITY TABLE RADIO with FM, AM and Short-Wave, made by Philips of the Netherlands. Built-In Antenna for FM and Short-Wave, Dual Tone Controls and Extra Speaker Outlet. Absolutely Brand-New. Original cost $92.19. Will sell for about $65.00. Call Mr. Saks, OXford 7-2625.

PERSONALS

REALISTIC GIFTS!

	Regularly	Special
Blendor	$44.50	$27.95
6 pc Knife Set	17.95	11.95
Steak Set	10.95	5.50
Air Conditioner	289.95	139.95

Standard Brand Dist., 143 Fourth Avenue, (13th & 14th Sts.), N. Y. C. GR 3-7819. 1 hour free parking or 2 tokens.

FARM BOARD WANTED—for 12 year girl; with other children, chores, etc.; 100 miles New York City. Box 399, c/o The Nation.

LOSE WEIGHT CARDS, the higher I.Q. way to lose weight $1 per set 45 different flash cards. Also, QUIT SMOKING CARDS, $1. HSF GAMES, 1918 No. Jefferson St., Arlington 5, Va.

WE'RE looking for a family like ours to join us on July Cape Cod vacation. We're 28 with 8 month old baby; will share cottage and baby sitting. Box 400, c/o The Nation.

Vienna Philharmonic on London LL-1198. The recorded sound of K.504 is close, compressed, and dry; that of K.338 is more spacious and lustrous. Solti's is the performance of K.504 to acquire; Beecham's prewar performance the one of K.338, even without the minuet movement K.409 that Boehm includes.

Haydn's great Quartet Op. 20 No. 5 is played well on Telefunken LGX-66034 by the Vienna Philharmonic Quartet, though not with the Schneider Quartet's powerful elaborating inflection in the impassioned opening movement. In addition the performance is poorly reproduced; and the other work on the record is Schubert's early and inconsequential Quartet Op. 125 No. 1.

Haydn's Symphonies Nos. 44 ("Trauer") and 85 ("La Reine") are played on Epic LC-3059 by Sacher and the Vienna Symphony. The slow movement and minuet of No. 44 offer characteristic evidence of Haydn's matured powers, which achieve their most impressive and incandescent manifestations in the last two symphonies but not in No. 85. Sacher lessens the effect of the slow movement of No. 44 by playing it Andante con moto instead of Adagio; otherwise the performances are acceptable. No. 44 is reproduced more agreeably than No. 85.

The two engaging little suites that Handel wrote as overtures for his operas "Alcina" and "Berenice" are played well by the Boyd Neel Orchestra on London LD-9166.

The opening movement of Dvorak's unfamiliar Piano Concerto Op. 33, played on Columbia ML-4967 by Firkusny and the Cleveland Orchestra under Szell, is one of those which begin with engaging melodic substance whose symphonic elaboration gets to be wearying; and in the later movements even the substance is less attractive. The performance is good.

Columbia ML-4966 offers five of the six movements of Tchaikovsky's Suite No. 1 for orchestra, of which only the Marche miniature was previously familiar to me (from the wonderful old Muck-Boston Symphony recording). The others now turn out to be additional examples of the writing that is not only enjoyable but fascinating in the way Tchaikovsky's music often is—in its use of the medium with masterly skill, precision, and exquisite taste to fill in the canvas, so to speak (the second movement, Divertimento, is outstanding in this respect). Mitropoulos conducts the New York Philharmonic in a superb performance. Borodin's Symphony No. 2 is on the reverse side.

Another unfamiliar Tchaikovsky work, "Souvenir de Florence," I find less interesting. Originally written for string sextet it has been arranged for string orchestra by Arthur Winograd, who conducts a somewhat coarse performance on MGM E-3173.

Prokofiev's fine Violin Concerto No. 1 is played very well by Milstein with the St. Louis Symphony under Golschmann on Capital P-8303, which reproduces the performance with remarkable clarity and liveness, but also with whatever it is that makes Milstein's tone dry and edged.

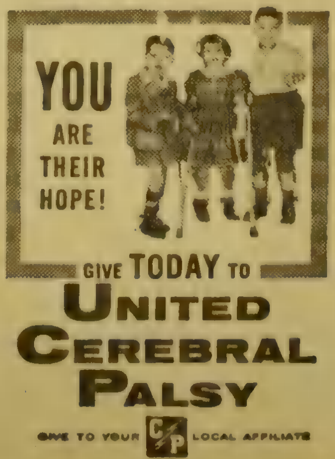
SUMMER RENTALS

FOR RENT, modern bungalows, reasonable. Suitable eight families. Prefer renting to group. 75 miles from N. Y. off Taconic Parkway. Telephone weekday evenings: WA 7-8216.

Nr. Washington Square—3 room furnished apartment—piano, books, trees. July-August. $180 in advance. GR 5-8035 or Box 398, c/o The Nation.

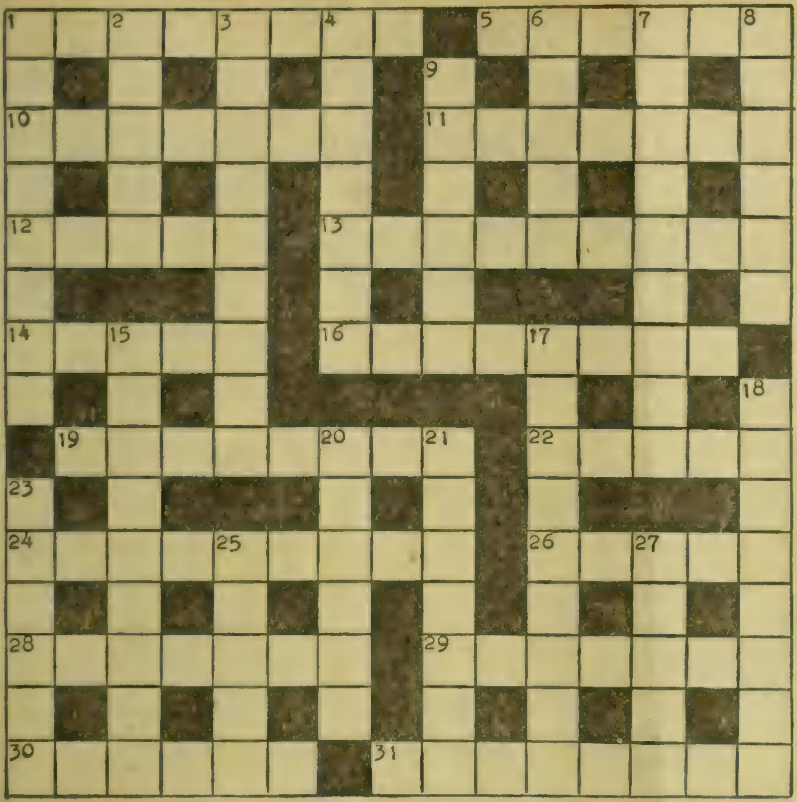
REAL ESTATE

BERKSHIRE HILLS. Secluded 9-room country home. Seven acres include terraced lawns, woodland, trout stream, rolling fields. Commands panoramic view from screened veranda. 26'x26' living room with native fieldstone fireplace. Carriage house. Convenient to Tanglewood and Jacobs' Pillow. Near center of typical, small New England town. Also other fine Berkshire properties for sale or rent. Jordan Town and Country Realty Service, 49 Bartlett Avenue, Pittsfield, Mass.



Crossword Puzzle No. 619

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 and 5 Introduction by way of the "Globe," leaving no doubt as to where the listener stands. (3,5,3,3)
10 Not regularly prompt on the wrong highway to the country. (7)
11 It cares whether it's fat or not! (7
12 Behind, on, and in song it's sweet. (5)
13 Is a docker responsible for such things? (9)
14 Their sort might be connected with penates. (5)
16 and 1 down Mean legislation? (3,3,2,8)
19 Certainly not the inner man. (8)
22 and 4 down Technically, it should be called a rabbit. (5,7)
24 A mere help is all it takes, but not for very long. (9)
26 Prophet or presage. (5)
28 No recognition for Spencer's personification of truth with merchandise! (7)
29 State of confusion created by three articles associated with Lamb. (7)
30 See 17 down.
31 Take an equivocal position. (8)

DOWN

1 See 16 across.
2 What Thomas might do, but do badly. (5)
3 Do they enjoy being dishonest? (9)
4 See 22 across.
6 See 27 down.
7 The first cuckoo? (5,4)
8 Do cues make money for some people? (6)
9 Is our country also ready and willing? (6)
15 Not a very polished group of actors, evidently! (9)
17 and 30 across Little Tom isn't very strong, it seems! (2,4,2,1,6)
18 What Sullivan lost gets consumed in the animal kingdom. (8)
20 Stick up over the sea, like part of a house. (6)
21 Confident that you'll get in later? (7)
23 Rise and shine!`And leave sentiment out of it! (6)
25 General of the Crimea defense. (5)
27 and 6 Short opus arranged and rearranged by Verdi, for example. (5, 5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 618

ACROSS: BAD-TEMPERED; 11, 10, 9, 8 and 28 A RAG, A BONE, AND A HANK OF HAIR; 12 SAMPLER; 13 STREAKS; 15 ESPOUSED; 16 RUB OFF; 18 ACCESS; 24 BASSOON; 26 DEMOTED; 29 COLOR; 30 IRAQ; 31, 21, 2 A POLICEMAN'S LOT IS NOT A HAPPY ONE. DOWN: 3 TRADERS; 4 MOOR; 5 ELECTOR; 6 ERASE; 7 INCANS; 14 ADULT; 17 BOSTONIAN; 19 CRAVAT; 20 STOICAL; 22 THEOREM; 23 OPERAS; 25 STROP; 27 BLOC

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York

RESORTS

CONCORD ACRES
Co-Ed Ages 6-15 Hancock, New York
FOR AN EXCITING PROGRAM
IN A RELAXING SETTING

The Tone: Non-regimented, friendly and understanding atmosphere where individual needs are met. Mature staff under top educator and camping leadership.
The Program: Rich and varied program includes all land and water sports, camping and boating trips, nature, arts and crafts, music, dramatics, dancing, archery, photography, and many special features.

Inspected and approved member of the American Camping Association.

Write or phone for brochure, interview, parent references
Moderate Fee
HAROLD ROSENTHAL
149-06 61 Road, Flushing, N. Y., FLushing 3-7750

Echo Lake Lodge
In the Green Mts. Brandon, Vermont
A delightful Vacation Resort for the Entire Family
- On lovely Echo Lake—all water sports
- New canoes, boats, swim and fish
- Tennis, ping-pong, shuffleboard
- Music, square dancing, camp-fires
- Summer theatres nearby

Diana & Abe Berman, N.Y.-WA4-6046, Hubbardton 17-2

Stonegate LODGE
Informal Adult Resort in the Adirondacks
Charming Estate — Limited to 90 — Pollen Free
Folk-Sq. Dances—Concert Trio—Dance Band
All Sports ■ Fishing ● Arts & Crafts
BACHELOR CLUB RATE—FINE FOOD
N. Y. Office: 250 W. 57th ● Circle 6-6386
Red. Rates to July 10 Louis A. Roth, Dir.

ROUND POND LODGE
Walden, New York
100 acres, secluded, landscaped, vast shade lawns, quality food German-American, refined atmosphere. Solarium, spring fed pool, sports Modern conveniences. Good beds. Capacity 30 Adults
Pre-Season Rates, $40-$45; Weekends, $7.50-$9.00
Make Reservations Now. Telephone: Walden 2-4964

50 Miles to FOREST HOUSE
Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes All sports.
FOREST HOUSE
Lake Mahopac, N. Y. ■ Tel. Mahopac 8-3449

THE PINES. Modern year-round retreat for adults in the Blue Mountains of Pennsylvania Dutch Country Continental cuisine. Intimate group of congenial people 95 miles from N. Y. C., 60 miles from Philadelphia. Write: Mrs. Ann Wunthal, Danielsville, R. D. 1. Tel.: Bath Te 7-6501.

THE NATION
RESORT CLASSIFIED DISPLAY
$7.42 per inch, one insertion
Generous discounts for
multiple insertions
Write or phone today for
further information
ADVERTISING DEPARTMENT
The NATION
333 SIXTH AVENUE
New York 14, N. Y.
CHelsea 2-8400

Printed in the U. S. A. by Southern Farmer, Inc., P. O. Box 509, Montgomery, Ala.

VOL. XLV NO. 19 MAY 9, 1955

Newsweek

Registered U. S. Patent Office

THE MAGAZINE OF NEWS SIGNIFICANCE

The Man Who Saw Chou

The star performer at the recent Asian-African conference in Bandung was Premier Chou En-lai of Red China—suave, cagey, conscious of his power. He also was inaccessible to the press.

Chou's aloofness did not, however, overly impress red-haired Sam Jaffe, a onetime Marine combat correspondent now covering the West Coast and points farther west for The Nation magazine. The day Einstein died Jaffe approached Chou, tapped him on the shoulder, and told him about it. The impassive Chou expressed great concern.

International

Sam Jaffe: He had ten minutes

Lucky: Chou entered in an eggshell blue suit, dark blue tie, and brown shoes. After green tea and Chinese cigarettes were served, the interview began, with a warning from Chou that it must not ex-

The Man Who Saw Chou Was *The Nation* Man

Newsweek magazine (see cut) tells the story of how Sam Jaffe, **Nation** correspondent at Bandung, became the first Western newspaperman to interview Chou En-lai since the Chinese Revolution.

The scoop is a tribute to Mr. Jaffe's powers of persistence, his diligence — plus the worldwide recognition of **The Nation** as an important and influential organ of American opinion.

Jaffe's outstanding feat is another example of **The Nation's** ability to bring to you the most significant aspects of today's great events week in and week out.

Extra copies of the May 7 issue of **The Nation,** containing Jaffe's interview, are still available. We will be happy to send that issue — with your compliments — plus a special introductory gift subscription at the rate of $2 for 26 weeks to any of your friends who should be reading **The Nation.** So if you want to introduce anybody to **The** —here is a unique opportunity for a limited time.

The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York City 14, N. Y.

Please send **The Nation** containing the Jaffe interview to the following and enter a special trial gift subscription at the rate of $2 for 26 weeks. (A gift card will be sent in your name.) (Payment must accompany order.)

To (Name)________________ From (Your Name)________________

Address________________ Address________________

City________ Z____ State________ City________ Z____ State________

MY 2 '55

A TALK WITH BURMA'S PREMIER BY SAM A. JAFFE

RLINGAME
PUBLIC LIBRARY
Burlingame, Calif.

THE Nation

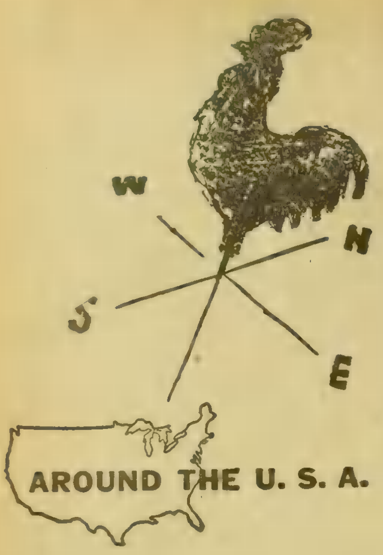
May 21, 1955
20c

Frederick L. Schuman

New Outlook For Peace

Castillo's Guatemala	*David Graham*
The Peters Case	*Phillip Sirotkin*
French Novelists	*Albert Guerard*

EVERY
WEEK
SINCE
1865


W
N
S
E
AROUND THE U. S. A.

The U. N. Debated at the Grass Roots

San Francisco

AT 10:15 a. m. a smallish, graying attorney strode into the glare of television lights, seated himself confidently at the witness table, identified himself as Luther M. Carr from the Burlingame-San Mateo Kiwanis Club, and told a subcommittee of the United States Senate that Kiwanis International favored a much stronger United Nations organization. At 6:30 p. m. an intense high-school senior named George O'Brien ended a vitriolic attack on the U. N. by shouting "Fight Comm-U-N-ism!" Inbetween Senators Sparkman and Knowland heard seventy-six witnesses express opinions about the U. N. ranging from lavish praise to scathing denunciation.

The San Francisco hearing was one of those that a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations has been holding in various cities to learn how people feel about revision of the U. N. Charter. Although Sparkman opened it by saying, "This is not a town meeting, nor is it a public-opinion poll," newsmen resolutely totted up the pros and antis. By the reckoning of this reporter, forty-two were for revision and twenty-eight against, with six too uncertain or vague to count.

Actually, as a guide to public opinion the poll had little value, since organizations like the United World Federalists and the American Association for the United Nations vied with others like Pro America and the D. A. R. to see which could get the most friends to testify "as individuals." Generally, the pros followed the U. W. F. line in favoring increased power for the U. N. only in the fields of war and armaments; most of them called for an international police force and stronger disarmament provisions. Quite a few favored "universal membership" without the right of withdrawal. Several believed the U. N. should have "limited" powers of taxation. Almost all stressed the need for continued emphasis on the work of the specialized agencies, such as W.H.O. and UNESCO. Many warned of the dangers in bilateral or regional arrangements bypassing the U. N. Only two or three called for a real world government, usually along the lines of the American federal system.

There seemed, too, to be an A. A. U. N. "line"—characterized as the "don't-rock-the-boat" theory by witness John Henry Merryman of Stanford University, who argued the case for revision in *The Nation* of January 8. Monroe Deutsch, provost emeritus of the University of California, was one who opposed revision on the ground that it might weaken the U. N. to tamper with its Charter when it is already on such a precarious basis.

The out-and-out U. N. opponents followed the lead of the second witness, Aaron Sargent of the Sons of the American Revolution. Myron Fagan, a professional U. N.-hater, got nods of approval from his supporters—and a mild laugh from the the rest of the audience—by intoning solemn warnings about "the secret agreement between Alger Hiss and Molotov," which also turned up in several other speeches.

DURING the hours when the proceedings were being televised, Knowland leaned forward often to ask sharp questions of those who seemed to favor admission of Communist China or to lay too strong an emphasis on "peace," and he succeeded several times in rendering the testimony absurd or forcing the speaker into retreat. But he picked only on selected witnesses, letting the well-informed U. W. F. and the A. A. U. N. representatives go unquestioned.

Sparkman came out of a benign calm only once, and that after the cameras had been wheeled out. Dr. Max A. X. Clark, chairman of something called the American Flag Committee, began his testimony by saying that "the U. N. was planned not by American patriots but by a clique of international parasites," and got progressively sillier. Sparkman rose and roared at Clark: "Your statement is so full of distortion and complete prejudice . . . that I want to say to you, sir, that I personally resent the entire statement!" The outburst drew the heaviest applause of the day.

The hearings were not entirely cut-and-dried. Yale Maxon, a political scientist with years of Far Eastern experience, and pretty Marylouise Allen, representing the local Young Democrats, favored the admission of India to Security Council status. An "interprofessional consultant," Dr. Nancy Cross, submitted detailed and complicated formulas for fairer representation. Lawrence Dawson, a film-cutter, impressed those present with a discussion of the semantic confusion caused by talking about nations as if they were people.

The League of Women Voters and the American Association of University Women stayed with the don't rock-the-boaters and were joined by the Veterans of Foreign Wars. It was even more gratifying to see the groups advocating a stronger U. N.—Kiwanis, Rotary, the Young Democrats, and the Friends—reinforced by the National Council of Jewish Women, the National Council of Catholic Women, and—hold your hat—the American Legion. The Legion speaker in one of the best-balanced statements of the day calmly admitted that "UNESCO is a controversial subject in our organization," but went on to say that the Legion believed peace could be assured only by setting up a full international police force and giving more power to the U. N.

His testimony highlighted the most important fact the hearings brought out—that nobody wants to fight an atomic war.

GENE MARINE

[*Gene Marine writes frequently for* The Nation *about happenings on the West Coast.*]

VOLUME 180, NUMBER 21
NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 21, 1955

THE *Nation*
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

The Shape of Things

The Couch and the Table

The international picture looks brighter than at any time since the end of the Korean war. In the space of a week East met West to conclude an Austrian treaty, and Moscow accepted a bid for four-power talks at the highest level. In the face of these accomplishments, the stress laid by the West on the question of Soviet motivation serves no useful purpose. It is true that no one outside the Kremlin can say with assurance whether the Russians really want peace or are merely going through elaborate maneuvers to stave off German rearmament. But by the same token the Russians can advance reasons for doubting Western sincerity. Is the West coming to the four-power talks ready for genuine negotiation, or was President Eisenhower's bid for the conference an elaborate maneuver designed to save the British elections for the Tories and to keep the opposition off the backs of Chancellor Adenauer in Germany and Premier Faure in France? No doubt the motivations on both sides are more complex than either would readily admit. But at the moment the conference table appears to be a far more useful article of furniture than the psychoanalyst's couch; both sides would do better to concentrate on it.

Given good will, the possible accomplishments of a four-power meeting are implied by Frederick L. Schuman's brilliant article in this issue. His argument for the creation of a broad neutral belt of Sweden, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and Yugoslavia seems extraordinarily cogent, especially in view of Moscow's latest gesture toward Belgrade. Sooner or later the West may come to see that there are better ways of preserving the peace of Europe than with twelve German divisions.

The Lively Ghost

After more than twenty years of reciprocal-trade policy, one would have thought that the ghost of protectionism would have been laid forever. Not so. H. R. 1, the President-sponsored measure to extend the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, was shot full of holes by the Senate Finance Committee, and unless the public's voice is heard is not likely to be repaired extensively in the House-Senate conference committee where it now lies. Who are the bill's opponents? "In general the trouble-raisers are speaking for interests within their own constituencies," said the New York *Times* editorially on April 4. "They are concerned with textiles, certain farm products, oil, Swiss watches and watch movements, and on down the line. . . . It would not be unfair to say that these honest citizens sometimes also fear loss of votes." The special interests, in other words, are at it again. For example, the domestic jewelled-watch manufacturers pleaded successfully for special tariff protection on the grounds of "defense essentiality." This encouraged the chemical and coal industries, cutlery makers, tunafish processors, and even the lace and pencil manufacturers to claim likewise. Trade not only follows the flag; it sometimes wraps itself up in it.

Linked with H. R. 1 is H. R. 5550, the bill ratifying United States membership in the Organization for Trade Cooperation, a new international agency designed to put teeth into the thirty-four-nation General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). Louis H. Pink, chairman of the Citizens Conference on International Economic Union, representing a formidable group of economists, publicists, professors, and civic leaders, has urged that "both bills are needed . . . to bolster our strength and the strength of the nations on our side in the world conflict of ideologies." It is perhaps too much to expect a world view from a small pencil manufacturer tucked away in the corner of this very large country. But a Congressman, from the eminence of the Hill, should be able to see that the alternative to the free flow of world trade is autarchy, international friction, and ultimately war.

The Pledge Unredeemed

In recommitting the Hawaii-Alaska statehood bill by a vote of 218 to 170 the House of Representatives exhibited the cynicism and disregard of platform and campaign pledges which have characterized "the great crusade" since the start. For the defeat of the long-unfulfilled aspirations of our only two incorporated territories was engineered by the Administration. While most Southern Democrats supported their Republican colleagues in perpetuating American colonialism, a majority of the Democrats voted against recommittal. Had the House Republicans even divided equally, the statehood bill would have passed and gone to the Senate where it was certain of approval.

Five years ago, while president of Columbia University, Dwight Eisenhower declared in a public address at Denver that "quick admission of Alaska and Hawaii to statehood will show the world that America practices what it preaches," and expressed the hope that Congress would act accordingly. But once Presi-

In This Issue

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 433

ARTICLES

New Outlook for Peace: America's Key Role by Frederick L. Schuman 435

The Peters Case: A Crucial Court Test by Phillip Sirotkin 438

Castillo's Guatemala: The Clock Turns Back by David L. Graham 440

Selling to the Id: Freud Writes the Ads by Joseph Seldin 442

Burmese Triplets: They Work in Harmony by Maung Maung 443

A Talk With U Nu by Sam A. Jaffe 444

BOOKS

Modern French Novelists by Albert Guerard 446

Three Sides of Texas by Stanley Walker 447

Man and Beast in Kenya by Basil Davidson 448

THEATER and FILMS by Robert Hatch 449

RECORDS by B. H. Haggin 450

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 620 by Frank W. Lewis 452

AROUND THE U. S. A. The U.N. Debated at the Grass Roots by Gene Marine opposite 433

Editorial Board

Freda Kirchwey Editor and Publisher
Carey McWilliams Editorial Director
Lillie Shultz Director, Nation Associates
Victor H. Bernstein Managing Editor
J. Alvarez del Vayo Foreign Editor

Martin Solow Assistant to the Publisher

Harold Clurman Theater
B. H. Haggin Music
Robert Hatch Films
Gladys Whiteside Copy Editor
Caroline Whiting Assistant Literary Editor
Alfred Maund Editorial Assistant
Mary Simon Advertising Manager

Contributing Editors: Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus, Keith Hutchison, H. H. Wilson, W. Macmahon Ball, Maxwell Geismar, Bruce Catton.

The Nation, May 21, 1955. Volume 180. No. 21

The Nation, published weekly by The Nation Company and copyright, 1955, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879 at the Post Office of New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879. Reentered as second class matter at the Post Office Montgomery, Alabama. Printing Office, 1603 Reuber Street.

Subscription Prices Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs, Information Service, Dramatic Index.

dent of the United States, he supported statehood for Hawaii only—obviously to bolster the slender Republican majority by adding the two Republican Senators whom Hawaii was expected to elect. This move was countered by the Senate Democrats, who united the two statehood bills in one measure which passed the Senate by a more than two-to-one vote in the Eighty-third Congress. The showing of Democratic strength in the Hawaiian 1954 elections and the resulting doubt whether Hawaii as a state would produce the desired two Republican Senators, probably played a part in the heavy Republican opposition in the House.

Alaskans, whose presumed adherence to one party—the Democratic—is likewise far from assured, also attribute President Eisenhower's reversal of his previous stand to one of his most influential advisers, General Lucius Clay. Since his retirement Clay has become chairman of the board of the Continental Can Company, one of whose principal customers is the Alaska canned-salmon industry. This powerful industry has consistently opposed statehood for Alaska, as well as every increase in the territory's autonomy.

The New Left Moves Ahead

France's New Left—non-Communist, but to be distinguished from the similarly named group backing Mendes-France—is assuming an active role in French politics. It comprises such organizations as the Young Republic, the Independent Left, and the Progressive Union, and its leaders have recently been meeting in Paris to plan for the holding of a national conference toward the end of September. The breadth of the movement is indicated by the diversity of its leadership, which includes a former Gaullist deputy, a former M. R. P. deputy, a former Cabinet minister, and such well-known political writers as Domenach of *Esprit*, Claude Bourdet of *l'Observateur*, Simone de Beauvoir, and Giles Martinet.

Last month's cantonal elections provided considerable encouragement for this modified popular-front movement. The balloting showed a slight drift leftward by the electorate; equally important, it yielded the first sign in recent years of a better relationship between the Socialists and the Communists. The generally improved international atmosphere is also contributing to the sanguine atmosphere in which the New Left leaders are preparing a counter-attack against the right after six years of constant retreat. They realize for any successful action the cooperation of the Socialists is indispensable. This presents a problem, for the official Socialist position is opposed to alliance with other left groups. During the cantonal elections Guy Mollet, Socialist Party secretary, forbade local agreements with the Communists, but fourteen regional Socialist parties defied the order in the second balloting, with profitable results. So the New Left leaders now hope that the Socialist rank and file will force their party to join in the broader struggle to check reaction.

NEW OUTLOOK FOR PEACE

America's Key Role . . *by Frederick L. Schuman*

LIONS now "roar as gently as any sucking dove." Bears, eagles, and even dragons in the jungle of international anarchy replace poses of ferocity with gestures of affection. The lesser political fauna follow suit. The wines of May, it would appear, are working their magic so swiftly that a midsummer night's dream of peace is no longer wholly illusory.

Moscow on May 11 proposed withdrawal of foreign troops from Germany and, for the first time, clearly conceded the need for effective international inspection and control in any accord for disarmament. Russia's retreat from Austria is imminent. Washington, London, and Paris are at long last agreed to meet with the U. S. S. R. at the "summit" to negotiate settlements. Bulganin is agreeable. Sir Winston's wisdom is vindicated. Eisenhower asserts his willingness "to do anything, to meet with anyone, anywhere" to further peace with self-respect.

Many tangles and troubles loom ahead. Yet it is a sign of the times that the junior Senator from Wisconsin is "deeply disturbed" and that the only Chief of State still predicting another global conflict is the chameleon-like Premier of Thailand, whose reflexes are evidently more retarded than in his younger days. The new climate, with all its hopes and aspirations, is not, of course, a product of this year's spring fever but of long maturing changes, cumulative in their impact and almost certain to culminate by bringing world affairs into a fresh growing season and toward a harvest-time.

Late last January, as the Formosa crisis first boiled up into headlines, I found myself in the Middle-West lecturing on Why World War III Will Never Be Fought. Sundry forum chairmen telephoned me to express the hope, sometimes anxiously, sometimes humorously, that general war would not break out prior to my oral demonstration of its impossibility. I assured them with aplomb that nothing of the sort would occur either before or after the address—as I had assured their predecessors in the mid 1930's that World War II was already "inevitable" and would begin between 1938 and 1940.

SUCH forecasting is hazardous if derived from tea leaves, crystal balls, or astrology. It is less so if based upon sober analysis of power politics, global strategy, and the present and prospective balance of forces in a divided world. In *The Nation* of June 20, 1953, I ventured to outline such an analysis in The Coming End of the Cold War. The argument, briefly, was that the Communist coalition and the Free World, by negating each other's efforts to attain preponderance, had arrived at a rough parity of power making for a global deadlock or stalemate unlikely to be altered significantly by either side in the predictable future; that under these circumstances policy-makers on both sides were incapable of entertaining illusions of military superiority or concocting plausible strategic plans for victory, without which wars among great powers are never unleashed even by the most mistaken or irrational of statesmen; and that consequently no "incidents" or "crises," however dramatic, could evoke decisions leading once more, and for the last time, to Armageddon. Since violence and bargaining are the only available methods of settling problems of power in a state system lacking common government, the conclusion followed from the unfeasibility of war that no alternative remained save a series of negotiated settlements.

These imperatives of *Realpolitik,* reflected in the Korean armistice of 1953 and in the cease-fire in partitioned Vietnam in 1954 and potently reinforced by prospects of nuclear co-annihilation, are now reasserting themselves on a grand scale in midyear of 1955. They determine, almost inexorably, the limits, the ends, and even the means of foreign policy for every sovereignty on earth. This ineluctable fact is now appreciated in Moscow and Peking and is being used to advantage in Communist diplomacy and propaganda. It is likewise recognized by Japanese and Germans, Asian neutrals, and all America's far-flung allies except Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek. Only Americans have difficulty in grasping the obvious, thanks to persisting hallucinations of omnipotence and to top-level demagoguery among formulators of foreign policy.

Our "blind spot" is explicable, in part, in terms of John Foster Dulles's strange conception of the function of diplomacy. "Speak softly and carry a big stick" is doubtless an obsolete formula. But even now it is operationally a more practical directive than the Dulles synthesis of piety, legalism, and bluff. It has been said, unkindly but aptly, of the Secretary of State that he practices diplomacy first by shaking his fist, next by shaking his finger, and finally by shaking all over. Confusion is confounded by his unerring disposition to shy away from East-West negotiations, lest he be accused of "appeasement," and to sacrifice all, including honor, in the cause of appeasing the troglodytes in Congress.

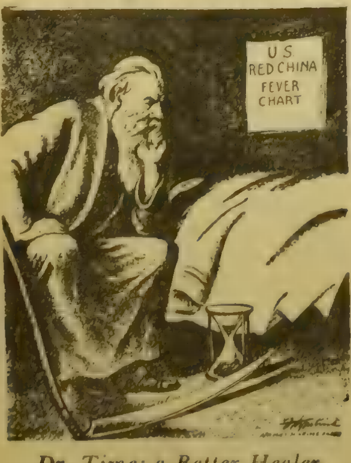
No workable foreign policy can be built on such foundations. But the Great Republic cannot act, or even hope to survive, without a workable foreign policy. Therefore the disciples of the Dulles dispensation are being forced into an "ago-

---

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN is Woodrow Wilson professor of government at Williams College. His most recent books are "Soviet Politics," "The Commonwealth of Man," and a fifth edition of "International Politics."

nizing reappraisal" by the pressure of realities, the desires of our allies, the reawakening of American public opinion, and the slow, shrewd wisdom of President Eisenhower. The result is a heartening reaffirmation of the dictum that politics is the art of the possible. When what is possible is also necessary, because of the lack of any practiced alternative, even the most obtuse of policymakers have no choice but to yield to the inevitable.

WHAT is now inevitable is a series of bargains or stand-offs, tacit or explicit, regarding all the major issues between Marxland and Freeland. The pattern of these bargains will assume one of two forms: (1) reaffirmation of the status quo coupled with an intensified arms race, further tensions on the frontier, pointless hostilities in the Strait of Formosa, continued partition of Korea, Indo-China, Austria, and Germany, expensive and dangerous albeit futile efforts by Washington to arm Germans and Japanese to a point where Western military potentials will overbalance those of the Soviet bloc, and equally costly and vain attempts by Moscow and Peking to overbalance the potentials of the American coalition; or (2) disengagement along the periphery through a cease-fire in the Strait of Formosa, military evacuation and neutralization of Korea, Indo-China, Austria, and Germany, and an East-West modus vivendi based on a neutral zone between the antagonists and the renunciation on both sides of visionary efforts to "liberate" the "oppressed masses" on the other side from their "exploiters."



Dr. Time: a Better Healer Than Dr. Bomb

These alternatives, to be sure, are too starkly stated. A mixture of the options is more probable, varying from place to place. What is certain, I believe, is that the first choice, prodigal and perilous as it is bound to be, cannot eventuate in any overweaning "position of strength" for either the Soviet bloc or the Atlantic alliance or in any measurable alteration of the current checkmate between the players. The second offers more hopeful possibilities.

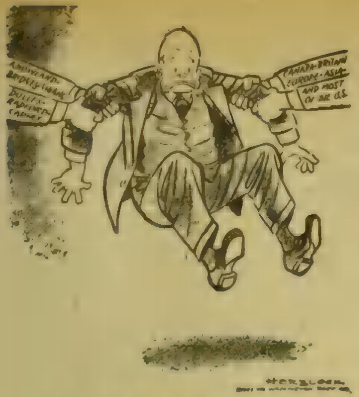
What is disturbing is that American decision makers and opinion shapers are not preparing America to face up to *either* alternative, while the Communist power holders are adroitly planning to accept the consequences of *both* alternatives in the best Machiavellian and Stalinist-Leninist tradition. Washington is reluctant to negotiate "disengagements" and equally reluctant to enlarge expenditures for arms and foreign aid which the other course demands. Moscow and Peking are doing both, although obviously preferring disengagement and a relaxation of tension as a means of avoiding the risks of overextension and the stresses and strains of a new arms race.

The transition from Malenkov to the Bulganin-Krushchev-Zhukov regime on Februry 8, coupled with a 12 per cent increase in Soviet military appropriations, reemphasis on heavy industry, and projects for a Communist NATO, was the Muscovite response to the prospect of West German rearmament. The inauguration of conscription in Red China on the following day was Peking's response to the prospect of Japanese rearmament. Conversely, Chou En-lai's bid at Bandung for "negotiations" over Formosa and Molotov's bid for the "neutralization" of Austria—and, prospectively, of Germany—constituted the Communist reply, by way of appeal to universal hopes for peace, to American efforts to organize and arm everybody against Marxland.

With Moscow flexible and Washington inflexible and blind to the alternatives, the outcome is unpredictable. I nevertheless suspect that the final result will be determined in neither capital but elsewhere. America can defend Formosa and the Pescadores but cannot defend Quemoy and the Matsus—even by the employment of atomic weapons, the use of which would almost certainly demolish whatever moral prestige the United States still enjoys throughout Eurasia. China can take Quemoy and the Matsus but cannot "liberate" Formosa and the Pescadores. Japan must trade with China and Russia or else remain forever an American charity patient. Britons, Frenchmen, Italians, and Germans can have prosperity and peace through an East-West *detente* or endless American subsidies plus danger of atomic incineration in intensified prosecution of the cold war.

GERMANY is the theater of discord where decisions still to be made will have the most far-reaching implications. Few Americans question Washington's approach to the German problem. What Communists propose we must oppose. What Communists resist we must insist upon. This stereotype precludes public enlightenment or adaptable statesmanship. But the issue remains as to whether American national interests and the security of the Free World are likely to be well served by Washington's prescription for the German sickness or might, conceivably, be better served by Moscow's prescription.

The riddle of the Reich is not at all a question of whether a reunited and rearmed Germany, restored as a military "great power," will shift the global balance in our favor or in the Russians' favor by its future diplomatic alignment. Germany's great-power role has been ended by the industrialization of Russia, which spelled defeat for the Wehrmacht at Moscow and Stalingrad in 1941-42 and debacle at Berlin in 1945. The U. S. S. R. and its allies, if need be, can match twice or thrice over every division of Bonn's projected *Streitkraefte,* although Communist policy-makers have no desire whatever to engage in so costly and wasteful a rivalry in arms. Nothing done or left undone by Germans will alter the equipoise of power already achieved between Marxland and Freeland. To add Germany to the Soviet bloc is impossible. To add a united and rearmed Reich to the Western bloc is equally impossible.



Tug of War and Peace

The Germanic enigma poses a wholly different choice. All Germans can have unity at the price of neutrality and continued disarmament. Or West Germans can have arms and a Western alliance at the price of the permanent partition of the Reich. No third option exists. Bonn's pretense that arms will foster "negotiation from strength" and promote reunification and recovery of lost provinces is either a fantasy or a fraud. The votes in the Bundestag on February 27 and in the Bundesrat on March 18 in favor of the Paris pacts can scarcely be deemed expressions of German popular preferences. Wherever Germans since 1953 have had a chance to choose between Christian Democratic disciples of rearmament and Social Democratic apostles of disarmament, neutrality, and reunification, millions have shifted their support from the former to the latter, as in the Landtag elections in Schleswig-Holstein, September 12, 1954; in Bavaria and Hesse, November 28, 1954; and in Lower Saxony, April 24, 1955.

On the fifth day of the fifth month of the fifth year of the sixth decade of the century, and ten years after the Nazi *Gotterdaemmerung*, Bonn recovered "sovereignty." But Germany's destiny is still to be decided between Washington and Moscow. American policy-makers appear to be irrevocably committed to West German rearmament and alliance with the West, with no alternative under consideration. Those of the U. S. S. R. are tentatively committed to German unity, including the prospective sacrifice of the East German regime, if the payment of this price will buy German disarmament and neutrality; to perpetuation of the partition of the Reich if the West refuses to bargain; and in the remoter future, in the tradition of 1922 and 1939, to contemplation of a possible "deal" with Adenauer's successors at Bonn at the expense of the West. In diplomacy, those who weigh alternative policies are more successful than those hypnotized by a single policy.

In Germany as in Austria the time is near when the price of neutrality will purchase unification and the withdrawal of Soviet troops. The contention that neutrality is "impossible" for Germany is a fiction. There can be no united and liberated Reich without neutrality. The argument that an unarmed Reich would leave NATO strategically unworkable is, I submit, untrue, since the defense of Western Europe will never again be possible, with or without a German contribution, if conceived of in terms of local land power. European security rests upon the global power of the Atlantic alliance vis-a-vis the Soviet bloc. The postulate, espoused by even so sage a commentator as Walter Lippmann, that the Oder-Neisse frontier must be altered is fatuous. The new eastern borders are permanent unless they should later be revised—and this I deem improbable—by a German-Polish-Soviet accord. The facts of power render futile all neo-Nazi visions of irredentism, *Lebensraum*, and a new *Drang nach Osten*. The assumption that a neutral, unarmed Reich, guaranteed as to its independence, integrity, and neutrality by Moscow, Paris, London, and Washington, would become a victim of Communist subversion or aggression is as false as the Nazi lie of the 1930's that Germany had to rearm to protect itself from Red aggression and to fend off imaginary invasions by Poles, Czechs, or Frenchmen. None of these prognoses correspond to present realities or future possibilities.

WHAT is possible is the orderly demise of the "German Democratic Republic," withdrawal of Russian armies from Austria, Germany, and and even from Poland, and Soviet participation in new arrangements for European security. Those who hold that the Soviet price for these blessings is too high scarcely strengthen their case by arguing that the West will be more secure in a Europe armed to the teeth all along both sides of the Iron Curtain than in a Europe in which the great antagonists are disengaged and separated by a broad neutral belt of Sweden, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and Yugoslavia.

The benefits of the second dispensation will be grasped only slowly, if at all, in the Pentagon and in Mr. Dulles's State Department. But they will become increasingly persuasive to growing numbers of Europeans. Given these prospects, I should venture to guess that the influence of our allies, coupled with the eloquent logic of Walter F. George, Estes Kefauver, Adlai Stevenson, and others, will in the end induce the Eisenhower Administration to opt for disengagement rather than for intensified cold war—all the more so as "peace" is bound to be politically popular in 1956, while "war," cold or hot, seems likely to prove unpalatable despite, or perhaps because of, the efforts of Knowland, Jenner, McCarthy, Kohlberg, Howley, *et al.* to generate enthusiasm for an armed crusade against the Communist infidels.

Four centuries ago a famous Florentine diplomat wrote:

> It is not unknown to me how many have been and are of opinion that worldly events are so governed by fortune and by God that men cannot by their prudence change them, and that on the contrary there is no remedy whatever, and for this they may judge it to be useless to toil much about them, but let things be ruled by chance. This opinion has been more held in our day, from the great changes that have been seen, and are daily seen, beyond every human conjecture. When I think about them, at times I am partly inclined to share this opinion. Nevertheless, that our free will may not be altogether extinguished, I think it may be true that fortune is the ruler of half our actions, but that she allows the other half or thereabouts to be governed by us.

In the "other half" lies the chance of converting inevitable coexistence from a vain rivalry for military ascendancy into a fruitful competition for the service of human needs. Our enemies are prepared for either choice. The choice of our allies and of all the uncommitted neutrals is not in doubt. America is summoned to choose.

THE PETERS CASE

A Crucial Court Test . . *by Phillip Sirotkin*

THE United States Supreme Court recently heard oral arguments and will shortly render a decision in what may well be its most important case of the year. The ostensible issue in *Peters* v. *Hobby* is the constitutionality of procedures employed under the former Truman loyalty program. But as the Eisenhower Administration is well aware, its own security procedures are equally at stake. If the decision should go against the government, the whole program, one official has said, would be knocked "galley-west."

Dr. John Punnett Peters, now senior professor of medicine at Yale University, served for several years as a part-time consultant to the Surgeon General. In this capacity he was a government employee in the Public Health Service of the Federal Security Agency, predecessor of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. His responsibility was principally in the field of federal grants to private medical-research projects.

Dr. Peters's long involvement in the loyalty-security process began on January 7, 1949, when he was notified that the Federal Security Agency had received adverse information concerning his loyalty. The loyalty board, however, discovered no evidence justifying doubts as to his loyalty, and he was given complete clearance. In 1951 charges were again made against Dr. Peters, and again the board cleared him. Then in the spring of 1953 the review board of the Civil Service Commission reopened the case. After a hearing the review board declared that the evidence sustained a "reasonable doubt" of Dr. Peters's loyalty, and he was dismissed from government service.

At the hearing Dr. Peters denied all charges under oath, and all the witnesses who appeared testified in his favor. He had no opportunity to confront or cross-examine his accusers and was given no information concerning their identity. He appealed the board's ruling to the United States Court of Appeals, chiefly on the ground that his dismissal on secret information given by persons not under oath and whose identities were undisclosed deprived him of the right of due process under the Fifth Amendment. ("No person shall be . . . deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law.") His lawyers do not maintain that Peters has a right to a job or that the government lacks the power to protect sensitive agencies. They only contend that dismissal for suspected disloyalty requires certain legal safeguards. Procedure is challenged, not the President's right to dismiss for disloyalty or security reasons. Nevertheless, the Court of Appeals decided against Peters by a two-to-one vote, and he took his cause to the Supreme Court.

THE fact that the Supreme Court agreed to consider this question is important, for in 1951 it had affirmed a similar Appeals Court ruling in the virtually identical case of *Dorothy Bailey* v. *Seth Richardson*. In that case the Supreme Court was divided four to four, and a tie vote permits the decision of the lower court to stand. The same distinguished law firm of Arnold, Portas, and Porter which is defending Dr. Peters argued the earlier case for Miss Bailey. Former Judge Thurman Arnold, chief counsel, joined by his associate Paul Porter, delivered the oral argument. *Amicus curiae* briefs supporting Dr. Peters have also been filed with the Supreme Court by the American Civil Liberties Union, the Engineers and Scientists of America, and the C. I. O.

A basic contention of the Department of Justice and of those who oppose judicial review of the loyalty-security program is that appointment and removal of government personnel *for any reason* is a discretionary executive function to which the requirements of due process are inapplicable. Separation of powers, it is asserted, precludes judicial interference with the President's responsibility for the efficiency of the executive branch. Another argument, and perhaps a stronger one, is that if the government were required to reveal its confidential sources of information, the sources would dry up and the entire security program would be endangered. Consequently, intervention by the courts would greatly hamper the President's ability to protect the machinery of government from the threat of subversion.

PERHAPS the key point in the Attorney General's argument is that public employment is a privilege and not a right. As the Court of Appeals stated in the Bailey case, "There is no requirement in the Constitution that the executive branch rely upon the services of persons in whom it lacks confidence." No person has a constitutional right to be employed by the government. Therefore dismissal from the public service for alleged disloyalty is no different from dismissal on other grounds, such as incompetence. Acute hardships may result in either instance, but that does not entitle the employee to a judicial hearing. Supporters of the loyalty program insist that the discharge of a government employee as a loyalty-security risk is not a finding of guilt or an infliction of punishment, even though the effects may be unfortunate. Such action is administrative in character and therefore not subject to the legal restraints imposed by observance of due process.

PHILLIP SIROTKIN is an assistant professor in the Department of Political Science at Wellesley College.

Dispute over the nature of a disloyalty dismissal is the most important legal issue at stake in the Peters' case. For if discharge from the government as a loyalty-security risk is considered punishment, Anglo-American jurisprudence makes certain procedural guaranties mandatory. Paul Crouch, Louis Budenz, and other paid informers would be required to face those they accuse and would be subject to rigorous cross-examination. Denial of the rights of confrontation and cross-examination —a denial historically associated with star-chamber proceedings—would be inconsistent with the demands of a fair trial. And if punishment is to follow, a fair trial must precede.

It seems inevitable that a person dismissed because of doubt as to his loyalty will find future employment opportunities severely limited. His reputation and personal relationships are seriously impaired by the disgrace, and he becomes a social pariah. Not all employers can afford to be as generous as a Yale University. Nor can all persons dismissed from the government anticipate the solid professional support enjoyed by a Condon or an Oppenheimer.

Speaking for the Supreme Court in a decision invalidating an Oklahoma loyalty oath in 1952, Justice Tom Clark said:

> There can be no dispute about the consequences visited upon a person excluded from public employment on disloyalty grounds. In the view of the community the stain is a deep one; indeed, it has become a badge of infamy. Especially is this so in time of cold war and hot emotions when "each man begins to eye his neighbor as a possible enemy."

When Congress passed a rider to an appropriations act in an attempt to deny salaries to three federal employees by name, the Supreme Court in *U. S.* v. *Lovett* struck the measure down as a bill of attainder—"a legislative act which inflicts punishment without a judicial trial." Justice Black stated:

> The Constitution did not contemplate that Congressional action aimed at three individuals, which stigmatized their reputations and seriously impaired their chances to earn a living, could never be challenged in court.

One might properly ask: Is the Executive free from judicial restraints in depriving an employee of certain basic rights while Congress is not?

ATTORNEYS for Dr. Peters ask a reappraisal by the court of the Bailey decision. They maintain that since that case was heard the punitive character of dismissals under the loyalty program has been clearly demonstrated. Many books and articles have discussed and documented the damaging effects of these dismissals. The cases of Chasanow, Fort Monmouth, Val Lorwin, and even Annie Lee Moss are well known. While the harm done in some of these cases has been partially rectified, other individuals have not been so fortunate. Of course, a person fired from a job for any reason experiences some pain, but the consequences of a discharge for disloyalty or under the blanket term "security risk" are far more pervasive.

The Justice Department itself is divided on this vital point. Normally the Solicitor General signs the government's briefs and argues major cases in the Supreme Court. In March it was revealed that the present Solicitor General, Simon Sobeloff, would do neither in the Peters case, and the brief was finally signed by Attorney General Herbert Brownell. There were indications that the reason for Sobeloff's withdrawal was his belief that "due process" *should* apply to loyalty dismissals. Other officials of the department have also apparently rejected the Attorney General's assumption that all dismissals are in the same category.

The fact that Dr. Peters's position in the government was a non-sensitive one is also emphasized by his lawyers. How would his retention endanger the security of the United States? It seems particularly difficult to justify the denial of his procedural rights under the circumstances. Indeed, one might well challenge, in the words of Judge Edgerton of the Court of Appeals—dissenting in the Bailey case—"the ominous theory that the right of fair trial ends where defense of security begins."

Speculation about the final outcome of the Peters case at the hands of the Supreme Court is hazardous of course, and recent personnel changes on the tribunal further complicate any attempt at prediction. However, their past record and the questions asked by the justices when the Peters case was being argued are highly suggestive. Unless subsequent events have altered their views on the issue since 1951, six justices may be expected to align themselves in the following manner: Black, Douglas, and Frankfurter for Peters; Reed, Minton, and Burton against him.

Tom Clark abstained from the vote in the Bailey case, but if he meant what he said in the Oklahoma loyalty-oath opinion, it may be assumed that now he will side with Peters. On the other hand, his stand on similar questions has been unpredictable. Chief Justice Warren's manifest concern for personal liberty suggests that he might cast a strong vote in behalf of Dr. Peters, unlike his predecessor, Fred Vinson, who decided against Miss Bailey. Justice Jackson supported Miss Bailey; his successor, the recently appointed Justice Harlan, is the unknown element, and his position may be the decisive one if Clark decides for the government and the others divide in the manner suggested.

A DECISION favorable to Dr. Peters is probable. Questions raised by Warren, Harlan, and Black indicated a disposition to require due-process precedures in loyalty-security hearings. Chief Justice Warren, in particular, seemed to reject completely the government's argument that disloyalty dismissals did not constitute punishment. Justice Black reiterated his earlier stand that government employees were entitled to constitutional guaranties in any loyalty-security program. Moreover, the latest appointee to the court, Justice Harlan, in a number of sharp questions displayed a severely critical view of the government's position.

A succession of very recent decisions have indicated a pronounced reluctance on the part of the judiciary to sanction arbitrary governmental action in the name of security. Perhaps this trend will be continued and strengthened by a ruling favorable to Dr. Peters. Judges certainly read the daily newspapers, and they are aware of the not infrequent disregard of basic procedural safeguards. The record of injustices under the federal government's employee security program has become a long one, and intervention by the courts to provide more stringent legal protection seems overdue. In a previous opinion Justice Frankfurter ably stated the dilemma which now confronts the Supreme Court:

> The problems of security are real. So are the problems of freedom. The paramount issue of the age is to reconcile the two. . . . It is procedure that spells much of the difference between rule by law and rule by whim or caprice.

CASTILLO'S GUATEMALA

The Clock Turns Back . . *by David Graham*

Guatemala City

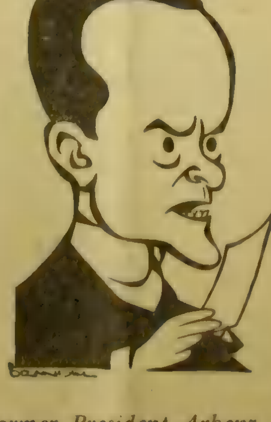
THE lid is on again in Guatemala. The ousting of President Arbenz and his replacement by Castillo Armas accomplished that at any rate. United Fruit has a nice new contract, agrarian reform has been stopped in its tracks, and the big landowners are happily cutting wages again.

Yes, the lid is on again; but if reform has to come by violence for want of legislation, God help the few hundred *ladinos* and foreigners who are squatting on top. The Communists no doubt figured prominently in the efforts of the Arbenz government to modify the existing economic inequalities, but that does not make the inequalities tolerable. Calling the Arbenz regime Communist-controled was pure McCarthyism. By initiating agrarian reform in a country where 2 per cent of the people owned 70 per cent of the land, by encouraging workers to join labor unions and by furthering public education for a population two-thirds illiterate, Arbenz and his predecessor, Arevalo, had aroused the implacable opposition of Guatemala's feudal aristocracy—army leaders, churchmen, and landowners.

Deep down everyone in Guatemala knows that communism was not the issue. Feudalism was the issue, and those who profited from feudalism won. Guatemala did have some tough, intelligent, well-disciplined Communists in posts of power and influence. The country reeks of poverty, and the stench of it drew them like buzzards. But they were a mere handful. Our State Department could find none in the Arbenz Cabinet.

Possibly some Communists had the ear of President Arbenz. The President of Guatemala has to have an ear like a switchboard operator, but it is the line to the army that he always keeps open. No Guatemalan President lasts very long if he lets himself get cut off from the army. Colonel Arbenz had good contacts for a while, until the State Department got busy. Then the army would neither fight for him nor allow his followers to have arms. His allegedly tremendous Communist backing proved to be a myth. So when the army told him he was through, Arbenz stepped aside.

How well the Arbenz administration did for itself is still unclear. There was undoubtedly graft; there has always been graft, south and north of the Rio Grande. But when Castillo took over, Guatemala was not only well along on a vast public-works program but had some $40,000,000 in gold to its credit. There can be no question that under Arbenz the country was making real progress toward democracy. The administration's main projects—land reform, the highway to the Atlantic, public port facilities at San Tomas, and public-power development—had all been suggested by either the World Bank or the United Nations. Land reform was needed to free the people from domestic tyranny; the highway program and the rest to free them from foreign monopolies.



Former President Arbenz

FORTUNATELY for Guatemala, Castillo Armas seems honest and conscientious. But to picture him as the Guatemalan St. George who rid his country of the Communist dragon is ludicrous. Any study of the "liberation" shows there was no dragon, and the new government's acts show it is headed by no St. George. Like most of Washington's friends in Latin America, Castillo rules by force, without a congress or a constitution—although a constitution is being written. Stability is the watchword these days.

Dictator though he is, Castillo is not having an easy time. Unemployment and the lack of purchasing power are his biggest economic problems; agrarian reform is his biggest political problem. Guatemala is a vulnerable one-crop country. Coffee is the crop, and most of it has to be sold abroad. Coffee forms 65 per cent of the country's exports, and 35 per cent of the government's income is derived from export taxes on coffee. Recently coffee prices have been falling, but production has re-

---

DAVID L. GRAHAM is a free-lance writer specializing in Latin American affairs.

mained about the same. Overall agricultural output is expected to decline about 10 per cent this year, partly on account of bad weather, partly because the small farmers have had their enthusiasm dashed by the delay in land reform. While normally Guatemala exports corn, 700,000 quintals of corn, the basic food, have had to be imported.

With shrinking revenues Castillo will be compelled to adopt a reduced budget. Government employees may have to take a 15 per cent cut in salary, although food prices are nearly 50 per cent higher than they were ten years ago. Work on various government projects—for example, University City and the National Library—has had to be curtailed or halted. Private employers have also felt the lack of cash. Much of the wealth accumulated during the boom years of the Arbenz regime, when coffee prices hit record heights, is hiding out abroad—$500,000,000 of it, they say.

Rich Latin Americans, mindful of the sudden violent turns their politics can take and with a traditional hankering for conspicuous spending, have always shown a reluctance to reinvest their profits at home, preferring to spend or bank them in the United States. This bleeding away of the national substance accounts in some measure for the persistent poverty of the Latin American countries. Foreign-owned companies, however handsomely they treat their employees, contribute to the same process.

Nobody has the exact figures on unemployment, but local business men are gloomy. Such symptoms of trouble as falling retail sales are not to be mistaken. Beggars are quiet and dignified, but they are ubiquitous; and so are shoe-shine boys—from seven to seventy years old—who are to Guatemala what the street-corner apple vendors were to America during the depression.

With only 28,000 of Guatemala's total working force engaged in industry, it is no wonder that the country's per capita income is only $180 a year. And this in a country where the cost of decent living is higher than in the United States; a dozen eggs, for instance, cost 80 cents, and a small apartment in the capital rents for from $70 to $90 a month. Two-thirds of the population produce little, consume little, and buy practically nothing.

BUT regardless of the living conditions or their politics, Guatemalans are agreed on one thing: the country needs economic aid and needs it fast. They cannot understand Washington's niggardliness when they note the billions handed out to other parts of the world. "We cleaned out the Communists," the people chant, tossing the fiction back to Mr. Dulles, "now please do something for us."

Resident Americans, whatever their affiliations, are of the same mind. In some cases their very profits are at stake. American road-builders are constructing or hope to construct many of the highways for which United States funds have been or soon will be allocated. The canny Franklin D. Roosevelt kept Latin America happy with friendly words and self-liquidating loans. The blundering Mr. Dulles is going to have to square his mistakes with cash handouts. Castillo's government needs $25,000,000 immediately. If the United States financed Castillo's revolt, as *Time* jubilantly hinted, we did not buy ourselves a government with the money—we simply made a down payment.

Castillo never had a party behind him, and his support would make anyone nervous. How long, for instance, will the army stand behind him, the army whose once-powerful Colonel Elfego Monzon is waiting eagerly in Miami, Florida, not altogether out of favor, obviously, with the State Department? The landlords, who were all for Castillo a year ago, have become more and more impatient with him for not restoring the land that was expropriated. But a decree invalidating the Arbenz reforms would make desperate, homeless wanderers out of a hundred thousand peasants. The dictator has therefore put off the day of reckoning by freezing the agrarian status quo until January 31, 1956—except for some 130,000 acres handed back to United Fruit. Some claimants have repossessed their estates by force, others through the courts.

Guatemalan labor, rural and urban, could give no effective support to Castillo even if it wanted to, for one of the dictator's first acts was to dissolve the labor movement. He has since permitted unions to reorganize, but not until their leadership has been cleared by the all-powerful Committee for National Defense Against Communism. Only completely emasculated groups have been able to reform after such a going-over. In addition, anyone who takes part in an "illegal strike" can be imprisoned for three years, although Decree No. 59, which prescribes this penalty, does not explain what constitutes an illegal strike.

President Castillo Armas

Some 75,000 persons are said to be on the committee's suspect list. Anyone who ever helped organize a union, signed a peace petition, or accepted a homestead from his duly constituted government is probably on the list—if not already in jail. Decree No. 59 empowers the committee to throw a man in jail and keep him there for six months without trial on the mere suspicion of being or aiding a Communist. No matter how many times a suspect is freed by the courts, he can always be picked up again and held without trial for another six months. With the committee and its secret investigators combing the population, it is farcical to pretend that free speech or a free press exists.

The Guatemalan press's delicate references to the situation are pathetic. How the people really feel came out during the students' annual rag at Easter, a traditional parade and spree that the dictatorship dared not suppress. Under the immunity of the accepted fiction that it was all in fun, the students savagely lambasted the committee, Castillo' dependence on Uncle Sam, Vice-President Nixon, and the dictatorial acts of the government.

By all means let us send help. But gifts, loans, and private investments will make Guatemala more dependent, and therefore more restless,. unless the money is distributed so as to gain lasting good-will rather than as a temporary anesthetic to facilitate political and economic operations. In the first place we must make sure that the money does not stick to the palms of the political hacks who surround Castillo. Castillo may be the dedicated man his admirers say he is, but no one can deny that his government is carrying a heavy load of grafters and cutthroats. In the second place we must see to it that the flow of gringo gold is not diverted to their own purposes by the economic elite of the country or over-eager American promoters. Far from holding with the trickle-down theory of prosperity, Guatemala's feudal aristocrats believe that wage increases are bad for the workers, that destitution has moral value. Thus they not only block individual betterment but stand in the way of industrialization, since the present pitiful average income prevents the people from ever providing the mass market an industrial system must have. Thirdly, of course, we should aid in the development of Guatemala's entire economy—away from one-cropism, for instance, and the frittering away of foreign exchange on luxury goods. Here the recommendations of the World Bank and the United Nations could be of great value, being beyond suspicion of commercial self-interest or Communist intrigue.

But if Guatemala is to be a real friend of the United States, its borrowings should be self-liquidating, and foreign capital should be self-effacing, not politically and economically avaricious as has been the case in the past. For in the end Guatemala and all other Latin American countries will want full independence, economic independence as well as political.

SELLING TO THE ID

Freud Writes the Ads . . *by Joseph Seldin*

For the past fifteen years the outpouring of goods and services in this country has been immense. From $101,000,000,000 in 1940 our gross national product climbed to $357,000,000,000 in 1954. The expansion was caused by the material demands of two hot wars, the hunger for consumer goods not produced in war time, and the continuing material demands of the cold war. But in the past few years the production of consumer goods has outpaced demand, and unbought goods and services have backed up in the channels of distribution. In January, 1955, retailers' inventories stood at a near-record—$21,000,000,000. Nothing could budge these tremendous stocks. Even the $8,000,000,000 spent on advertising in 1954, an all-time record, only nudged consumer demand when a violent shove was needed. As a result many business firms making consumer goods are headed for trouble. They must either find a way to step up consumer purchases or cut back their production schedules. Rather than cut back they are asking the psychologists how they can induce the consumer to buy more.

Psychologists who have studied this problem say that we have entered a "psycho-economic" age in which emotional rather than technological factors determine the consumer's purchases. They declare that for each consumer want there are a dozen or more competing brands eager to satisfy that want. What motivates the consumer to choose one brand over others, to buy or not, is rooted deep in his emotional being, so deep, in fact, that he is himself unaware of the actual reason for his choice. If he is asked, he will explain that this cigarette tastes better, this shampoo lathers more luxuriantly, this cake mix is easier to handle. But to the psychologists these are strictly verbalisms, surface reasons that the consumer devises to protect his view of himself as a rational human being. The true reason for the purchase is buried in the subconscious and is associated with the consumer's innermost frustrations, fears, repressions, and need for security. Dr. Ernest Dichter, president of the Institute for Research in Mass Motivations, tells firms selling consumer goods that they must either sell emotional security or go under.

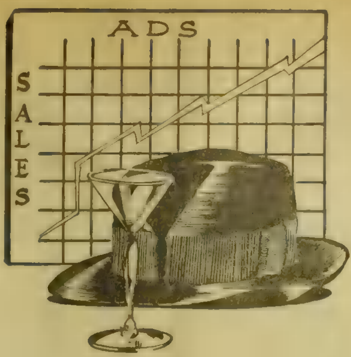
HOW do the psychologists discover what the consumer really needs—emotionally—from any product? They possess various professional tools, but the most valuable is the depth interview. In this no direct questions are asked and no direct answers are wanted. The purpose is to get past the surface reasons for doing things and uncover the unconscious reasons. The consumer is encouraged by a skilled interviewer to talk uninterruptedly on and all around the subject. When he runs dry of memories, say about his first shaving experience, he is asked to describe his feelings when he shaves in the morning, when he is in the drugstore looking over different shaving brands, and so on. Everything he says is taken down religiously. Since the interview generally lasts one to three hours, the wordage fills ten to forty double-spaced typewritten pages, and the result becomes a kind of short-order psychoanalysis. Trained psychol-

---

JOSEPH SELDIN is a New York advertising man ogists then examine the verbatim accounts of perhaps fifty such depth interviews, hunting for clues to tell them what men in general demand from a shaving cream. The findings of the psychologists are finally transmitted to the sponsoring company. The emotional satisfactions that the psychologists say men are looking for are advertised as virtues of the shaving cream in the next selling campaign.

It is reported that half the blue-chip firms selling consumer goods or services are using psychological research. Others can scarcely afford the stiff prices of motivation experts. A simple advertising or packaging test costs from $750 to $4,500, a larger study of advertising and sales problems from $6,500 to $19,500; an industry-wide study may run as high as $25,000.

From motivation research American Airlines learned that the reason people did not fly more often, or did not fly at all, was not that they were afraid to die. That was the logical but not the real reason. The psychologists found that guilt feelings—"fear of posthumous guilt"—were a more serious block to air travel: the husband was afraid his wife would say after the plane crashed, "The darn fool should have gone by train." And the Book of the Month Club learned that stressing the number of books received by the club member each year of his membership caused him to drop rather than maintain his club membership. The reasoning of the psychologists was that the piling up of unread books gave the club member a sense of inferiority. They suggested he be assured that he did not have to try to read all the books as he received them. The Tea Council of the United States learned that such slogans as "Tired? Nervous? Take Tea" were simply reinforcing the general impression that tea was good only for the ailing and nervous. On advice of the psychologists the slogan was changed to "Make it hefty, hot, and hearty; take tea and see."



Psychological research is often effective, but it can hardly be expected to whip up enough spending by consumers to keep factories humming at capacity. Psychological clues to what makes people buy can give advertising men insight into their problems and suggest sounder themes for advertising campaigns, but common sense could often do as much. That the information supplied seems fresh and valuable tells more about the advertising industry than about psychological research. Advertising is a big business that spends billions of dollars yearly, but it is dominated by the social thinking of the wealthy suburbs. It is unaware of the aspirations of people who live on the other side of the railroad tracks. To be told something of these aspirations is a real help to advertising men. Common sense dressed in the trappings of science and offered at a high price is respected and bought.

More damaging to the case for psychological research is its tendency to disregard the price factor. Yet it is the price of articles that determines the buying actions of more than half the families in the United States—those with an annual income under $4,000. These families need an expansion of their buying power, not of their wants. Probing their emotions is an Alice in Wonderland approach to the chronic evil of maldistribution.

BURMESE TRIPLETS

They Work in Harmony . . *by Maung Maung*

Rangoon

MUNICIPAL elections have just been held in Rangoon, ending a strenuous contest between the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League, a coalition of government parties dominated by the Socialists, and the opposition groups. Lively interest was shown by the voters, 56 per cent of whom went to the polls—a really good record for Burma. The Freedom League won a sweeping victory, getting thirty-three of the thirty-five seats on the city council. This would seem to indicate how the electorate will vote at the parliamentary elections in April, 1956, but the opposition thinks not. It maintains that the result in the municipal elections was simply a triumph of the efficient party machine, that the people are getting tired of the governing coalition which has been in office for eight years and next year will vote it out.

Perhaps. But so long as the Freedom League is led by the triumvirate of Prime Minister U Nu, Minister of Industries Kyaw Nyein, and Defense Minister Ba Swe, its fall is a remote possibility. For the triumvirate is happy, harmonious, and complete: Nu is the philosopher statesman, an "independent" who is pledged to state socialism; Kyaw Nyein is the intellectual, the planner; Ba Swe is the able organizer, solid and shrewd. Together they have carried Burma through the difficult years that followed independence and launched the country

---

MAUNG MAUNG is the editor of the Guardian, *an English-language monthly published in Rangoon.*

on the present promising development projects. Together they have put down insurrections at home, met the menace of Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang troops in the border regions, and built up Burma's prestige abroad.

U Nu, Kogyi (Big Brother) Nu to his younger colleagues, is forty-nine and qualifies to be an elder statesman in this nation of young leaders. In his college days Nu had dreams of becoming the "Bernard Shaw of Burma" and wrote plays which he entered for the Prince of Wales prize in England. After taking an arts degree he taught in a district school but returned to the university to read law. Soon he was elected president of the students' union, which was then fast becoming the vanguard of the national movement for independence. In 1936 the students' strike thrust him into national prominence. The grievance of the students was small: Nu had been expelled by the English head of the university because he refused to reveal the author of an article in the union magazine to which some professors took exception. The strike was really an outburst of the national will for independence, and its leaders were destined to play prominent parts in the coming struggle.

Sam A. Jaffe Talks with U Nu

Bandung, Indonesia (delayed)

IN a one-hour interview with this correspondent Prime Minister U Nu of Burma gave his views on some of the major problems confronting the West today in Asia. A Buddhist who is rapidly rising as Asia's "guiding light," U Nu told me how his country has kept communism away from its door.

QUESTION: Chou En-lai has said that his country has the right to take Formosa by force. Do you agree with this?

ANSWER: I am compelled to agree.

QUESTION: Would you approve of American intervention if Communist China attacked Formosa?

ANSWER: If I supported the United States on Formosa, I would have also supported the Communists who gained footholds in North Burma. But as you know we smashed the Communists there.

QUESTION: After your talks with Chou En-lai at Bandung do you believe he sincerely wants peace?

ANSWER: I think so. Some people have the wrong idea of China. China's leaders are vastly different from other Communists. But you may ask, "Why did China intervene in Korea and Indo-China?" I think Peking was afraid that some one would build bases there and use them as a springboard against it. In Indo-China the Chinese may very well have supplied the arms used by the Viet Minh, but there were no Chinese troops there.

QUESTION: Do you think Communist China should be admitted to the United Nations, and if it were, do you think some of the world's tension would be eased?

ANSWER: Yes. And I think the seating of China would go a long way toward easing world tension. Otherwise there is no alternative but to fight.

QUESTION: Do you think Communist China is willing to compromise on the Formosa question?

ANSWER: To a certain extent all parties to the dispute are uncompromising. I believe China is prepared to make certain concessions. Its attitude is very conciliatory.

QUESTION: Do you think the present situation in the Formosa area likely to cause war?

ANSWER: War can break out at any moment. The situation is very explosive.

QUESTION: Can you solve your problems alone or do you need outside aid?

ANSWER: If you mean military or economic aid, then the answer is no. We will not accept free gifts from any country. We will pay for anything we need.

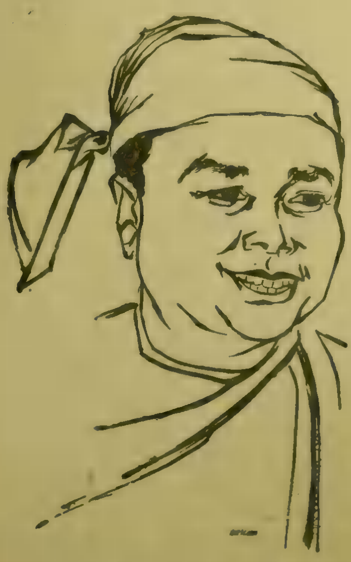
QUESTION: Is communism a major problem in Burma?

ANSWER: Definitely not. We can keep the Communists under complete control. We have been able to do this by four means. (1) Our anti-corruption drive. I have jailed one of my ministers, forced another to go underground, and imprisoned several other high government officials. We have set up a special bureau of investigation to combat corruption. (2) Our campaign against ignorance. We have been and are setting up schools throughout the country. Education is free. We have also sent students abroad to study. (3) Our alleviation of social and economic injustices. A large proportion of our population are peasants. We had many absentee landlords who were oppressing these peasants. Now our country has laws which restrict these landlords by taking away their land and distributing it to the poor. (4) Our efforts to be patient with our opponents. We allow them all the fundamental rights. I remember once a number of Communists were staging a demonstration. They had loudspeakers set up and were yelling through them that there was no freedom of speech in Burma.

Sam A. Jaffe is The Nation's roving correspondent in the Far East.

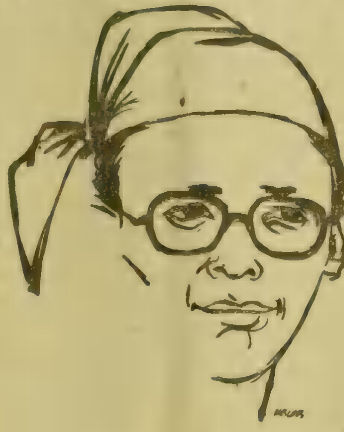
EVENTS moved fast after the students' strike. The young men who left the university formed the Thakin Party (Our Own Masters), set new standards of sacrifice and sincerity, and introduced new ideas. Marxism appealed to them as much as the liberal principles of the West or Fabian socialism. Fundamentally the young Thakins were nationalists, and they soon began to look for foreign aid in overthrowing the British ruler. Nu, or Thakin Nu as he was then called, did not feel easy about using violence; he preferred to fight with ideas. He made a precarious living by translating foreign books for a leftist book club and writing novels. He went to China with a good-will mission and returned a determined opponent of Japanese imperialism. When war came to Burma and he was interned by the British, he sought for some way by which the Burmese people could be aroused and organized against the Japanese. If London would promise to make Burma a self-governing dominion after the war, he told the government, he was sure the people would respond by fighting the Japanese. The promise was not given.

While Nu, with his aversion to violence and cruelty, was pondering on how the people, by the force of their will alone, could win their freedom after hurling back the Japanese, Kyaw Nyein and Ba Swe were preparing for the liberation of Burma with Japanese help. The now-famous "thirty comrades" were smuggled off to Japan under Aung San's leadership; soon they were coming back through Thailand, leading the "Burmese Independence Army." Burma was taken in a few months. But the Japanese went back on the promise of immediate independence and reduced the independence army to a "defense" army, a mere three battalions strong. Dr. Ba Maw, an opportunist politician, was brought out and appointed Chief Administrator. Later, in August, 1943, Burma was declared "independent," and Ba Maw was made "Head of State." In the government were Aung San, Minister of Defense and commander of the army, who was rising steadily in national esteem; Nu, feeling uncomfortable as Foreign Minister; Kyaw Nyein, secretary to the Cabinet, later Deputy Foreign Minister; and Ba Swe in charge of the civil-defense corps. The last two were deeply involved in organizing a resistance movement. On March 27, 1945, the army rose against the Japanese, and the people gave full support. Ba Swe and Kyaw Nyein captured Rangoon three days before the Allied troops came in; Aung San commanded the guerrillas in the north. Nu, honoring his pledge of loyalty to the Head of State, allowed himself to be taken to Mulmein by the Japanese.



Prime Minister U Nu

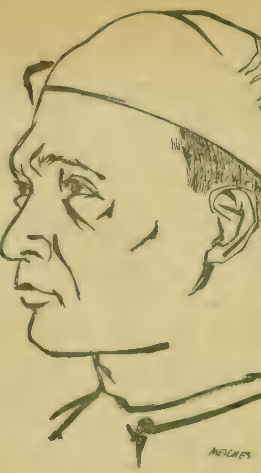
The resistance movement developed into the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League, the united front against alien rule, led by Aung San, Nu, Kyaw Nyein, and Ba Swe. The Burmese Communist Party, having been unable to gain control of the league, tried to wreck it from within but was found out and expelled. Kyaw Nyein and Ba Swe rallied the Socialist Party to recapture the initiative from the Communists, and just in time, for in March, 1948, soon after the league had successfully negotiated Burma's independence with the British Labor government, the Communists revolted and the country was plunged into civil war.



Kyaw Nyein

By then, of the four inseparable comrades only three remained: Aung San had been assassinated by a political enemy. Nu became Premier and leader of the league; Kyaw Nyein was Minister of the Interior and responsible for security. The rebels blew up railway trains and plundered the countryside. Kyaw Nyein put their friends and supporters in preventive custody without trial, whereupon they applied to the Supreme Court for writs of habeas corpus, often successfully. Kyaw Nyein was a dictator, the Communists cried, but the times were desperate and he did not stop to defend himself. Ba Swe strengthened the league and the trade unions and held together the army. Premier Nu's was the voice of moderation, of the mediator; in the hour of madness his appeal to the moral conscience gradually found response.

Burma has come a long way since the anxious years after 1948. Peace has been largely restored, and development projects are giving people hope for the future. The government is now so firmly in command that it is paying increasing attention to foreign relations. U Nu has recently led missions to Communist China, Thailand, and India and has participated in the meetings of the Colombo powers. Everywhere he has pleaded for better understanding between the power blocs. America is a great and generous nation, he said to the Chinese, and China is a vigorous nation which has overthrown a corrupt regime. Why cannot the two establish mutual understanding and learn to coexist in peace? U Nu is prepared to visit Washington to make his points.



Ba Swe

Kyaw Nyein, chairman of the anti-colonial bureau of the Asian Socialists, has also been outspoken against the "new imperialism" of Soviet Russia. For Burma he sees no alternative to neutralism. Chiang Kai-shek's troops are on Burmese soil, and the powerful new China is very close. Ba Swe, chairman of the Asian Socialist Conference, actively opposes colonialism. "The conscience of mankind must continue to suffer," he said, "for 350,000,000 people still groan under colonialism and imperial rule. The denial to this mass of humanity of the Charter of Human Rights is a negation of all that the United Nations stands for."

Nu, the philosopher, Kyaw Nyein the intellectual, and Ba Swe the organizer are agreed that the future of the world depends on freedom, cooperation, and coexistence, that power rivalry egged on by the hydrogen bomb can destroy man's hopes.

BOOKS

Modern French Novelists

THE CONTEMPORARY FRENCH NOVEL. By Henri Peyre. Oxford University Press. $5.

By Albert Guerard

HENRI PEYRE is a scholar, a teacher, and a critic; the coincidence is not miraculous, but it is rare enough to be worth noting. As a scholar, he has read, digested, classified hundreds of books, most of which must have given him little pleasure: the test of scholarship is to defy boredom. As a teacher, he has provided a perfect textbook, indispensable to anyone who wants to take—or give—a course in the modern novel. It is crammed with information and offers all the required instruments—bibliographies of the originals, of English translations, of critical books and essays. The purpose of most books is to show off; this one is intended to serve. Most of all, this study is the meeting of a fine critical mind and a great subject. For the French novel is a factor in Western culture far more vital than many more sensational achievements.

What is *contemporary?* Roughly, Peyre's field is the last four decades, the between-wars and second postwar periods. Generations, ages, epochs, are all artificial. Peyre includes Proust, whose mind and taste belonged to the nineties, and he is right: although dead, Proust is a *presence.* "Among those present" Peyre notes incidentally Laclos, Stendhal, Dostoevsky, far more alive then Bourget or Bordeaux, who survived into the between-wars era. His pleiad comprises Martin du Gard, Jules Romains, Duhamel, Proust, Radiguet, Gide, Mauriac, Giono, St-Exupery, Malraux, Sartre, Camus, Simone de Beauvoir—and, in brief, about a hundred others. An impressive list! It might be interesting to compare it with Lemaitre's quintet—Proust, Gide, Giraudoux, Morand, Maurois; and with my own forty years ago—France, Loti, Bourget, Barres, Rolland. Such galaxies are probably as artificial as the Greek constellations. Farther back, we find the realist-naturalist group—Flaubert, Zola, Daudet, Maupassant, Huysmans; and beyond them, the Big Five of the romantic period—Hugo, Balzac, Stendhal, Dumas, Sand.

Professors might be tempted to grade those ages, as well as the individual writers. Critic Peyre resists; Professor Peyre yields on one point: he gives the early twentieth century a *C, summa cum misericordia.* He may be right. But Peyre grew to literary consciousness when these men had reached that dubious twilight when vogue is still fame and not yet glory. Pope, Shelley, Byron, Stendhal, Dickens had strange ups and downs. Victor Hugo was in eclipse for a quarter of a century; it was then Gide sighed his famous "Alas!" Posterity? Why should posterity be less foolish than ourselves or our fathers? Time will tell; but it will tell many things, and there is no assurance that any of them will be right.

THIS raises the general problem of criticism, as Peyre has already done in his "Writers and Their Critics." Peyre rejects any form of dogmatism. This leaves two possibilities: the objective study of literature as a social phenomenon, "race, environment, and time" as they condition the authors; and particularly the analysis of reception, success, vogue, fame. "Clochemerle" and "La Madonne des Sleeping-Cars" outsold Proust. Flaubert is fading. Dumas is perennial. When it comes to "the pursuit of beauty, truth, greatness in works of art," there is no criterion but the critic's own response. *De gustibus?* The taste of Peyre, admirably informed, thoughtful, sensitive, has a better right to our attention than the impressionism of a frivolous reader. But it has no objective value. Peyre ranks Mauriac and Giono far higher than I do; we are both entitled to our own responses. On the other hand, he rules out Cocteau, Giraudoux, Montherlant, for the unconvincing reason that they have done better work in the drama; and Colette, Celine, Bernanos, simply because he does not like them. I admire his frankness. But occasionally he relapses into the fallacy of absolute values. Of course there must be something wrong about a man who admires Beranger (as Goethe did), who failed to understand Stendhal (as Sainte-Beuve did), who took Feuillet seriously (as Pater did), or who still believes that Maupassant counts (as Artinian and Steegmuller do). Peyre might answer that he could not repeat in every paragraph "In my opinion." At any rate, his opinion is decidedly worth having. Disagreeing with a man of keen intellect is a delightful stimulant; finding oneself in perfect accord with a dullard is humiliating.

THE chapter on the impact of American fiction is particularly packed with facts and thoughts. The great names in French eyes are Hemingway, Steinbeck, Dos Passos, Faulkner. Not one of them is an uncritical admirer of the American way of life. Literature as the mirror of society? A wilfully distorting mirror. Why do we not have a *real* American literature, one that would match duPont, Bethlehem and General Motors?

The present temper in France? Very much like the aftermath of the Romantic collapse in 1848—an anguish, a remorse, a shame which men hardly dare to confess, and attempt to veil in symbols. Gratry said over a hundred years ago: "So long as Poland is a slave, Europe lives in a state of mortal sin." Most French intellectuals say *in petto,* Bernanos, Mauriac, Malraux said with a ringing voice: "So long as Franco rules, we shall be tormented by the ghost of our own cowardice." And the Spanish war was only one among many capitulations. But Sartre, Camus, Malraux, have dared to face the ignoble, which is also the absurd, and thus conquer it, even if they are to be crushed in the attempt.

ALBERT GUERARD, professor emeritus of comparative literature at Stanford University, is the author of "Preface to World Literature," "Literature and Society," and other books.

Three Sides of Texas

G. B. DEALEY OF THE DALLAS NEWS. By Ernest Sharpe. Henry Holt and Company. $5.

GREAT ROUNDUP. The Story of Texas and Southwestern Cowmen. By Lewis Nordyke. William Morrow and Company. $5.

SIG BYRD'S HOUSTON. By Sigman Byrd. The Viking Press. $3.50.

By Stanley Walker

HERE are three more or less noteworthy books out of Texas, that diverse and controversial state, often misunderstood, frequently amusing, and sometimes tragic, and they deal with subjects that have nothing in common—except that they are Texan. The many facets of life in Texas have long attracted writers, both the discerning and the baffled; the end of the flow of literature, good and bad, is nowhere in sight. One of these books is about a publisher of almost legendary integrity; another is about a group of high and mighty cowmen; the third is about low life in the fabled city of Houston. All are readable, and in general worth reading, with a few reservations.

George Bannerman Dealey was eighty-six years old when he died in February, 1946. Although the quirks that come with old age had been apparent for several years, he refused to the last completely to relinquish the direction of his paper, the prosperous and generally respected Dallas *Morning News.* As a youth from England he had started on the parent paper, the old Galveston *News,* as an office boy; by thrift, hard work, and a certain consistency of character, he obtained complete control of the Dallas paper. He ran the counting houses and the circulation department, and he kept a shrewd eye on the cerebrations of his editors.

Sometimes it seemed that Mr. Dealey, in his quiet way, also ran Dallas, and something of his influence was felt throughout the state. Toward the end he was regarded by most of the public as an authentic sage. In a commonwealth sometimes distinguished for its buccaneers and flashy promoters, he was a model of piety, sobriety, and a sort of bedrock probity. In his later years he was generous with his personal funds, and his regard for the welfare of his employees was such that even the federal courts ruled that he did not have to comply with the New Deal's wages-and-hours laws.

In telling the story of Mr. Dealey, Ernest Sharpe, sometime teacher of journalism at the University of Texas, has obviously had the cooperation of the Dealey family and the powers that presently run the *News.* Yet notwithstanding its marks of an "authorized biography," the book is an important addition to the shelf of newspaper biography. Mr. Sharpe missed many good anecdotes, but he managed to gather some of the important ones. He is vague in a few spots: for example, exactly why did Mr. Dealey and his paper break with Franklin D. Roosevelt, whom they had hailed at first as combining the best features of Cleveland, Teddy Roosevelt, and Wilson?

LEWIS NORDYKE, well-known Texas newspaperman, has put into "Great Roundup" much of the history of the Texas and Southwestern Cattle Raisers' Association. The beginnings of this powerful outfit were laid in 1877 when forty cowmen, tired of losing so many cattle to rustlers, met under a tree at Graham, Texas, and figured out a form of cooperation. In recounting its development Mr. Nordyke, quite properly, tells the story of the entire Southwestern beef-cattle industry—the passing of free range and the coming of fences, the fight against the dreaded Texas fever, battles against railroad discrimination and packing-house combines, efforts to improve the breed, and, in recent years, the opposition to government controls. But the main thread that runs through the book is the struggle against rustling. Methods have changed, but the fight goes on.

Mr. Nordkye's account contains little that is new, but it makes good reading. One might wish for a little more about some of the leading characters in the association—for example, fiery old Jim Callan of Menard, and the prosecutors, Dayton Moses and Joe Montague—salty men, worth examination in some detail. And the man who really spotted that Texas fever was caused by ticks, Dr. Theobald Smith, is not even mentioned.

THE effervescent Sigman Byrd, a word-painter who runs a breezy seamy-side column in the Scripps-Howard Houston *Press,* has collected come of the best of his efforts for "Sig Byrd's Houston." The title suggests, which is true enough, that there are several Houstons—the Houston of Miss Ima Hogg and good music, the Houston of Jesse Jones and his skyscrapers, the Houston of Hugh Roy Cullen and his philanthropies and right-wing crusades, the Houston of the high jinks and the fine clubs, and the Houston of a hard-working and often air-conditioned middle class. Mr. Byrd deftly

---

STANLEY WALKER is a Texas rancher and free-lance writer.

new and
rediscovered
stories of
DYLAN
THOMAS
Adventures in
the Skin Trade
and other stories
$3.50
a NEW DIRECTIONS book

25% Discount
ON ALL BOOKS
(10% on Texts and Technical Books)
*ANY BOOK YOU CHOOSE
1) Deduct 25% from list.
2) Add 15c per book for postage.
3) Send check or money order.
*Only obligation, you agree to buy at least 4 books during first year.
N.Y.C. residents add 3% tax.
THRIFTY BOOK CLUB
206 West 15th Street
Dept.N, N.Y.C. 11, NY
Phone: CHelsea 3-6499
NO MEMBERSHIP FEE

To New Authors
We will publish, promote, advertise and distribute your book. We are rated officially among the largest leading publishers in the U. S. Our successful plan insures prompt publication. Manuscript reports in one week. No obligation.
Send for free Brochure B for details.
Pageant Press, Inc. 130 W. 42nd St., N.Y.

FOR THAT BRIGHT YOUNG GRADUATE

THE IDEAL GIFT: If you can't afford something like the flashy convertible above, here's the sensible and meaningful way to solve the problem of what to give that bright young man, or woman, who is graduating from high school or college:

A GIFT SUBSCRIPTION TO
THE NATION
FOR THE SPECIAL PRICE OF
$5.00 FOR ONE FULL YEAR
Plus an attractive gift card
in your name

You want to help youngsters think for themselves. But today they are hemmed in by an ever-stricter orthodoxy. Many are even led to believe there is something "disloyal" about exercising their traditional American liberties.

The Nation may well be the antidote to this dangerous situation—as well as an example to these future voters on how to develop informed, liberal views on social and political affairs.

All you need do is fill out the coupon below: we'll take care of the rest. The gift card and subscription will go out promptly and, if you wish, we will bill you later.

GIFT DEPARTMENT, THE NATION
333 SIXTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY 14

Please send the special graduation gift offer of THE NATION at one year for $5.00, and forward a gift card in my name to:

NAME ______________	YOUR NAME ______________
ADDRESS ______________	ADDRESS ______________
CITY ______________	CITY ______________
ZONE ______ STATE ______________	ZONE ______ STATE ______________

Payment inclosed ☐ Bill me ☐

5/21/55

and defiantly takes us to still another Houston—the Houston of the bums, the dope pushers, the juke-joint and poolroom habitues, the pimps and the chippies, the abandoned drunks of Skid Row, the waterfront hangers-on, the trailer-camp people.

All these and others are pictured by Mr. Byrd with great affection and considerable dexterity. The trick is essentially like that pulled years ago on the Chicago *Daily News* by a young man named Ben Hecht, who wrote "1,001 Afternoons in Chicago." And it has been done in other cities, notably New York. So far as a search of the statutes reveals, there is no law against writing such books. At this late date in history there isn't much to recommend it, either.

Man and Beast in Kenya

SOMETHING OF VALUE. By Robert Ruark. Doubleday and Company. $5.

By Basil Davidson

IN WASHINGTON the other day they were telling me—no doubt for my own good—that the word "anti-colonial" must nowadays be considered practically subversive. In Asia if not in Africa, I gathered, the Communists have captured it. And now we have a well-known American journalist scoring a "mammoth" success with a novel which tells us in bloody detail exactly the same thing.

Robert Ruark offers the story of Kikuyuland, in the British colony of Kenya, shortly before and during the Mau Mau rebellion. He does it in a style which might perhaps be called "distended Hemingway." He is overpoweringly long-winded but has, nevertheless, the elements of a good story-teller.

He has evidently identified himself passionately with the Kenya settlers' state of mind. He knows their slang; he knows their habits. He has the bar and bedroom gossip down to a fine point of nastiness. And he shares their robust enjoyment in hunting kudu, elephant, and "Kukes."

Peter McKenzie and Kimani are little boys together, English and Kikuyu. A settler offends Kimani; the offense is taken by Kimani's rel-

---

BASIL DAVIDSON, an English journalist, is the author of "Report on South Africa."

atives as portending evil fortune, and Kimani tries to kill the settler. Time passes. Peter becomes a wonderful white hunter; Kimani, a thief, a racketeer in the slums of Nairobi, and finally a Mau Mau commander. Horror deepens. Murders multiply. Goaded, the settlers reply with torture, and this counterterror is described with an objectivity which is, so far as I know, unique in the field. Finally, Peter tracks down Kimani, the Mau Mau commander, and chokes him to death. But Peter saves Kimani's only son and takes him for his own.

Up to a point, the lesson is well read. Terror begets terror. But beneath the surface of impartiality Ruark's attitude expresses one by one the cliche-ridden affirmations of white supremacy. "The book is completely true in reporting that its early skeletal structure rests on stony facts," Ruark's own foreword tells us. Alas, no: the facts are sometimes not facts at all, but speculations, errors, or mere absurdities; and then, to extend the falsity of final effect, only half the facts are produced, the settlers' half.

I suppose one should overlook, as mere ornament, the extremely silly introduction of a mysterious Russian agent who comes down from Abyssinia to aid the rebellion. Possibly Ruark's ignorance of the Kenya scene, outside the Norfolk and New Stanley bars can excuse the nonsense of his having this imaginary Russian work together with an Indian Nationalist to the same end. What one forgives less easily is the bland assumption that Africans are animals and only whites are men. The underlying view seems to be that Africans have "a basic impulsive savagery" which "we civilized people" don't understand. Taking full account of the savagery of the Mau Mau rebellion, this is mostly rubbish. The religio-political dissensions of contemporary Africa may produce a lot of savagery in the near future, but for the most part it will be a reaction to long years of hunger, frustration, and despair. It will be "mysterious" only to those who are determined not to understand.

This attitude of Ruark's destroys his book's value as serious writing. From it flow monstrous errors of taste and even more monstrous errors of interpretation.

Theater and Films

Robert Hatch

EVERY reviewer has a blind spot. The one of mine that I know of—there may well be others—is musical comedy. All that noise, all those bright lights, all those grinning gymnasts, and the money poured out for those big production numbers throw me into a mean Presbyterian dudgeon. It isn't that I flatly dislike musicals—the way, for example, that I hate sweetbreads—but that my standard for them is absurdly high. I thought "Guys and Dolls" was dandy; before that, I liked "Show Boat" (I never saw "Oklahoma" or "South Pacific," which shows how closely I follow the song-and-dance business). I once knew a book reviewer whose taste in fiction was so extravagantly elevated that he would praise no novel that fell short of "Pride and Prejudice" or "The Brothers Karamazov." He rarely had occasion to say a kind word.

This personal note is only fair as a preface to saying that I was fitfully amused but generally depressed by "Damn Yankees" (Forty-sixth Street Theater). It is probably a much better than average musical, and I can see that the book—taken from a novel by Douglass Wallop—is miles above the run of such literature. A fanatic supporter of the Washington Senators sells his soul to the devil in return for being transformed into a baseball player of such surpassing ability that he can lead his hapless team to victory over the hated champions from the Bronx.

My fits of amusement were caused by the male chorus, which looked like a bunch of ball players and danced the way ball players might dance, if you can imagine such a thing; by a male quartet which sang with oafish insouciance; by Gwen Verdon, the star, who makes a fine joke of her absurd sexiness; and by Ray Walston, who played the devil in witty style. Mr. Walston is small and moves abruptly; he looked as though he had just had a manicure. For the most part, he dressed in conservative grays, cut sharp and with scarlet accessories, and he spoke in clipped wisecracks. A most successful Mephisto. There was also a good mambo, sung and danced by Miss Verdon and Eddie Phillips.

In general, though, the music and lyrics were spiritless, the big numbers were confused and dowdy, the humor was primitive, the action dragged, and Stephen Douglass, who played the hero, could not sing, dance, kiss a pretty girl, or wrestle with the devil to my satisfaction. I kept wishing I was at a ball game.

WE DROPPED the bomb, and the Japanese have made a film called "Hiroshima" to show what it was like. But there is no trace of accusa-

You can't afford to miss —

MASSES & MAINSTREAM

MAY NUMBER

Speeches at the

SECOND CONGRESS OF SOVIET WRITERS

by

ILYA EHRENBURG ■ KONSTANTIN SIMONOV ■ MIKHAIL SHOLOKHOV ■ ALEXANDER FADEYEV
BORIS RURIKOV ■ GALINA NIKOLAYEVA ■ FEYEDOR GLADKOV ■ KONSTANTON FEDIN
CONGRESS RESOLUTION

Single copy 35c ● Subscription $4.00

MASSES & MAINSTREAM
832 Broadway, New York 3, N. Y.

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE

Buy Your Books through THE *Nation*

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular retail price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the retail price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to

Miss O. LePach

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
333 Sixth Ave. New York 14, N. Y.

tion or grievance in the picture. Yasutaro Yagi, who wrote the screen story, and Hideo Sekigawa, who directed it, have a more generous purpose: to provide a record, as accurate as possible, so that the world can judge what is in store if it proceeds with this type of persuasion.

There are three main topics in "Hiroshima"—the immediate physical devastation of the bomb, the slowly emerging after-effects of radiation, and the moral disintegration of the young generation. The picture suffers a weakness of focus because of this diversity, and the third theme in particular could have been omitted—it is a consequence of any kind of war, of revolution, of famine, or of any other force that plows up a society.

Photographing an A-bombed city is a little like photographing the Grand Canyon—it is hard to make the scale real. "Hiroshima" does it probably as well as possible. The camera moves out gradually into ever-wider circles, picking up new details of pain and horror but showing wherever it looks the same flat and smoking rubble. Unfortunately, this insane scenery is very much what we have seen in the half-erased cities of Europe; you have to keep reminding yourself that it was accomplished, not by night after night of saturation bombing, but by one plane that passed high and almost unnoticed over its target.

The most effective part of the picture is the history of how the Japanese were affected by the rumors and realities of radiation. In one scene a group of hospital patients, in rags and half-rotten with the sickness, cavort about a little bean patch when the first sprouts give them hope that at least the earth is not poisoned. Later, adults and children begin to show slower symptoms, and those as yet untouched look on in a terror too great for much pity. This new leprosy is the special horror of atomic warfare; it is the part of the film I cannot get out of my mind.

"Hiroshima" could be better than it is. Its scenario is badly confused (I suspect the film has been heavily cut); its characterizations, its plot development, and its sermonizing are on the rather obvious level of a United States information film. Watching it, you never quite forget that you are being shown a conscientious reenactment designed to make you a better citizen, and for that reason you can evade a good deal of the emotional impact. The sad fact is that it will principally terrify those who have lively imaginations and quick sympathies, and they are the ones who least need frightening.

ANOTHER quasi-documentary film from the Pacific is "Heartbreak Ridge," a story of the French battalion fighting under U. N. colors in Korea. The plot is not much—a young officer fresh from home finds it difficult to command the trust and friendship of his battle-tired men—but the descriptions of the country and the type of warfare are fine. We have been told that Korea was a beautiful land; this picture, in color, shows its beauty being destroyed hill by hill. And we have heard that it was an ugly kind of fighting; it turns out to be an affair of stealth, small units, constant vigilance, personal courage. The landscape looks peaceful; there is no sign of man, certainly no sign of the enemy. But every tree, rock, and small declivity is probably deadly. It is rather like what we have read of our own Indian wars, except that no one is using a bow and arrow.

The picture was made during the fighting and under official auspices; the soldiers of the French battalion are the supporting cast. They have been so brilliantly directed—if that is the word—by Jacques Dupont that they look exactly what they were—a group of bitter and efficient killers. They were bitter because they believed, quite correctly, that they had been forgotten, and they were efficient because that was the one way to survive. These men have curiously little that is French about them. They are dressed and armed with American equipment and could readily pass as G. I.'s. Perhaps all soldiers move and talk alike when they are really working at their trade. I have a feeling that "Heartbreak Ridge" is one of the few pictures that look like war to front-line veterans.

THE new British courtroom melodrama is called "Eight O'Clock Walk" and has Richard Attenborough in the role of the almost victim of judicial error. Attenborough, who was first noticed in this country as a specialist in vicious weakling roles, has become one of the sturdiest average Englishmen employed by the London studios. He plays his present part wonderfully—the casual admission that he had been with the little girl just before she was killed, the growing uneasiness as the police questioning persists, the panicky realization that he has told his story all wrong, the anger when he is arrested, the hope when his lawyer appears, the despair when the prosecution goes to work—he does it all with just the right pressure, and you sweat with him. As always, the pomp of British legal procedure—all wigs and m'lords—is a wonderful show, and the courtroom types are a marvel of casting. The solution is dragged in by the ears.

Records

B. H. Haggin

OVERTONE, which issued the superb record of Scheidt's "Tabalatura Nova" for organ, has followed this up with a record (No. 8) offering the Toccatas in C and F, a Fugue in C, and four chorale-preludes by Pachelbel (1653-1706) and the "Concerto del Sigr. Meck" and four chorale preludes by Johann Walther (1684-1748). This time again one's ear is delighted by the extraordinarily beautiful and clearly reproduced sound of the Holtkamp organ in Yale's Battell Chapel; then one notes the fine use of the instrument and the sensitive treatment of the music by Luther Noss; and then the quality of the music itself: the Pachelbel fugue and Walther concerto very engaging; Pachelbel's Chorale-Preludes "Jesus Christus, unser Heiland" and "Wie schoen leuchtet der Morgenstern" simple but strong; his more involved

"Warum betruebst du dich, mein Herz" very beautiful; his majestic "Ein' feste Burg" very imposing; Walther's richer-textured "Ach schoenster Jesu, mein Verlangen" and "Warum betruebst du dich" also very beautiful; and his "Aus meines Herzen Grunde" and "Allein Gott in der Hoeh" very engaging.

One wishes Noss had recorded on the Holtkamp organ the works of Bach recorded by Karl Richter on the organ in Victoria Hall, Geneva: the Toccata and Fugue in D minor, Passacaglia, and Chorale-Prelude "Ich ruf' zu Dir, Herr Jesu Christ" on London LL-1174; the Fantasia and Fugue in G minor, Prelude and Fugue in E minor, and Chorale-Preludes "Wachet auf," "Kommst Du nun, Jesu, vom Himmel herunter," and "Vom Himmel hoch, da komm' ich her." I don't recall any performances of the Toccata and Fantasia that articulated their quasi-improvisatory substance in the way Richter does; but whereas his method is effective and successful in these two pieces, his pausing at the ends of some variations in the Passacaglia to set them off from the ones that follow is less effective than an unvarying tempo for the reiteration of the ground-bass. On the other hand a device of registration that I don't recall hearing used before—a silvery doubling of a voice two octaves higher, as in Variations 14 and 15 of the Passacaglia—is very effective. In quiet passages the sound of the organ is agreeable and clear; in loud passages the thick and coarse sounds coalesce into a mass in which nothing is clear.

On the three records of Columbia SL-222, "Debussy Piano Music," Casadesus plays the two Arabesques, "Children's Corner," "Masques," "L'Ile joyeuse," "Estampes," two sets of "Images," two books of Preludes, "Six Epigraphes antiques," and "En blanc et noir"—the last two with his wife Gaby. Listening only to the pieces which interested me—"L'Ile joyeuse"; "La Soiree dans Grenade" and "Jardins sous la pluie" of "Estampes"; "Reflets dans l'eau," "Hommage a Rameau," and "Poissons d'or" of "Images"—I have been astounded to hear nothing beyond the ability to play the notes pedantically in correct time—which is to say no grace, no verve, no brilliance, no imagination.

Basic Facts In Today's Economic Confusion

Unwise Tax Methods Bequeathed to Us by Pre-Nineteenth Century England. — The tax methods that we use today were impressed upon us in our colonial period by the English government when it was entirely controlled by a rapacious and corrupt Tory landed aristocracy. The British fiscal practice (like that of every country in Europe) was to favor the landed aristocracy by corruptly putting lighter taxes on land, while corruptly overburdening business enterprise in the towns and cities.

Undertaxation and Overtaxation. — By means of undertaxation, all vacant land in the open country and all vacant city lots have at length become an immense aggregation of speculative holding. This condition has been made possible by piling taxes higher and higher upon productive business, while favoring land with such low taxes that people can afford to hold it out of use on speculation. For example, every sales tax that you pay is just another burden on Productive Business, which enables land to escape taxation by just that much.

Effects of Undertaxation, Overtaxation. — Undertaxation of land helps to give land an artificial, inflated price. This makes land harder to get for Productive Purposes. And at the very moment when light taxation is giving land an inflated price, and thus making it more difficult of access for Productive Business, — at that very moment Production is overburdened by heavy taxation. This heavy burden is added to the price of products, which makes it more difficult for the general market to absorb goods and keep business in prosperous motion.

As soon as practical business men understand this blunder in our national economic bookkeeping, they will rise up and put an end to it. — Send for circular, including stamp to cover postage (3 cents). Owing to misunderstanding, it is necessary to say that if no stamp is forwarded, no circular will be sent. — Not quite ready, but get in line for it. — L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, New York.

(Advertisement)

PUBLICATIONS

JUST RECEIVED FROM THE USSR

• • •

THE GREAT SOVIET ENCYCLOPEDIA

Vol. 29 and 30 (In Russian)

Deluxe printing and binding. Profusely illustrated with color plates and maps. This new enlarged edition will consist of 50 volumes.
Regular price $9.50 per vol.
Our subscription offer $8.00 per vol.

• • •

Again in Stock
(In English)
A new edition of
A. S. MAKARENKO
THE ROAD TO LIFE
(An Epic of Education)
In three handy size volumes.
Illustrated. 1178 pp. $2.50 for set

And its sequel
LEARNING TO LIVE
656 pp. $1.50
These works are well recognized and highly popular in this country.

• • •

A. G. IVANOV—SMOLENSKY
ESSAYS ON THE PATHO-PHYSIOLOGY OF THE HIGHER NERVOUS ACTIVITY
(According to I. P. Pavlov and his School)
349 pp. $1.50
Best seller in non-fiction literature in English from the Soviet Union.

• • •

New arrivals of Soviet Recordings, both long playing and regular 78 RPM. Wide choice of folk and classical music.

• • •

Ask for our catalogs "E-55" and "Records"

FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.
55 W. 56 St. N. Y. 19
822 Broadway (cor. 12 st.) N. Y. 3
GR 3-2018-19

BRITISH BOOKS—All Subjects—direct from London to you. Bargain catalogues free. Transbooks, Box 22-N, Brooklyn 26, N. Y.

SOCIALIST BOOKS. Catalog, literature, Free. New York Labor News Company, Dept. M, 61 Cliff Street, New York 38, New York.

PERSONALS

WARM WEATHER SPECIALS

	List	Net
Portable Radio	$28.05	$17.95
12" Window Fan	44.50	19.95
Portable Ice Chest	17.98	12.95

Standard Brand Dist., 143-4th Avenue (13th & 14th Sts.), N. Y. GR 3-7819. 1 hour free parking or 2 tokens.

SUMMER RENTALS

FOR RENT—Lovely 3 bedroom house and garden for July and August. Louis Rosenberg, 933 Foster Drive, Los Angeles 48, Calif.

RESORT

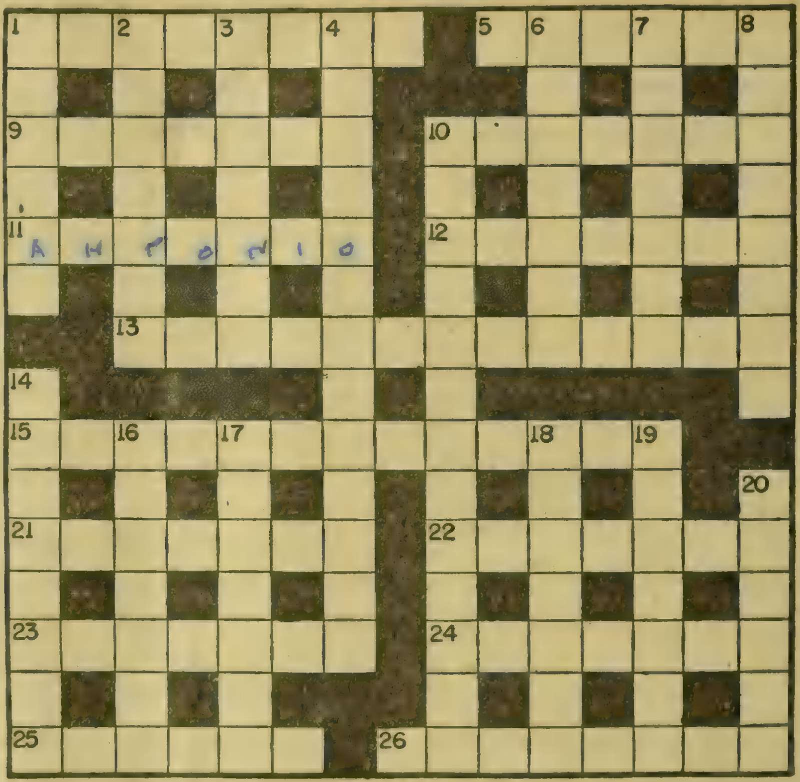
Echo Lake Lodge

In the Green Mts. Brandon, Vermont
A delightful Vacation Resort for the Entire Family
- On lovely Echo Lake—all water sports
- New canoes, boats, swim and fish
- Tennis, ping-pong, shuffleboard
- Music, square dancing, camp-fires
- Summer theatres nearby

Diana & Abe Berman, N.Y.-WA4-6046, Hubbardton 17-2

Crossword Puzzle No. 620

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Shuttle? (8)

5 See 3 down.

9 An unusual piece of food. (7)

10 What a British doctor gets first in a mixed choir. (7)

11 At noon, I take part in Shakespearean drama. (7)

12 Not a good list for one who could show you an 18. (7)

13 Guide to the trombone? (8,5)

15 But the damage is usually repaired by make-up. (6,7)

21 A raft of trouble. (3-4)

22 and 1 down Spoken by der Alte in his cups? (3,4,6)

23 Available in the gillyflower. (2,5)

24 Associated with the press, perhaps. (7)

25 Ditched, commonly. (6)

26 He may value things more highly than we do. (8)

DOWN

1 See 22 across.

2 15 might lead to this discord later, as it's almost warlike. (7)

3 and 5 across Waters might be associated with this rustic penthouse. (5,2,6,3)

4 Too large a sprint squad should be. (3,2,3,5)

6 Jinxes. (7)

7 How Longfellow suggested we make our lives. (7)

8 The sort of cars they made were sea-going, perhaps. (8)

10 How to make a sortie? (It's harder to get out of them!) (13)

14 The president repeated himself after forty-nine. (1,4,3)

16 Saves an alias for the heroine of the book. (7)

17 The upshot of this might give him zero. (7)

18 One of two house plants. (3,4)

19 It is placed in the way of a bad loser. (7)

20 He obviously would be associated with the search. (6)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 619

ACROSS: 1 and 5 AND THERE YOU ARE; 10 ECUADOR; 11 STEARIC; 12 AFTON; 13 BOBTAILED; 14 EARLS; 16 and 1 down THE LAW OF AVERAGES; 19 OUTSIDER; 22 and 4 down WELSH RAREBIT; 24 EPHEMERAL; 26 AUGUR; 28 UNAWARE; 29 ALABAMA; 31 STRADDLE. DOWN: 2 DOUBT; 3 HEDONISTS; 7 APRIL FOOL; 8 ESCUDO; 9 USABLE; 15 ROUGHCAST; 17 and 30 AS WEAK AS A KITTEN; 18 CHORDATE; 20 DORMER; 21 RELIANT; 23 DEBUNK; 25 MEADE; 27 and 6 GRAND OPERA.

Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to

The outstandingly fine playing of the duo-pianists Gold and Fizdale is heard on Columbia ML-4968 in two sets of four-hand pieces by Weber: the Six Pieces Op. 3, pleasant but less consequential than the Eight Pieces Op. 60, most of which have Weber's characteristic grace and charm, but one of which—the one marked Allegro, tutto ben marcato, orchestrated by Hindemith for his Symphonic Metamorphosis of Themes of Weber, and used by Balanchine for the first scene of his ballet "Metamorphoses"—is highly unusual in its progression of musical thought.

Telefunken TM-68023 has given me my first hearing of the pianist Geza Anda, who plays with a tension and sharpness that point up the lively operation of the Haydn mind in the Sonata No. 23 and make the piece an exciting experience. In Mozart's Sonata K.576 the playing is too percussively forceful for the music, and for the microphone to record without distortion.

Mozart's lovely Clarinet Quintet K.581 is played on London LL-1167 by members of the Vienna Octet. The tone of the first violin isn't as beautiful as it might be in melodic passages; but the sound of the group is good; the tone of the clarinet is remarkably fine; and excellent pacing and sensitive phrasing add up to a performance which is less mannered that that of the Quartetto Italiano and de Bavier and very fine in its straightforward style.

The roughness of Rehfuss's baritone and the strain when he uses its upper range make his performances of Wolf's three Michelangelo songs on London LD-9182 less enjoyable than Hotter's on the Angel record. Rehfuss also sings "Der Musikant," "Verschwiegene Liebe," and "Gesang Weyla's," and two songs I care less for—"Der Freund" and "Storchenbotschaft." Excellent accompaniments by Hans Willi Haeusslein; no texts.

CORRECTION: In Gene Marine's article, The Profit in Atoms, in The Nation of May 7, it was stated that Portugal planned to increase its industrialization 80 per cent a year for the next five years. The figure should have been 20 per cent.

RESORTS

32nd SEASON
a parent-child Resort
Chaits
ACCORD 2, N. Y.
An intimate resort with "BIG" hotel facilities
160 beautiful acres • Tennis • Swimming • Golf nearby • Arts & Crafts
Complete Day Camp (8 AM to 8 PM)
Professional Direction • Kind'gar'ner
Nite Patrol
SPECIAL DECORATION DAY RATES
3 FULL DAYS
Adults $20 — Children $14
Added Feature: Folk & Square Dancing with TEDDY SCHWARTZ
LOW, LOW Spring Rates
NYC office OL 4-4070 or Kerhonksen 3758

WINDY HILL
ON ORANGE LAKE
A pleasantly informal vacation in friendly atmosphere. Swimming, Boating, Fishing on Natural Lake. Badminton, Volley Ball. Ping-pong, other sports. Movies, records, books. Summer Theatre nearby. Food of excellent quality in generous quantity. Opens May 27.
Pre-Season $45.00 Weekly; $7.00 Daily
Season and Holidays $50.00 Weekly; $7.50 Daily
65 Miles from New York City
Jane C. Arenz R. D. No. 1 Walden, N. Y.
Phone Newburgh 1232

50 Miles to FOREST HOUSE
Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality Two grand lakes. All sports.
FOREST HOUSE
Lake Mahopac, N. Y. ■ Tel. Mahopac 8-3449

Stonegate LODGE
ON [illegible] LAKE, N. Y.
Informal Adult Resort in the Adirondacks
Charming Estate — Limited to 90 — Pollen Free
Folk-Sq. Dances—Concert Trio—Dance Band
All Sports ■ Fishing ■ Arts & Crafts
BACHELOR CLUB RATE—FINE FOOD
N. Y. Office: 250 W. 57th ■ Circle 6-6386
Red Rates to July 10 Louis A. Roth, Dir.

RESORTS

CONCORD ACRES
Co-Ed Ages 6-15 Hancock, New York
FOR AN EXCITING PROGRAM IN A RELAXING SETTING
The Tone: Non-regimented, friendly and understanding atmosphere where individual needs are met. Mature staff under top educator and camping leadership.
The Program: Rich and varied program includes all land and water sports, camping and boating trips, nature, arts and crafts, music, dramatics, dancing, archery, photography, and many special features.
Inspected and approved member of the American Camping Association.
Write or phone for brochure, interview, parent references
Moderate Fee
HAROLD ROSENTHAL
149-06 61 Road, Flushing, N. Y., FLushing 3-7750

ROUND POND LODGE
Walden, New York
100 acres, secluded, landscaped, vast shade lawns, quality food German-American, refined atmosphere. Solarium, spring fed pool, sports Modern conveniences. Good beds Capacity 30 Adults
Pre-Season Rates, $40-$45: Weekends, $7.50-$9.00
Make Reservations Now. Telephone: Walden 2-4964

CRYSTAL LAKE LODGE
OPENS MAY 27TH—SPECIAL TRAIN
Dramatic Presentations by Howard daSilva
Songs by Nina Dova
Folk & Square Dancing with Cliff Bullard
Dance Orchestra — All Sports
Free weekend to tennis tournament winners.
CHESTERTOWN 3, NEW YORK
Phones: Chestertown 3830—N. Y. OL 3-1884

Grand Opening
DECORATION DAY WEEKEND
GREAT ENTERTAINMENT ■ FABULOUS FOOD
SPORTS FOR DAYTIME PLAYTIME ■ GOOD FUN
2 BIG SHOWS ■ COMEDY ■
DANCE ■ DRAMA ■ MUSIC
HEADED by Elliott Sullivan, Avon Long, Cliff Jackson, Sonny Terry and others from the music and theater world. Dancing nightly to the music—sweet, hot and terrific—of Lew Guss's orchestra.
FOR THE KIDS
DAY CAMP and NITE PATROL
ALL WITH BEAUTIFUL LAKE ELLIS
Fishing ■ Boating ■ Swimming ■ Viewing

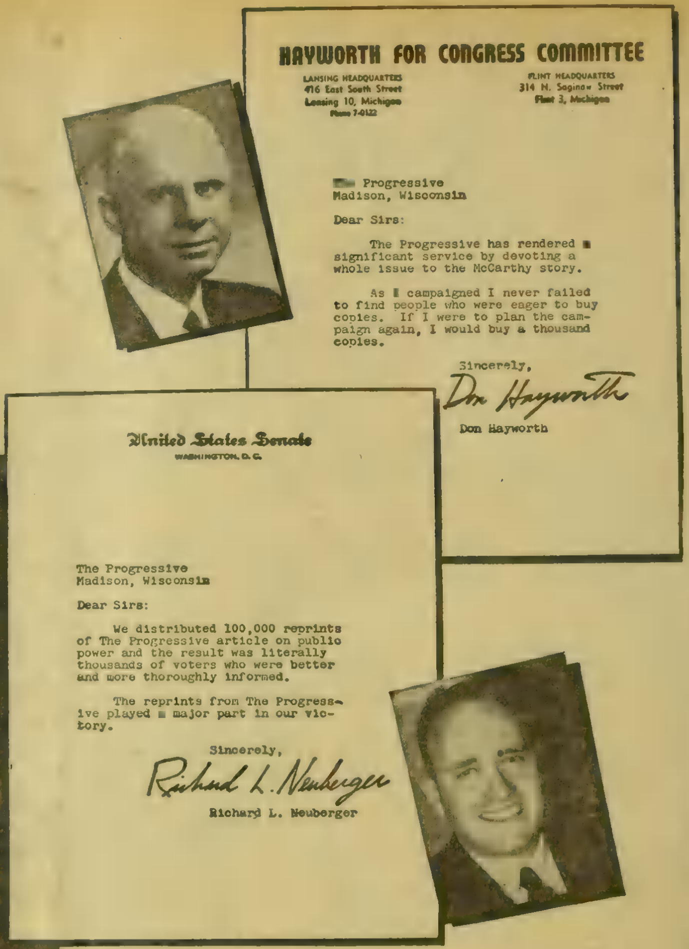
— Introductory — Offer
FRIDAY—MAY 27th
THRU
MONDAY—MAY 30th
SPECIAL 4-DAY WEEKEND FOR ONLY
$27.00
Come Get Acquainted

WINGDALE LODGE!
ON LAKE ELLIS
WINGDALE 5, N. Y.
[illegible]
INTERRACIAL RESORT
FREE BROCHURE SENT ON REQUEST
NEW YORK OFF.
202 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y. CHickering 4-0723

Printed in the U. S. A. by Southern Farmer, Inc., P. O. Box 509, Montgomery, Ala.

on two vital issues

The Progressive's *influence turns the tide*



HAYWORTH FOR CONGRESS COMMITTEE

LANSING HEADQUARTERS
416 East South Street
Lansing 10, Michigan
Phone 7-0122

FLINT HEADQUARTERS
314 N. Saginaw Street
Flint 3, Michigan

The Progressive
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Sirs:

The Progressive has rendered a significant service by devoting a whole issue to the McCarthy story.

As I campaigned I never failed to find people who were eager to buy copies. If I were to plan the campaign again, I would buy a thousand copies.

Sincerely,
Don Hayworth
Don Hayworth

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D. C.

The Progressive
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Sirs:

We distributed 100,000 reprints of The Progressive article on public power and the result was literally thousands of voters who were better and more thoroughly informed.

The reprints from The Progressive played a major part in our victory.

Sincerely,
Richard L. Neuberger
Richard L. Neuberger

McCarthyism

"The Progressive rendered significant service. If I were to campaign again, I would buy a thousand copies."
—Rep. Don Hayworth

Public power

"The Progressive played a major part in our victory."
—Sen. Richard L. Neuberger

Here's how The Progressive helped win these two key elections:

IN MICHIGAN . . . Hayworth ran against Rep. Kit Clardy, one of the most bigoted McCarthyites in Congress, in the Sixth District. He fought Clardy with **The Progressive**'s 45th Anniversary Issue on McCarthy. Hayworth reports: **"The Progressive** rendered a significant service by devoting a whole issue to the McCarthy story. As I campaigned I never failed to find people who were eager to buy copies. If I were to plan the campaign again, I would buy a thousand copies."

IN OREGON . . . In Neuberger's race against Sen. Guy Cordon the big issue was public power. Neuberger had written an article for the July **Progressive** exposing Republican giveaways. The article quickly became a decisive factor in Neuberger's stunning victory. "We distributed 100,000 reprints of **The Progressive** article on public power," Neuberger says, "and the result was literally thousands of voters who were better and more thoroughly informed. The reprints . . . played a major part in our victory."

nine months ONLY **$2.65**

( ) **Enter a NEW subscription—9 months for $2.65**

Name________________________________

Address______________________________

____

For over 45 years The Progressive has served the people of America and helped the forces of liberalism press forward by providing the vital ammunition of hard fact, honest analysis, and fearless exposure of dishonesty and corruption, without regard for person or party.

You, too, will find The Progressive of "significant service" — try it now, with a full money back guarantee.

The Progressive **Madison, Wis.**

SIDNEY HILLMAN AWARD WINNER!

BOOKS THEATER RECORDS

BURLINGAME
PUBLIC LIBRARY
Burlingame, Calif.

THE *Nation*

May 28, 1955
20c

Adam Clayton Powell

MY MISSION TO BANDUNG

How Washington Blundered

Hazel Cooley

SCHOOLROOM ON THE AIR

Educational TV Progresses

Alexander Werth

SEVEN DAYS TO PEACE?

The Big Four's Tough Job

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

Nehru and Chou En-lai

By Sam A. Jaffe

Bandung (delayed)

THIS is an attempt to collate what I might call residual impressions of the recent Bandung conference, which has been displaced in headlines but assuredly not in history by later events. I know that many issues taken up only superficially or evasively in the official communiques of the conference are today being diligently pursued by the participating states through diplomatic channels. In this sense the unprecedented meeting of Asia and Africa is by no means over and its ultimate effects cannot yet be measured. If India comes up with a workable basis for a Formosa solution, if Red China is admitted to the U. N., if Peking comes to some agreement with the Southeast Asian states on Chinese minorities it is possible that Bandung will be responsible, directly or indirectly. "Solutions of Asian problems are in the making," one delegate told me. "Thanks to this conference there is something for the world to look forward to."

* * *

Nehru emerged from the conference still Asia's No. 1 spokesman. Not a single top private meeting was held in which either he or his right-hand man, V. K. Krishna Menon, did not participate. India's Prime Minister lost ground, it is true, to the hard core of Arab nations which are desperately trying to preserve Moslem unity. They resented his talks with Colonel Nasser of Egypt. "Nehru is out to split us," one Arab representative told me. "He is already the 'Voice of Asia'; now he hopes to become the 'Voice of the Middle East.'" Nevertheless there was hardly a delegate at the conference who would not admit, even if reluctantly, that Nehru was destined to dominate the Asian scene for some time to come.

U Nu, Burma's Premier, took on considerable stature. Ideologically he is close to Nehru, but his personality is very different. Delegates found him more approachable, more relaxed, less emotional than his Indian confrere. There are many who expect this devout Buddhist, who is only forty-seven years old, to rise rapidly as a power in Asian politics.

* * *

The relationship between Chou En-lai and Nehru is delicate and complex. Both are conscious of the fact that they are rivals for the leadership of Asia. Yet they have many policies in common, and both know that an open feud would accomplish little for either of their countries.

A source close to Nehru told me that the Indian leader became greatly disillusioned with Red China during his recent trip there. Nehru is reported to have told Chou in Peking that China's development was not deserving of admiration because it was based on totalitarian methods. Chou in his turn, according to the report, pointed out that China had accomplished a great deal more through communism than India had managed to achieve through democracy. But Nehru, my source told me, was not convinced, and returned to India confirmed in his opposition to Communist methods. This does not mean, however, that Nehru's foreign policy has been altered in the least. He remains a neutralist, dedicated to peace.

* * *

Undoubtedly Chou left Bandung a happier man. Most delegates agreed that Red China's Premier had gone as far as anyone could reasonably expect in the direction of moderation and conciliation. When, as a Communist, he proclaimed his own atheism, he was quick to insist that China respects the religion of others. When he affirmed the Chinese people's "sovereign right" to Formosa, he also made clear that there was an area within the broad context of the Formosan problem in which he was prepared to negotiate with the United States. He invited the delegates to visit Peking, and sounded as if he meant it. On the personal plane he was equally affable; he even gave autographs.

But Chou's personality did not altogether carry the day for Communist China, as the conference's resolutions show. The truth is that Bandung proved itself to be neither anti- nor pro-West. It was anti-imperial, pro-peace, and pro-freedom, and seemed above all to be seeking some way to extricate the more than half the world's people it represented from the catastrophe of an East-West clash.

* * *

Within the broad concept of peace and freedom which animated the conference, there were of course special interests at work. The Arab nations spent practically all their time seeking a condemnation of Israel. Japan, on the other hand, turned its back on politics; its representatives busied themselves with developing trade relations with as many countries as possible. Each day stacks of beautifully bound trade pamphlets were distributed by the Japanese at the hotels housing the twenty-eight other delegations. I have no means of knowing the results of this campaign, but the Japanese left Bandung smiling.

Indeed, the most immediate concrete results of the conference were in the economic, social, and cultural fields. The participating nations agreed to share information in the development of all three; the results, though perhaps slow in coming, will be far-reaching.

SAM A. JAFFE is The Nation's *roving correspondent in the Far East.*

SPECIAL ISSUE

The issue of June 18, the week of *The Nation's* dinner forum on Atoms for Peace (see back cover), will be oversize, and devoted to the same subject. Contributors will include Bertrand Russell, J. Bronowski, Leland Olds, and other writers and scientists with specialized knowledge of the field.

If you are not a subscriber, watch for the June 18 issue of *The Nation* on your newsstand.

VOLUME 180, NUMBER 22
NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 28, 1955

THE *Nation*
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

The Shape of Things

Atoms for Peace Forum

While the world continues to totter on the brink of the atomic-war abyss, an increasing number of dedicated people are seeking to snatch the atom from the bomb and to place it where it belongs—in the home to make light and heat, in the factory to increase the world's goods, in the medical laboratory to fight disease and extend human life, in the desert to transform waste into wheat. The breathtaking potentials of the peacetime use of atomic power have only begun to be explored. Yet the economic aspects, which promise a world of plenty hitherto undreamed of, are only part of the story; equally revolutionary are the political and social implications. If poverty breeds crime, and hunger and insecurity breed war, what happens when mankind at long last sets itself upon a path which promises ultimately to destroy poverty, hunger, and insecurity?

We stand, then, at a fateful crossroads; one way leads to war and annihilation, the other to peace, the spread of democracy, and an unprecedented era of social and economic progress. If the peoples of the world could express their free choice, the issue would not be in doubt. *The Nation*, ninety years old this summer, has decided that it could perform no greater public service to mark its anniversary than to help give expression to the widespread desire for peace, plenty, and freedom. This will be done through an Atoms for Peace dinner forum, open to the public, to be held Sunday, June 19, 6:30 p. m. at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York. Sponsored by a committee of distinguished civic leaders (see back cover), the forum will be addressed by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt; Lord John Boyd-Orr, 1949 Nobel Peace Laureate; Dr. Harrison Scott Brown of the California Institute of Technology; Dr. Brock Chisholm, former director of the U. N. World Health Organization; Gordon E. Dean, former chairman of the United States Atomic Energy Commission; Freda Kirchwey, editor and publisher of *The Nation*, and Brigadier General Thomas R. Phillips (U. S. A., Retired), military analyst of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*. The speakers' task will be to dramatize the choice that lies before us and to chart, in concrete terms, the revolutionary implications of the phrase Atoms for Peace.

The crucial nature of the choice that we must make is underscored by almost daily developments. As some scientists continue to warn of the as yet unfathomed dangers of atomic fall-out, others draw plans for the harnessing of atomic power for peaceful purposes. Pilot plans for the production of power from atomic piles are already under construction in several parts of the country. Medical sources report new uses for radioactive isotopes. And as this is written, a member of the United States Maritime Commission has announced that an atomic-powered passenger ship may shortly be constructed in an American shipyard.

The forum's significance is heightened by its timing —on the threshold of both the Big Four conference and of the international congress on the peacetime uses of atomic energy. *The Nation* urges its friends to be at the Waldorf on June 19 as an indication of their faith in the magazine and of their hope for a better world. For your convenience, a reservation coupon is printed on the back cover of this issue.

Little Red Schoolhouse

Emily Davie, author of "Profile of America," is indignant, and with good cause. The United States Information Agency, which had purchased and sent abroad 29,811 copies of her book, sought an appropriation of $25,000 to finance the purchase and distribution of an additional 204,542 copies, but funds were denied on the objection, so it is reported, of Representative Frank T. Bow (R., Ohio). "I was told," Miss Davie reports, "that a photograph entitled 'Little Red Schoolhouse, 1750,' should be eliminated because the Russians might think this represents our school system. . . . I was told that the photograph of a dust storm and arid land should be deleted. . . . On page 311 is a picture of a typical rural school teacher with two little boys. This was deleted because someone has seen a Russian propaganda book with a better-looking teacher. . . . Thoreau's 'Walden' was considered damaging and Eugene O'Neill's famous father-and-son scene from 'Ah! Wilderness' was said to be obscene." "If such treatment goes unchecked," Miss Davie told the Senate committee, "the U. S. I. A. book program will have been hopelessly crippled and no writer in America is safe." Nowadays most American authors seem reluctant to defend themselves or their books against self-constituted censors and book-burners, in or out of Congress. Perhaps Miss Davie's spirited defense of her book will prompt some of her colleagues to speak up for theirs.

Alleviators of Tensions

After numerous delays, much cautious conferring, a great deal of paper-work, and no end of high-level Washington double-talk, the way has finally been cleared for the visit to the United States this summer of

In This Issue

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 453

ARTICLES

My Mission to Bandung: How Washington Blundered by Adam Clayton Powell 455

Peking's Brain Laundry: Orthodoxy in Red China by Kingsley Martin 456

Cold War Perspectives: A Historical Fable by William A. Williams 458

Schoolroom on the Air: Educational TV Progresses by Hazel Cooley 461

Seven Day to Peace? Big Four's Tough Job by Alexander Werth 464

BOOKS

Was There a Spy Network? by Bernard M. Loomer 466

He Happened to Be President by C. Vann Woodward 467

"Great Lives in Brief" by Keith Hutchison 468

Selected New Books

Belle Lettres by Jacob Korg 468

Fiction 468

THEATER by Robert Hatch 469

RECORDS by B. H. Haggin 470

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 621 by Frank L. Lewis 472

Nehru and Chou En-lai by Sam A. Jaffe opposite 453

Editorial Board

Freda Kirchwey Editor and Publisher
Carey McWilliams Editorial Director
Lillie Shultz Director, Nation Associates
Victor H. Bernstein Managing Editor
J. Alvarez del Vayo Foreign Editor

Martin Solow Assistant to the Publisher

Harold Clurman Theater
B. H. Haggin Music
Robert Hatch Films
Gladys Whiteside Copy Editor
Caroline Whiting Assistant Literary Editor
Alfred Maund Editorial Assistant
Mary Simon Advertising Manager

Contributing Editors: Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus, Keith Hutchison, H. H. Wilson, W. Macmahon Ball, Maxwell Geismar, Bruce Catton.

The Nation, May 28, 1955, Volume 180, No. 22

The Nation, published weekly by The Nation Company and copyright, 1955 in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879 at the Post Office of New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879. Reentered as second class matter at the Post Office Montgomery, Alabama. Printing Office 1604 Reuber Street.

Subscription Prices Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs, Information Service, Dramatic Index.

ten Soviet farmers and eleven Soviet students. If twenty-one authentic men from Mars had requested permission to visit this country, Washington could hardly have been more perturbed. The Soviet farmers must confine their attention to corn-hog farms in one state, Iowa, and the Soviet students may only remain three weeks and visit six cities. If the proposed exchange visit of American farmers to Russia takes place, it will be interesting to see what restrictions the Russians will impose. Nevertheless, "the slit in the curtain" on which we commented some weeks back (March 26, p. 249) has remained open despite a strenuous last-minute effort to close it. As word was announced here that the two delegations would be admitted, two American professors visiting in Moscow—Dr. Richard R. B. Powell of the law school and Dr. J. Bartlet Brebner of the history department of Columbia University—in a broadcast beamed to North America voiced a sentiment that should be heeded in Moscow as well as in Washington: "Considerations of national policy . . . presently operative both in Russia and our own country . . . make it difficult for a person to visit freely the other country. This lessens the frequency of contacts between the peoples of these two great countries, and contacts are the most reliable alleviators of tensions and eliminators of suspicion."

The Bill of Rights Revisited

Senator Thomas C. Hennings, Jr., assisted by Senators O'Mahoney and Langer—members of a subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee—will shortly hold the first of a series of hearings on the effectiveness of the Bill of Rights under present-day social and economic conditions. The investigation could not be more timely. Only last February, Chief Justice Warren reminded a St. Louis audience that the Bill of Rights has become "controversial." Not since the La Follette investigation of 1939-40 has a committee of the Senate undertaken to check up on the continuing validity of the guaranties embodied in the first ten amendments. Those historic hearings, however, considered only the right of labor to organize and bargain collectively; today the range of inquiry is necessarily as broad as the Bill of Rights. Indeed in some areas and in certain situations the Bill of Rights would seem to be not so much controversial as moribund. Last week, for example, the Reverend Willie G. Lee, a Negro minister who had been active in the drive to register Negro voters in Belzoni, Mississippi, was murdered. Belzoni is in the Mississippi Delta country, where the White Citizens' Councils are more active than elsewhere in the South. The odds would seem to be about ten to one against the likelihood of local law-enforcement officials making a thorough investigation of this or a dozen similar recent incidents in the South. But in the North, East, and West, too, the subcommittee will find many violations of civil rights. If only the most flagrant are looked into, the committee and its staff are in for a busy time.

MY MISSION TO BANDUNG

How Washington Blundered . . *by A. C. Powell*

[*ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, a Democratic Congressman from New York, paid his own way to the Bandung conference as an unofficial observer.*]

I TOOK off for Bandung on April 8, 1955, with the promise that the Department of State of my government was behind me. In fact, in the New York *Times* of that morning Dana Adams Schmidt wrote: "Congressman Powell is to receive 'complete cooperation' from all the embassies of our government." This was completely untrue, as I learned to my great shock. The only person who treated me decently was my former colleague Senator Homer Ferguson who had just arrived in Manila as the new American ambassador to the Philippines. Senator Ferguson, who had just arrived in me to his home, where Mrs. Ferguson had prepared the best room in their house for me. He gave me all possible cooperation and every courtesy—placed his car and chauffeur at my disposal and sent me on to Bandung with his blessing. More than that, he cabled Ambassador Cummings in Indonesia about my plans—cabled him twice the exact time of my arrival, the name of the flight, and other pertinent details.

I traveled by the Indonesian air line to Jakarta with my good friend General Carlos Romulo, the head of the Philippine delegation. When we arrived, the airport was jammed with thousands of people, and the flags of the twenty-nine nations were unfurled to the wind. The Foreign Minister of Indonesia was there with an official committee, the band was playing, the Guard of Honor was drawn up—all the customary pomp and ceremony for distinguished visitors. Boy scouts scurried to and fro with autograph books. The ambassador from the Philippines to Indonesia was there to greet his countryman, but not a single person from the United States embassy was there to meet me.

I stood on the airstrip completely alone. I had come twelve thousand miles to see history made, and to show the Asian and African peoples that the people of the United States were concerned with their progress. I was prepared to fight if necessary so that the truth about the colored people in the United States would be told and so that Communists could not distort the facts for their propaganda. And, mark you, I was not just a citizen; I was a Congressman, a senior Congressman who for twelve years had been ranking member of the Committee on Labor and Education, a member of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. I do not think the United States government ever let down a member of the Congress more completely than it let me down on that afternoon in the capital of Indonesia.

Finally, some American newspapermen spotted me and came over. The seventy-odd American journalists who were there were a dedicated group of hard-working men and women. While talking to them and while the NBC television camera man was interviewing me, I was approached by Jerry Donahue of the United States Information Agency. I said, "Where is the United States ambassador?" I was told he was sorry he could not come; he was prevented by the many other appointments he had to meet delegates. This did not quite ring true. Finally Mr. Donahue, who was trying to be cooperative, admitted that United States officials had been instructed to stay away from me.

The Indonesian government took excellent care of me. I was flown immediately to Bandung, where a lovely apartment in a fine hotel had been provided for me. But there was still no word from our government. I could not understand. When I left Washington, the Assistant Secretary of State had told me that the government would extend me every courtesy. I knew that Ambassador Ferguson in Manila had notified Ambassador Cummings. Even after my press conference, in which I defended the United States and silenced the Communist reporters for *Pravda,* the Tass News Agency, and the Peking press, no word came from the embassy. Raymond Swing spoke to me that night and said he had just told the American ambassador that my talk was "worth more than five million dollars to the United States." But in the eyes of the Department of State I wasn't worth a nickel, and to this date I have not been thanked, although my colleagues in the House of Representatives introduced a resolution praising me for the stand I took at Bandung against both colonialism and communism.

The next day at the conference I was deliberately cold-shouldered by Ambassador Cummings. When I sought him out and told him that I had expected minimum courtesy from him, he replied that he had been instructed by the Department of State to be "discreet." Later, after reports of my press conference had hit the front pages of papers in the United States and editorials in the Hearst papers, the Atlanta *Constitution,* and other journals had praised me and criticized the Department of State, then and only then Ambassador Cummings came to me and asked me to be his house guest while I was in Indonesia. I did not accept his invitation.

BEFORE leaving the United States I had wired President Eisenhower urging him to send greetings to the conference—not an indorsement, just a plain message of good-will. On Monday, April 18, I received this telegram from the Assistant Secretary of State, "We do not believe relationship of this government to Bandung conference would warrant such message from the President." This was a colossal error which showed that the Department of State did not properly evaluate the Far East. Every delegate that I met sharply criticized the attitude of the United States government. In its telegram to me the State Department said also: "We have already asked the Philippines, Pakistan, and Thailand to express our greetings." A member of the Egyptian delegation told me that this would be the equivalent of sending greetings to Egypt by way of the Belgian Congo.

Official messages of good-will poured in immediately from Soviet Russia. The Indonesian *Observer* of April 19 ran on its front page the headline, "United States Refuses to Send Message to Asian-African Conference," and on the following page "Best Wishes for Asian-African Conference from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics." The Premier of Canada, the Honorable Louis St. Laurent, also sent official greetings to the conference. "I would like to convey to you," he said, "the good wishes of the people and government of Canada for the success of the conference. I hope it will contribute to the welfare of the people of Asia and Africa and promote the settlement by peaceful means of all disputes likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security." One of the highest officials of Indonesia said to me, "How different the Canadians are from other Western countries which have adopted such an anti-Asian-African attitude toward our deliberations. We cannot help being struck by the contrast."

Despite all this, the United States won a victory at Bandung that it did not deserve to win, that it did nothing toward winning. We came out on top at Bandung, if only temporarily, since the idea of democracy triumphed over the idea of communism.

PEKING'S BRAIN LAUNDRY

Orthodoxy in Red China . . *by Kingsley Martin*

London

BRAIN-WASHING, which is the Western translation for the Chinese "mind-cleansing," is also called "reeducation"; it may be a process as genuine as voluntary conversion or as cruel and hypocritical as causing a moral breakdown by mental and occasionally physical torture. Its object, I was told in Peking, is to win the acceptance and, if possible, the enthusiasm of the individual for the Communist philosophy.

Its methods vary widely in detail, but the stages seem to be much the same at different times and places. First, the non-believer or imperfect cooperator is subject to a strenuous but friendly effort of persuasion; if he does not quickly appreciate the sin of self-seeking and fully accept the duty of cooperation without social or economic preference over his fellows, he will be subjected to prolonged pressure from the group in which he lives and, if necessary, kept incomunicado while he studies the works of Marx, Lenin, Mao Tse-tung, and other Communist scriptures. If he remains recalcitrant, in spite of the glaringly obvious truth thus laid before him, his inquisitors may decide that various forms of physical discomfort may help him to see the light.

There are a number of reliable accounts of this process in action. Some who have been subjected to brain-washing describe their experience in terms of horror; others speak of their reeducation with all the gratitude and enthusiasm of Billy Graham's converts. There seem to have been a few British prisoners of war in Korea who were permanently converted to Marx-Leninism. Many signed the Communist peace manifesto, partly, no doubt, from conviction and partly because they thereby earned better prison treatment. Certainly the Chinese were utterly convinced that the Korean war was an act of American aggression and that honest members of the Western working classes would quickly respond to the policy of "leniency," and see that they were dupes of capitalism, if they heard the truth clearly expounded in lecture and argument. Until late in 1951 every prisoner was compelled to attend doctrinal classes. The time came when a division was made between the "progressives" and the "reactionaries."

The progressives were thereupon called to the aid of Communist teachers to bring pressure by long hours of indoctrination on those who were not willing to accept forcible conversion. Really stubborn characters were subjected to solitary confinement, deprivation of food, and lack of such minor comforts as the camp afforded. The more gross forms of physical brutality, such as were given headlines in the Western press, only occupy two of the forty pages of the White Paper issued by the British in March and seem, in so far as they were factually convincing, to have been individual cases of cruelty rather than part of the system. The surprising part of the story is that the jailers should have gone to such trouble to try to convert foreign soldiers of the merits of Chinese communism. The Chinese, clearly, went far beyond the point necessary if they had merely sought signatories for the peace manifesto. Indeed, the document seems to mark a new stage in the history of war. Between 1940 and 1945 all the belligerents broke the Geneva Convention, which forbids doctrinal pressure on prisoners, but while the British, Americans and Germans

---

KINGSLEY MARTIN, editor of the London New Statesman and Nation, *has just completed a tour of the Orient, including a visit to Communist China. This is the second article of a series based on his experiences.*

merely sought for prisoners prepared to do propaganda against their own governments, the Chinese in the Korean war seemed anxious to convert their prisoners in order, perhaps, to prove the theory of working-class unity.

WESTERN observers are likely to assume that all but professing Communists now live in terror in China, Peking does not give that impression; liberal intellectuals whom I had known before the revolution were not so afraid to talk as, for instance, their counterparts in the Soviet Union were during any of the periodical purges. There was, indeed, a period when educated Chinese only avoided a severe dose of "reeducation" by somewhat hasty repudiations of the West and probably only partly sincere protestations of loyalty to the new regime.

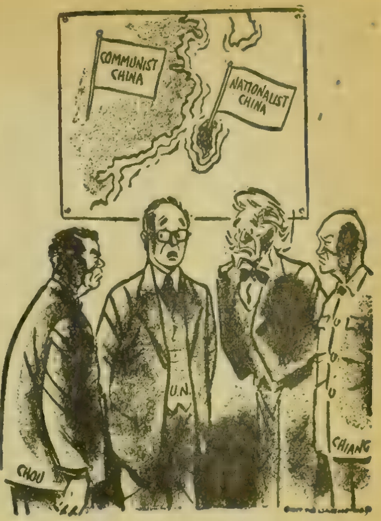
I doubt if the authorities now find it necessary to resort to such methods on a large scale. They involved agonies of mind rather than of body; they resulted in a large number of genuine conversions, because in many cases a professor or writer was already two-thirds converted before he was subjected to his examination. He would be angry at first at being cross-questioned about his record and his motives by his own subordinates or intellectual inferiors. He might have serious philosophic doubts about Marx-Leninism, but he was already more than halfway to conversion because he already had good reason to hate the Kuomintang government and was in complete agreement with the thesis that the Americans were aggressors and that a rejuvenated, happier, and less hungry China could be produced by the reforms which the Communist government was carrying out. Add to this that he would almost certainly be in a state of mental conflict, be troubled on some points by a bad conscience, and that he would be aware that a complete repentance meant an honorable job, while continued obstinacy might mean imprisonment or, at best, social ostracism.

I have been told—I do not know on what evidence—that there are rare Chinese Christians who have spent years in detention camps rather than change their faith. If so, according to the authorities, it is because they have been guilty of counter-revolutionary activity, and not merely given way to dangerous thoughts. This plea is hoary and rightly suspect. It is, however, certain that there are in China many heretics who escape molestation. The Chinese authorities themselves do not claim that Communist doctrine is as yet by any means universally accepted. On the contrary, they declare that old-fashioned religions are respected. In the Institute of Minorities—there are said to be sixty minorities in China—I saw rooms set aside in which scholarship students from Islamic and Buddhist regions were permitted to worship after their own fashion. They were meanwhile taught the true religion of Marx-Leninism. It is said that they are not coerced, but since, as far as I can make out, they remain students until they are converted, there is obviously a strong incentive, if they want a job, to discard their old beliefs.

I met one survivor from the old regime who after he had made wisecracks at the expense of the government reminded me not to repeat what he had said. "Of course not," I said, "but would you get into trouble if I did?" He considered for a moment, and then said "Yes, if I were thought to have denigrated the regime to a foreigner, I should get a period of reeducation." "Would you be badly treated?" I asked. "No," he replied, "I have known several people who have gone through the process; I should be quite kindly treated —I should just be reeducated." He did not say for how long, but I suppose until he understood his error.

He was one of the silent, unimportant, unconverted who no doubt abound in China. For most intellectuals no such fear now exists. Any liberal views and disloyal thoughts which may have been in their minds have practically passed away in the excitement of a revolution which generally earns their esteem and is supported by the colossal weight of a public opinion which automatically accepts the new basis of society as explained in detail by the classes in Marx-Leninism and by the constant stream of newspaper and wireless propaganda.

I recall a number of conversations in Peking with Chinese intellectuals and men of letters whom I had known in London or whose pre-revolutionary record was well known to me. They had not formerly been members of the Communist Party. They appeared to be happily absorbed. One of them, a scholar of high repute, told me that he had been brought up in the tradition of Adam Smith and utilitarian individualism. He found it hard to discard this individualism. "The old Adam keeps creeping back?" I asked. "I try to overcome it," he said. "I am now convinced that it was wrong." The entire motivation in the New China, he said, had changed from that of self-seeking to that of unselfish cooperation. Self-criticism was encouraged; no one was allowed to bully or be overbearing to a critical junior; it was the superior who got into trouble if he didn't take notice of the criticism. In so far as he had doubts—and I pressed him on many points—he was prepared to go on inquiring and seeking the correct answer from his moral superiors. His state of mind, I realized, was precisely that of an English Protestant who has decided, on what he feels to be good grounds, to be received into the Catholic church. When he is not sure, he believes that he is himself at fault and in need of further instruction from a priest.



"Shall We All Recognize the Situation?"

I HOPE I have made it clear that in the new China there is idealism as well as uniformity. Idealism has its dangerous as well as its attractive aspects. A new society is being built from which, as far as possible, liberalism and individualism are being purged. To build such a society means to establish, universally, assumptions that are the very opposite of those on which Western society had rested since the Renaissance. When we consider this partly forcible uniformity of opinion, we at once look for historical parallels among the intolerant Protestant communities built by the early settlers in North America. But a truer comparison is with that of medieval Christendom. In the Middle Ages there was no alternative to a belief in the Catholic God and to an acceptance of the absolute authority of the church and the priesthood. Until the new knowledge began to seep in, it was rare indeed for anyone to hold heretical doctrines. When scientific and Protestant heresies began to appear, the Inquisition was established to deal with them. Within these limits men were free to dispute on detailed matters of doctrine and politics; they produced great art and a wealth of literature. Today the Communist world is seeking to establish, for materialism, an equally unchallengeable authority.

The first job is to establish the new faith, and for that purpose heresy has to be rooted out by propaganda and, if necessary, by inquisittorial methods. At the present stage the intellectual who accepts the basic truth on which society is to be built has at least as much freedom as intellectuals in most countries in the world, and not many of them have any more desire to assert the existence of God, or deny the authority of the Communist Party, than medieval scholars had to become heretics. They paint, with the examples of the old Chinese masters before them, and they write with a new enthusiasm to further the ends of the revolution. They are uniform in politics and philosophy because on basic matters their interests and their opinions are orthodox. A Westerner brought up in the liberal tradition but with every sympathy for the achievements of the Revolution must be conscious of a grim reservation. Will the next generation even know that there are other intellectual worlds to conquer? Will they become tolerant as they become safe from external and internal attack? Or will uniformity grow until Big Brother's lightest word is law? I do not know, but the danger is there because the rulers of China, like the Catholic church, believe they have discovered final truth. And to me this is the final error.

COLD WAR PERSPECTIVES

A Historical Fable . . . *by William A. Williams*

PERHAPS the major American casualty of the cold war has been the idea of history. This wound in the American intellect has, for the most part, gone unnoticed; yet to neglect it is to chance the cancer of cynicism. For the idea of history is the secular conscience of the West, the moral and intellectual impulse which enables us to face up to the implications of W. H. Auden's classic lines about the decay of Hongkong in the late thirties.

> We cannot postulate a General Will;
> For what we are, we have ourselves
> to blame.

History is the record of man's efforts to transform the real into the ideal. It is therefore a mirror in which man can look himself in the eye. Thus the idea of history is nothing less than the notion of honesty which provokes us to measure our performance. Only by acting upon this idea can we comprehend why those who share our ideals grow less confident of our leadership.

We need first to identify and characterize this American and this Soviet man who stand astride the world in verification of De Tocqueville's famous prophecy. Let us think of them in terms of convergence and clash of their respective pasts during the years of the cold war. This may help us gain some insight into the conduct of the actors, and also observe the images they saw in the mirror of history when they examined their own performances.

THE American as Cold Warrior has four ancestors: the Puritan and the Planter, the Hamiltonian and the Homesteader. The Puritan elected himself America's first elite. He originally intended to establish a righteous Eden. His handmaiden was to have been Calvin's Virgin of unexploited wealth. But the Devil, cleverly camouflaged as the noble savage, already claimed the Virgin. Thus the Puritan had first to contain and defeat the red man. He must next convert the heathen and regenerate the tempted in his own army. Only then could he proceed to promote the general welfare. Thus he saw himself as God's chosen agent abroad in the fallen world. He alone knew the disguises of danger and the trail to salvation. Hence he alone must lead.

But the pietistic intensity of his awareness of the Devil withered the Puritan's sense of purpose. Morality ceased to be the means of communicating with God and the guide to the good life. It became instead the black badge of the homeopathic treatment; the wearer was feeling worse so he could feel better. Conformity became salvation. The Virgin was first neglected, then forgotten. Only the Devil, warned the Puritan, spoke of the general welfare.

WILLIAM APPLEMAN WILLIAMS, assistant professor of history at the University of Oregon, is the author of "American-Soviet Relations, 1781-1947."

Thus the Puritan gave way to the Planter, who comforted and wooed the Virgin. She rewarded him handsomely. She also dulled his consciousness of the Devil. Together they enlarged their first log cabin into the manor. But the foundation remained the quicksand of romanticized and self-destroying individualism. For character they substituted the temperament of hedonistic pragmatism. And so they ruled their corporate plantation with the uneasiness of all whose property, power, and prestige are based on the bull whip and the barbecue.

Not until the Puritan pointed to the evil of the slave did the Planter and the Virgin take up the language of noblesse oblige. It was then too late. The hell of a fellow who occasionally feeds the neighborhood does not become m'Lord through rhetoric. Personalized honor is no substitute for communal responsibility. Thus the Planter was forced to tribalize the Puritan's God in an effort to Christianize the plantation family. But the fact subverted the legend. The Virgin had been corrupted by opulence. She lay dying of physical exhaustion and a malignancy in her soul.

The Puritan did not return to power. It was the Hamiltonian who defeated the Planter. And the Hamiltonian had little use for advice from the Puritan. He had his own Virgin. The machine would bless the pious. His God was Jesus the carpenter become entrepreneur. His State was neither a theocracy nor a veranda full of Planters. It was a committee of friendly neo-mercantilists who stimulated economic prosperity by protecting his property at home and helping him acquire more abroad.

As for the Devil, the Hamiltonian assumed he was in every man. But the vices of the successful were less dangerous than those of the failure. Thus ruling became the business of making it possible for more to become successful. The Hamiltonian substituted the credo of the harmony of interests for the tradition of noblesse oblige. This at once employed the Devil and strengthened the rulers. Small wonder that the Planter joined his conqueror in worship before the machine.

So, too, the Homesteader. He had first followed the Planter. But neither the Planter nor the virgin land had rewarded him as they promised. The Hamiltonian offered a renewal of faith and a ladder to success. And the Homesteader could not abandon his belief that any man could become President. That was the only religion he possessed. So instead he substituted the Hamiltonian creed of success and aimed to reach the circle of mercantile monopolists. The Homesteader fought the Hamiltonian only on the issue of which of them, at a given time, the State was to help. He contributed neither a new ideal nor a rational program by which to realize the Hamiltonian Eden of a world-wide mercantile empire. He merely secularized his old revivalism into the gospel of spreading democratic opportunity. The world became his oyster, too.

But the failure of the machine in 1929 threw Planter, Hamiltonian, and Homesteader on the defensive. Had he been ready, with an idea and a will, the Homesteader might have become his own ruler. He was in fact as frightened as the rest. The Puritan claimed vindication, but he was without vitality. It was the Planter who rallied to the crisis. His hedonistic and pragmatic paternalism became, in the person of Franklin D. Roosevelt, the guide for the New Deal. But pragmatic paternalism was no match for the machine run wild.

THUS the Planter-led concert of Hamiltonian and Homesteader found itself on the defensive both at home and abroad. The Hamiltonian's halting effort to work out a new noblesse oblige for an industrial society was cut short by the rise of Hitler, Mussolini, and Tojo. Yet it was hard to accept the idea, let alone the necessity, of cooperating with the new Soviet Revolutionary against this terrible trinity. The Hamiltonian feared for his mercantile empire. The Homesteader was frightened by the doctrinaire who had taken over his own cry against wage-slavery. And the Puritan was now certain that Stalin was the Devil.

Actually, of course, the Soviet Revolutionary was less monolithic than the Americans feared. He had descended from two predecessors: the Great Russian and the Marxian. The Great Russian had declaimed on his title to the robes of Rome, but it had been a preachment to the wind. His tradition of ruthless reform from above was not according to the gospel. And he needed most of his energy to achieve and maintain his own security. He had little strength left for playing pontiff to the world.

The Marxian who replaced the Great Russian was unable to break completely free of these legacies. Revolution did not dispel the problems of geographic and military security. Nor did his doctrine of achieving plenty through the dictatorship of the proletariat evoke much response beyond the perimeter of the Red Army. The scripture of international revolution from below was revised to read socialism in one country through revolution from above. The idea of survival proved non-ideological.

Thus their respective traditions made it possible for the Soviet and the American to collaborate against common danger. The Marxian freedom of necessity was never more effectively dramatized. And even the Puritan had to admit, after 1941, that Hitler and Tojo were more active agents of the Devil. Thus the Puritan reluctantly joined the Hamiltonian and the Homesteader in accepting the Planter's policy of pragmatic survival.

But the defeat of the common enemy raised problems and created temptations for both the Soviet as revolutionary and the American as mercantilist. Stalin's difficulty, while more intense, was not unlike the dilemma that Alexander I faced after the defeat of Napoleon. Alexander could not reform at home unless his borders were secure. But his allies saw him as a threat because he had done so much to defeat Napoleon. They wanted to push him back, contain him, and exploit the victory for themselves. Alexander dismissed his thoughts of reform to

concentrate on defending the Russia he had saved.

Stalin likewise needed security and help if he was to complete and then reform the work of socialism in one country. Yet he, rather than Alexander, was the symbol of revolutionary change to much of the world. Thus it was imperative for him to have assistance from the American if he was to abandon the role of revolutionary to become the reformer. Past experience did not offer either Stalin or his doctrinaire critics much assurance that Russia's allies against Hitler had accepted socialism—even in one other country. Nor did America's use of the atomic bomb to knock out Japan two days before Russia entered the war in the Pacific do much to strengthen Stalin's hand against these critics. Lacking concrete guaranties of security from the American, Stalin had but two weapons in reserve—the Red Army in Europe and revolutionary Marxism in Asia.

And Roosevelt as the imperial Planter was more than just pragmatic; he was a dreamer of paternalistic visions for the world. He declined to bind himself with a guaranty for either Russia's European frontiers or a promise of economic aid. Roosevelt may have considered such arrangements but he never committed himself. Even had he wished to do so, he was no longer the unquestioned master of his own manor. For just as Stalin was badgered by the unregenerate Marxist revolutionary, so Roosevelt was challenged by the mercantilist Hamiltonian and the crusading Puritan.

FOR these reasons the Hamiltonian and the Puritan struck a bipartisan bargain to replace the Planter. Both had learned from him the rhetoric of noblesse oblige. And perhaps the Hamiltonian would, at some future time, pour content into the concept. But at the moment it was the mercantile imperialism of the Open Door and the crusading fervor of the Puritan that triumphed. The Soviet Union became at once the Devil to be contained and the competitor to be crushed. Despite their differences over tactics, they worked well together, these Puritans and Hamiltonians—Dulles and Acheson, MacArthur and Forrestal, and Kennan and Harriman.

The Planter was overwhelmed. The Hamiltonian and Puritan soon forgot the origins in noblesse oblige of the Marshall Plan. Point Four went the way of the old Homestead Act, becoming a means to establish and maintain a system of absentee mercantile control over underdeveloped areas. Henry Wallace, a recalcitrant Homesteader, was easily checked. His cry for coexistence and "progressive capitalism" was squelched with the reply that one could not live with the Devil, and that the corporation was functionalized feudalism. President Truman behaved as properly became the Homesteader. He looked up to the Hamiltonian and, as revivalist, accepted the Puritan's definition of the Devil.

Kennan prescribed the new homeopathic remedy. The Soviet Revolutionary would be purged of his sin by forcing new hardships upon him via containment. Harriman stressed the Hamiltonian economics of the cure. Forrestal readied the air force, the new military arm of the mercantilist, to enforce the treatment if necessary. Truman sermonized the remedy as Doctrine. Acheson provided a new Westminster Confession in his famous speech at Berkeley. The Devil could not even discuss salvation unless and until he recanted. And Dulles labored mightily to purify the creed and infuse its faithful followers with ever greater zeal.

Stalin countered by becoming the Great Russian Marxian. Not even his withdrawal from Iran influenced the Puritan and the Hamiltonian. So he increased his demands, tightened up his controls, and forced the pace at home. Peter the Great became Lenin's inspirational comrade in the ruthless drive for reconstruction and further industrialization. Stalin simultaneously consolidated his authority along the Russian border in Europe. He risked much to incorporate Czechoslovakia—but it was at once the bridgehead to the Ukraine and Russia's primary source of uranium. Secure there, he could and did accept the loss of Tito. Then, after blockading Berlin to hold the initiative, he turned to the Marxian offensive in Asia.

Stalin had always kept his eye on the East when other Bolsheviks had claimed that the revolution would dawn in the West. Yet at the end of the war, when he had hoped to strike some bargain with America, Stalin held his hand in China. But once the Great Russian was secure in Europe, he became the revolutionary in Asia. He parlayed the legacy of the Puritan missionary and the Hamiltonian trader into a Marxian triumph in Peking and Shanghai. And his new ally quickly proved its value by holding the Cold Warrior to a draw in Korea.

Thus strengthened on his Marxian and Great Russian frontiers, the Soviet Revolutionary sought to freeze the stalemate and try again to become the reformer. Perhaps this time he would succeed. For his nuclear power had opened fissures between the Puritan and the Hamiltonian. The Hamiltonian wondered if the Puritan's homeopathic treatment had not confirmed instead of converted the Devil. Not even a mercantile empire was safe anymore. Thus President Eisenhower and Defense Secretary Wilson seemed less anxious to follow the exhortations of Dulles the Puritan than did Homesteading revivalists like Senators Douglas and Humphrey, or militant mercantilists like Senators Knowland and Symington.

THE hard-headed, hard-moneyed Hamiltonians found themselves in a situation much like the one which had earlier confronted President John Adams. Then the Puritan had led the Hamiltonians to an encampment for a crusade against the French Revolutionary, the eighteenth century Devil. Adams enraged many of his fellow Hamiltonians when in 1799 he struck tents, not to attack, but to coexist. But Adams had help from the Planter. Similar support was not so ready at hand in

1955 to help Eisenhower, should he secretly desire, break free of the Puritan. The Planter was but a memory, and the Homesteader lacked the leadership and the will to snap the spell of the evangelical mercantilists. It was foreigners like Laborite Aneurin Bevan, Aristocrat Winston Spencer Churchill, and Idealist Pandit Nehru who took the initiative and applied the pressure on the Puritan to end the cold war.

Those who did come to the aid of Eisenhower were men who had refused to toss the idea of history down the Puritan memory hole. Planters like Sumner Welles and James F. Byrnes had not, of course, gone soft on the Devil. But they did remind us that the Soviet Revolutionary had been willing, between 1941 and 1948, to negotiate an overall settlement. And it was Senator Walter F. George, another personification of the old Planter-Hamiltonian alliance, who took the lead in proposing talks at the summit with the Russians.

More numerous were the Hamiltonians who had never been too keen on the Puritan's crusade. James Reston noted that all policy-makers knew the Soviets still sought negotiations in 1955. Henry L. Stimson revealed that his earlier proposal to try that approach had been vetoed by the Cold Warriors. Edward R. Stettinius and James P. Warburg suggested that it might have been more fruitful to have used America's economic power as a tool of negotiation instead of appearing, by abruptly terminating Lend-Lease, to wield it as a bludgeon.

Steelmaster Ernest T. Weir had a pointed warning: the world was growing skeptical of Puritans who seemed afraid of peace. Walter Lippmann, perhaps the classic example of the Hamiltonian as intellectual, had been tugging at the Puritan's frock coat since 1947. First he demurred from Kennan's homeopathic prescription, then he criticized crusaders, and finally he spoke openly for coexistence. Hans Morgenthau and Charles Burton Marshall, two hard-bitten Hamiltonians, concluded that even the best foreign policy could not convert all heathens.

Some of Clio's own courtiers also took a searching look in the mirror of history. Professors Lewis Mumford, Frederick L. Schuman, and Arnold J. Toynbee reported that the tunic of the Cold Warrior was not untarnished. Ralph Barton Perry, who some time before had warned of the Puritan's "moral athleticism," pointed out that it was necessary to survive if one was to build a Garden of Eden. And George A. Morgan, a Hamiltonian foreign-service officer, studied Stalin to the conclusion that the Devil was quite aware that revolutions were subject to the law of diminishing returns. Morgan's Puritan superiors seemed quite blind to such insights.

But perhaps it was Louis J. Halle, a State Department Hamiltonian become historian, who caught the most important image of the past. The time was 425 B. C., when a Lacedaemonian defeat had brought the struggle with Athens to a crisis. The Lacedaemonians, offering significant concessions, asked for peace. They appealed to Athens to "avoid the mistake of those who meet with an extraordinary piece of good fortune, and are led on by hope to grasp continually at something further." Peace, they said, would give Athens "a reputation for power and wisdom." But the Athenians, tempted by the mirage of glory, chose instead to go for broke—and were broken. It remained to be seen, in 1955, whether the Puritan crusader would similarly mistake his catechism for wisdom.

SCHOOLROOM ON THE AIR

Educational TV Progresses . . *by Hazel Cooley*

MISCONCEPTIONS abound about education in TV—about the need for it, about its possibilities, about who is going to support it. But one thing is certain: it is not a failure. It is not sliding backward into disintegration; it is going forward, even if slowly in comparison with other current developments.

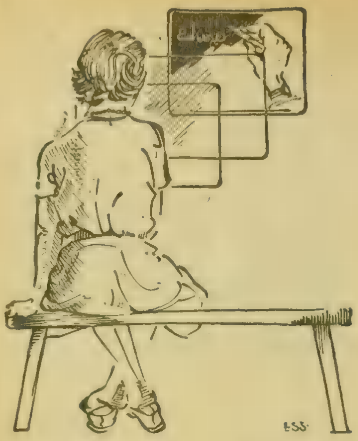
This fact takes on significance in the light of the present teacher shortage. Dr. David O. Henry, Executive Vice-Chancellor of New York University, recently stated that education cannot hope to cope with the rising tide of students unless such aids as educational TV are moved into the center of current practice.

Barely three years ago the Federal Communications Commission reserved exclusively for non-commercial educational use 252 TV channels in as many separate communities. Ownership and operation of these channels was restricted to non-profit educational organizations, the only exception being a municipality whose school system was under the control not of an independent body but of the township itself. The F. C. C. distinctly specified that operation of these channels was to be in no respect commercial, since otherwise the objective of "a genuinely educational type of service" would not be attained. Educators recognized that this action of the F. C. C. was only the first step, that enormous difficulties lay ahead.

Since then, fifteen educational TV stations have been established, reaching some twenty-five million people. Eight others are under construction and will be operating soon. Seven additional communities are completing plans and collecting funds to start construction. Ralph W. Steele, executive director of the Joint Committee for Educational Television, a national clearing-house

---

HAZEL COOLEY, author of "Vision in Television," is engaged in community activities.



for aid to educational broadcasters, believes that by the end of 1955 there will be thirty such stations in eighteen states, reaching forty million people.

A single educational organization can seldom swing TV by itself; usually a number combine and share the cost. Before a station can get started, innumerable, almost endless, negotiations are necessary. The obstacles to be surmounted include the operational budget, building and expansion requirements, the hesitation of universities to commit university funds, and the fact that 186 of the 252 educational channels are in the ultra-high frequency. (See my article in *The Nation* for February 19, 1955.) That fifteen stations are already on the air, eight about to begin, and seven well on their way, in scarcely three years' time, conclusively proves that educators have what it takes—courage and persistence.

WHEN a commercial TV station is organized, it can obtain working capital by the various means available to business enterprises. It makes a profit or suffers a loss depending on the demand for what it offers. Like any entrepreneur, the commercial operator goes into TV because he thinks he can make it pay. For the non-commercial, educational station, however, there can be no dollars-and-cents profit. No matter how good a TV job educators may do, it does not add a penny to their personal income or their school budget. Their incentive is entirely different from that of the business man who goes into TV.

The educator has always been a servant of the people and is dedicated to the goal of furthering social progress. It is a never-ending assignment. He must be always helping the inquiring mind to seek and to learn. He cannot neglect, therefore, the new force—TV—which is at work on the thought, emotions, and actions of society. One of his responsibilities is to be alert to new ways of doing an old job. Attempts by educators to use the earlier medium of radio won a tremendous following. But they proved that to be successful educational programs must be given at specified hours of specified days and continue without interruption month after month and year after year. Since there were no non-commercial radio stations for education exclusively, such programs suffered from the growing demand for radio time. Then came the war, followed by television development and experimentation and a "freeze" on the granting of new TV licenses. At this point, warned by their experience with education by radio, educators organized to claim a share of the TV channels. The result is known—252 channels reserved for educational purposes.

While educators are grateful for the opportunities provided, they are aware of the problems they face. These can be lumped in three major categories: (1) making the public aware of the educational values involved; (2) getting money to build and operate educational TV stations; and (3) developing talent and programs.

Educators recognize the usefulness of TV to any institution of learning and to the community. The Dartmouth Television Committee, reporting to the president of the college in January, 1954, said:

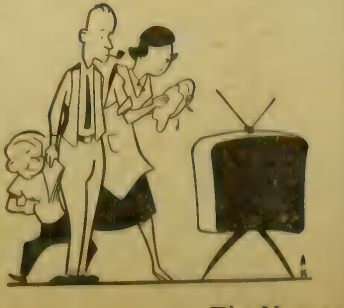
> Despite a fundamental reluctance to encourage an adventure by the college along a course . . . largely untried . . . in the entire sphere of American education, . . . despite knowledge of the very considerable outlay of funds and man-power inevitably involved, the committee has come gradually to the conclusion that the potentials of TV in education are so enormous that . . . the only real questions to be resolved . . . are how far and how fast Dartmouth should go in adapting TV to its ends. . . . We can fail to understand its meaning at our peril.

While educators are aware of the potential of TV in education, the general public is not. If there is a "peril" in failing to understand, why has the public not been enlightened? Why have not the educators tried more vigorously to obtain the cooperation and support of the public? Do they feel that once the public gives its support, it would want to share in or dictate policy? Activating these 252 channels is actually the responsibility of all the people in the country, not of the educators alone, though only the educators may file for license to operate. It is up to the educators to bring educational TV to the people, but they will find it tough going if the people don't back them.

THE lack of substantial financial support for educational TV shows that people generally are unaware of their responsibility. To bring this home to them should have been the first objective of the crusade for education in TV. Of course there are many enlightened citizens who are anxious to have educational channels in operation in their communities and are willing to work for it. A National Citizens' Committee for Educational Television was established in 1952 for the purpose of stimulating public support for educational TV. But where is it? It may be known in certain parts of the country, but in many others it is not at all known. Surely, after three years, one might expect to have heard of its accomplishments.

People don't seem to realize that educational programs over commercial networks often get greater response than commercial programs. When "Macbeth" was presented one Sunday afternoon in November, 1954, a Nielson rating indicated that 6,500,000 sets were tuned in, with an average of two people to a set, or 13,000,000 listeners.

The fifteen stations now in operation got their start with money



from a variety of sources—state legislatures, government agencies, school budgets, foundations large and small, commercial broadcasting stations, business firms, charitable, religious, and public-welfare organizations, and individual donors. Lack of money is still the chief difficulty. Most colleges would be able to go ahead with their own transmitters if they had the funds. It is interesting that eight of the fifteen stations that have been set up are supported largely by public funds. Their success proves that when the people of a community know what education over the air waves is like, they want it, they will back it with their money, and they will specify exactly what they want in programming.

There is no question that the colleges are hindered by the ultra-high-frequency (UHF) assignments. The lack of viewers who can pick up the UHF signal has forced Michigan State College to curtail operations. Its programming was good and its potential audience large, but they had no UHF sets. It is now reduced to the position of an auxiliary station feeding nine commercial stations in the state.

The colleges have an advantage in their command of talent. Naturally the talent has to be channeled into TV fare, but it is there, on the campus. Educational TV, moreover, is really an extension of the colleges' regular work. Teachers before the TV camera are not "performers" in the sense that commercial programs require performers; they are teachers, and they are on familiar ground. They must develop certain techniques, use more visual objects to point up the lesson, but they are still teaching. A good teacher is as good before the camera as in the classroom, and a poor teacher has a chance to improve by watching one who is superior.

COLLEGE programs have proved tremendously popular. An outstanding example is the work of Dr. Frank Baxter, a professor of English at the University of Southern California, quite unknown outside of California a year ago and today a national figure. He has presented Shakespeare as only a scholar could to an audience estimated at 400,000. But this was not over the college transmitter. It came Saturday mornings over CBS station in Hollywood, which presented "Shakespeare on TV" as a public-service sustaining feature. Why didn't the program come over the college transmitter? Station KTHE, Los Angeles, licensed to the University of Southern California, is another UHF calamity: no sets, no funds, no audience. Late in 1954, the station was granted special temporary authority to remain silent pending further developments.

Group-instruction techniques are being used for the teaching of piano by television. Courses in elementary psychology are being given by many stations—the subject seems a "natural" for the medium. Farm women and town women are enrolling enthusiastically for courses in "Let's Make a Dress TV"; women are always interested in programs that point to better living for the family. Many studies indicate that programs based on community interests have the greatest appeal—interviews with local people, stories of local products, solutions for common problems.

Heart-warming stories about what TV instruction has accomplished are coming in. A farmer who for fifteen years had refused all advice to lime his land was convinced by a television demonstration. An insurance salesman who knew nothing of farming but had farmer customers watched a college TV program on insect control and with this to talk about was able to "get his foot in the door." A teacher reported that after one TV lesson in art she found her pupils much more receptive to her instruction.

At the annual convention of the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, held in February of this year, the president of the Montclair State Teachers College, Dr. E. DeAlton Partridge, convinced more than eight hundred educators that television can be a most effective classroom device. Its use lightens some of the teacher's burdens, raises teaching standards, and enriches the lives of pupils. The dynamic Dr. Partridge proved his points with visual demonstrations.

ONE of his purposes was to show how valuable TV can be in the present teacher shortage. There are 7,307,000 more pupils in our elementary schools today than there were in 1947-48. There will be 2,140,000 more high-school students by 1960. Last year there were 1,032,000 elementary and high-school teachers in the United States. In 1959-60 more than 1,670,000 will be needed. And these figures leave entirely out of account the large annual replacement demand for teachers. Educators are justifiably concerned over this situation, and those who have experimented with TV in the area of teacher education believe that it offers some answers.

The lesson that comes over TV has been planned and prepared by a number of good teachers. It has been revised and improved. It is built of materials derived from the experience or gathered by the research of several persons. It has been enriched by discussion and rehearsal. Nothing like as much care can be given to the preparation of the ordinary run of daily lessons. No single classroom teacher could have access to the material from museums, libraries, historical collections, and the like that are drawn on for TV lessons. TV relieves the teacher of many hours of preparation and lets him conserve his energies for the important task of building his personal relations with his pupil. The teacher with genius can reach thousands of children over TV. Other teachers are quick to learn from the TV teacher who has a better way of presenting a lesson. The quick insight of a gifted teacher for the best way to make a point is never lost to the camera. Suppose it becomes possible to focus the TV camera on such a teacher and transmit his personality and technique from one classroom to a number of classrooms, from 100 children, to 10,000, to 1,000,000. The possibilities are enormous. With further research, demonstration, and practice it is inevitable that TV will be widely used to help education out of its present dilemma of increasing pupil demand and decreasing teacher supply.

The use of educational TV for the enrichment of the individual in every community in the United States is only beginning. With support by the public, this supplementary educational system may point the way to the rediscovery of basic values which have been lost or buried under a mass of shoddy substitutes. For example, young people who think of themselves as "glamour" girls or boys may be brought to the realization that there are more worth-while attitudes. In this respect educational TV has a unique opportunity, for it is able to reach the vital spot, the home, and to affect the thinking of practically everyone in every corner of the country.

SEVEN DAYS TO PEACE?

Big Four's Tough Job . . by *Alexander Werth*

Paris

"NATO at Grips with the *Detente*" was the title of a recent article by Andre Fontaine in the *Monde*. That sums up the situation very nicely, though not quite fully. Even the optimists—and in the officially inspired press in France as in England optimism is *de rigueur* these days—have an uncomfortable feeling that two roads stretch out before humanity—one leading to the end of the cold war and the other into the "hideous epoch," to use Churchill's phrase. The big question is whether the second can be barred off and traffic diverted to the other.

The NATO experts, preparing for the worst, have drawn up a timetable that runs as follows: twenty-three months after the ratification of the Paris agreements the twelve German divisions must be ready for use; in the first four months the central general staff will be set up and a first group of 18,000 men will be recruited; by November, 1955, the first conscripts will be called up; in September, 1956, six German divisions will have been fully formed; twelve months after the ratification the total German air force will be ready. And so on. What a world we are living in! M. Pinay, the small-town politician and hides-and-leather business man who was one of Petain's National Councilors—in short, a Vichyite—and is now the head of the Quai d'Orsay welcomed the German Chancellor into the NATO fold last week. "Within the community of free nations," said Adenauer, "Germany will be an able and reliable partner; and it is here that we wish to employ our efforts for the safeguarding of freedom and human dignity." M. Pinay congratulated Adenauer on Germany's magnificent accomplishment, which was due to the Chancellor's grim resolve to "restore democratic civilization in Germany."

M. Pinay fancies himself as the great architect of Franco-German friendship. He went of his own accord to Bonn, was very charming to the Germans, and in two days of talks managed to agree to so many German demands that he virtually lost the Saar to Germany and opened the way for the gradual application of the secret Hallstein memorandum. This document, published by *France-Observateur* on April 28, contained a cunning program for the political and economic "liberation" of the Saar. Its authenticity has not been denied.

Frenchmen are bitter about the West's welcome to Germany. "What a way," wrote the *Monde* of May 8, "to celebrate the tenth anniversary of Germany's defeat!" A fortnight ago Claude Bourdet returned to the President of the Republic all the decorations he had received as a soldier and Resistance leader in protest against the rearmament of Germany, which nullified all that the Resistance had fought for.

Just before the Foreign Ministers of Britain, the United States, France, and the Soviet Union left for Vienna, there was a suspicion that Mr. Dulles did not expect things to go off so smoothly as they did. That was thought to be possibly one reason why Mr. Dulles sounded so unenthusiastic about "talks at the summit" and recommended them to President Eisenhower only on condition that the Foreign Ministers be present, too, that there be no fixed or detailed agenda, and that the talks should last "less than a week." His lack of eagerness rather pained the British Conservatives, who have made these "talks at the summit" the most important plank in their election platform. Whether they will want them as badly after the election remains to be seen. Eden, who is much more under the thumb of the Foreign Office than Churchill was, is perhaps in reality less enthusiastic than his Leeds election address would suggest.

If by some miracle the "summit" talks take place, what are they to be about? It is felt here that since there cannot be a serious talk "in less than a week" about anything, either nothing will be accomplished or the talks will last far more than a week. The range of subjects to be discussed is immense. The decision on the rearmament of West Germany seems final; or will the Russians still try to extend to the whole of Germany the Austrian principle of armed neutrality and unification? Will they accept, in that case, some

---

ALEXANDER WERTH, a contributing editor, is The Nation's *correspondent in France.*

variant of Eden's free-election proposal of February, 1954? Much depends, of course, on Germany's own reactions, and on Adenauer's willingness to take account of the influence of the "neutralization-for-unification" idea on German opinion. Can there conceivably be Bonn-Moscow talks between now and the summit meeting? A curious fact, to which considerable attention has been paid here, is the prominence given in the Russian press to an American news agency's report that the Russians might invite Adenauer to visit Moscow. As the *Monde* said:

> It would take great strength of character for Adenauer to prefer the Western alliance to these Russian promises of liberation; and it is doubtful whether such strength of character would make him popular in Germany. . . . The Austrian "operation" has successfully demonstrated to the Germans that the keys of liberation are not in the hands of the West but in the hands of Moscow.

To the Russians there is of course a certain danger in advertising "neutralization" as a remedy for all ills. For if, on the one hand, certain French intellectuals are led to say hopefully, "If Germany and Austria are neutralized, why shouldn't France be, too?" Poles in London can also ask whether the Russians will agree to the "neutralization" of Poland and all the other countries of Eastern Europe.

The Washington correspondent of the *Monde* reports a growing realization in the United States not only that "neutralist" tendencies are becoming vocal both in Europe and in Asia, but also that "it will not be possible or even desirable to prevent these countries, which benefit from American aid, from trying to come to terms with the East, either for imperative commercial reasons or in the hope of escaping the nuclear cataclysm." As regards "imperative" commercial reasons, it is certainly true that if West Germany —or a united Germany—is inevitably interested in Eastern trade, the Russians have shown even more tangible signs of being not merely interested but actually in need of a growing volume of German industrial goods. For this, too, they may be willing to pay a political price.

The Russians are fully as anxious about Formosa as about Germany; and they are waiting for Chou En-lai's Bandung proposal for direct Chinese-American talks to be followed up. At a summit meeting it is probable that Bulganin will ask for China's admission to the U. N. as part of a settlement, or at least as the condition of Communist acceptance of some kind of modus vivendi at Formosa and in Korea. It is not certain, however, that this admission of China to the U. N.—to which everybody seems to be attaching less and less importance these days—necessarily holds a top place in the Russians' minds.

ANOTHER question raised in Paris is what is going to happen in Indo-China. Will the sharp Franco-American differences in South Vietnam be smoothed out and a joint policy be adopted by General Ely and General Collins, either with or without the "assistance" of Bao Dai? The Americans are suspicious about Bao Dai's ultimate objectives. Although popularly treated as a "night-club emperor," he is known to be a shrewd, and very slippery, politician, one who in the course of his strange career—serving the Japanese, cooperating with Ho Chi-minh, reluctantly accepting French patronage and then seeking American support against the French—has often put the interests of Vietnam first and may therefore try to come to terms with Ho Chi-minh, as he often did in the past. If Bao Dai were given sufficient authority in South Vietnam, it is by no means inconceivable that he might agree to a deal with Ho and facilitate the holding of those 1956 elections which the United States is accused of wanting for obvious reasons to postpone.

Statement by Ollenhauer

[*Erich Ollenhauer, chairman of the German Social Democratic Party—Adenauer's most powerful opposition—sent* The Nation *the following resume of his attitude toward the coming four-power talks.*]

I believe that the conference should be held in Berlin in order to impress upon the participants the urgent need for a settlement. The paramount objectives should be the establishment of European security and the restoration of German political unity. In view of the responsibility of the four powers for the present division of Germany and for the regimes established there, I do not believe that either East or West Germany should be represented.

The restoration of German unity would be a great step toward removing the iron curtain and ending the cold war.

Still another question that has arisen in the past few days is what has really been the effect on American policy of the Bandung conference. It is thought here that America may have to adopt a much more "subtle" policy toward African and Asian peoples than it has followed in the past few years, and may have to come out again, as it did for some years after the last war, as an enemy of "colonialism." One of the biggest sources of pro-American feeling among the Moroccans and Tunisians was the American "anti-colonialism" of the Truman era. When America washed its hands of North Africa at the end of 1952, the French started a sharp "colonialist" offensive which resulted in the deportation of the "pro-American" Sultan of Morocco, the murder of Ferhat Hashed, the Tunisian trade-union leader, and the policy of repression exercised ever since in both countries—at least until a few days ago.

It was against this international background that the figures of Dulles, Macmillan, Pinay, and Adenauer moved about uneasily in Paris last week. What will come out of all the talks in the end? A mere consolidation of the present explosive status quo? Partial agreements which only relieve the tension till the next headache, or more sweeping agreements which will expand the present "atomic equilibrium" into an economic, ideological, and psychological equilibrium in the world? As long as the guns and bombs are silent, there is still hope. But are our leaders, who have been used to years and years of routine thinking, intelligent enough to change their ways? Despite all the old Marxist cliches on the inevitable collapse of capitalism uttered in Moscow on the eighty-fifth anniversary of Lenin's death, the Russians seem to be the first to have broken away from the crude methods of cold-war diplomacy.

BOOKS

Was There a Spy Network?

THE ATOM SPY HOAX. By William A. Reuben. Action Books. $3.75.

By Bernard M. Loomer

THIS book is bound to be controversial in its impact. It will probably be either misinterpreted and distorted or quietly ignored by various interested groups. But, in this reviewer's judgment, it should be read and discussed with all possible openness of mind. The subject is important, not only symbolically but in itself, and the treatment seems to be thorough, systematic, and competent.

Objectively viewed, this volume is a comprehensive and at points quite detailed analysis of the "atom-spy" cases and trials that have occurred in Canada, England, and the United States. Beginning with a revealing account of the celebrated Canadian trials of 1946, including that of Allen Nunn May, and concluding with a searching presentation of the Rosenberg-Sobell affair, Reuben's more or less chronological coverage includes all the major and apparently all the minor figures who were accused of being involved, directly or indirectly, with espionage in the interests of Russia.

Reuben's interest in these cases is not primarily legal or technical. He seeks to determine on the basis of factual and documented evidence, when "evidence" is interpreted according to the usual canons of courtroom procedure, the guilt of the people charged with, indicted for, or convicted of espionage, especially if the alleged espionage was centered on the "secret" of the atom bomb. In dealing with each of the major figures he traces the evolution of the case from its original official charge and accusation—particularly as this was highlighted by the headlines of the press—through the indictment to the evidence presented at the actual trial. A final evaluation is made of the accuracy of the charges in the light of the supporting evidence. Also, the possible causal connections between the cases are elaborately explored and critically tested. The reason this pattern of presentation is followed, it is clear, is that the public has been led to believe that the cases are causally related, that there was an atom-spy "network," that some espionage agents, after being caught, directly implicated others.

But Reuben's analysis goes beyond empirical description and evaluation. The ethical and political nature of his concern is revealed in the preface:

> When the Rosenberg-Sobell trial ended, the prosecutor made a short statement declaring that the affair was "a necessary by-product of the atomic age." At the time . . . no one in the United States registered any challenge to this judgment. The purpose of this book is to reconsider the premises on which such a judgment once came to be completely accepted in the United States, and to try to ascertain whether everything that has happened in America in the first decade of the atomic era, as completely symbolized by such a proceeding as the Rosenberg-Sobell trial, is really a necessary by-product of our age, or whether, by artful manufacture, it has only been made to seem so.

In other words Reuben's thesis is that these atomic cases were manufactured consequences of the cold war and were used to support it, and were not themselves causes of the cold war. In short, his conclusion is that the whole atomic-spy business was a hoax. Or, to put it perhaps more fairly, Reuben wants to state this hypothesis at least in the form of a question. For example, he concludes his long dissection of the Canadian spy trials by saying:

> When only the direct evidence is considered, would it not seem that the Canadian case stemmed from the United States' decision of September 21, 1945, of being unwilling to share its experiences in producing the atom bomb with Russia? And that the Truman-Attlee-King decisions on the atom bomb did not result from the discovery of a Canadian "atom-spy network," but rather resulted in its fabrication? According, that is, not to the headlines, but to the evidence.

Space does not permit a review of the discussion of any one case. But some of Reuben's more specific conclusions can be brought together and stated briefly: apart from confessional evidence—in the cases of May, Fuchs, Gold, Slack, and Greenglass—no proof was offered that atomic espionage ever occurred; the confessions were never corroborated in any way. (Reuben questions the validity and trustworthiness of all these confessions. But this reviewer is left with the impression that the confessions of May and Fuchs particularly, and possibly of Greenglass, may still have to be accepted as true.) In terms of evidence, no causal relation between communism or the Communist Party and espionage was established. (Communists were convicted but not of espionage. Those convicted of espionage were not proved to be Communists.) In terms of evidence, no network of spies was shown to exist. (Reuben maintains, for example, that the evidence does not prove but in fact disproves the publicly held notion that Fuchs implicated Harry Gold.) In reporting evidence the American press was negligent in its duty; in its headlining of unsupported charges it misused its freedom.

ONE of Reuben's most valuable contributions is his lengthy treatment of the Canadian spy trials. He presents some startling findings: Of the twenty-six people originally cited and charged with espionage ten were sent to prison; the others were either never indicted or if indicted were acquitted. Of the ten sent to prison one woman was sentenced because she pleaded guilty to violating the Official Secrets Act in that during the late 1930's she discussed international affairs with Fred Rose, a Communist member of the Canadian Parliament; another woman was sentenced for admittedly associating with official Soviet representatives; two were convicted of handing over to the Russians, then our allies, publicly available information about R. D. X., an explosive; one, a Communist Party official, was convicted of forgery in connection with a passport for another person; another

---

BERNARD M. LOOMER is professor of philosophy and religion at the Divinity School of the University of Chicago.

was convicted of passing on unclassified information to an admitted Communist who in turn knew Fred Rose and members of the Soviet embassy; one person attended a Marxist study group; Fred Rose received information about R. D. X., but it was not alleged that he gave the information to anyone; and Allen Nunn May confessed in England. Reuben's conception of the difference between those who went to prison and those who didn't is this: "Those who 'talked' were found guilty, entrapped by their own talking. Those who didn't give evidence against themselves were shown to be innocent."

One may agree or not with Reuben's political interpretation. Some may like it because it simplifies the whole problem. Others may find it too shocking or too strong or perhaps not sufficiently documented as it relates to specific instances. This reviewer inclines to the judgment that more credit should be given to the rampant hysteria and fear as explanations both of the character of these trials and of what may now look like manufactured plots. We—public, press, and government alike—were bereft of our good sense, a condition some of us now look back on with feelings of shame. In this regard the national climate seems to have improved. With respect to a judgment about the documentation of Reuben's thesis in individual cases, this reviewer is handicapped. Apart from some knowledge of the Rosenberg-Sobell trial, he has not read the official transcripts of these cases. Nor has he read other interpretations of the trials. Consequently he is unable to determine the extent, if any, to which Reuben's persistent and penetrating probing of the spy trials may have been influenced by his stated purpose.

But without denying or affirming Reuben's thesis, it can be maintained that his analysis of the spy trials, taken by itself, merits sober consideration. And on the basis of his concern with the Rosenberg-Sobell trial, this reviewer credits the charge that in several if not all of these cases too many important questions remain unanswered. At least a reasonable doubt in certain instances would appear to be warranted. The purpose of this review is to bring Mr. Reuben's book to the attention of thoughtful and sensitive members of the community in the belief that the cause of justice and our political well-being will be better served if his contentions are discussed and evaluated.

He Happened to Be President

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES AND HIS AMERICA. By Harry Barnard. The Bobbs-Merrill Company. $6.

By C. Vann Woodward

IT WAS the fate of the nineteenth President of the United States, as his latest biographer says, to have been forgotten "even in his own lifetime." When President Hayes is remembered at all, it is usually in connection with the national election crisis of 1876 and the Compromise of 1877 that ended Reconstruction. Yet even in those stirring events he figured mainly as a bystander. Such fame as he earned was that of a compromiser—but a compromiser who won the lasting affection of neither of the reconciled adversaries.

In contending that Hayes deserved better of posterity and in seeking to do him justice, Mr. Barnard does not make the mistake previous biographers of the man have made, the error of overshooting the mark. He frankly regards Hayes as a man who happened to be President, and never as a figure of destiny or the indispensible man. He sets forth the sturdy Ohioan's commonplace virtues and plain ideas by the side of his unsensational shortcomings. The result is a welcome corrective of earlier biographies, and withal a credible portrait.

There is no little to be learned about Hayes's America from this biography. A prosperous lawyer and business man, Hayes was slow to warm to the anti-slavery crusade. Once the war came, however, his zeal stirred him to a heroic pitch and made of the rather unlikely volunteer a fighting brigadier general of genuine merit. His distinguished war record opened the road to political rewards and took him to Congress. From there he stepped into the governor's office of Ohio, a position to which he was twice reelected and from which he went to the White House.

It is a curious fact that so many historical figures from the Middle West, the smiling Valley of Democracy, should have been portrayed by novelists, poets, and biographers against a predominantly melancholy background—the convention established by Dreiser, Sandburg, and Masters. Mr. Barnard, who has also given us a biography of John Peter Altgeld, pictures the halting progress of his present protagonist against a somber setting. Born after his father's death, Rutherford Hayes grew up in a family dominated by women and formed what appears to have been an unusual attachment to his lovely sister. This relationship is stressed in the analysis of Hayes's character and is probably responsible for the publisher's unfortunate description of the book as a "psychography." Although Mr. Barnard does give considerable attention to psychological influences, his study scarcely deserves such a frightening description. His contention that young Hayes was a "bundle of insecurity" appears justified by the evidence presented.

In dealing with the major political crises in which Hayes figured, and especially with the contested Presidential election, Mr. Barnard is cautious and balanced in his conclusions. He readily admits that neither Hayes nor Tilden, his Democratic opponent, had a clear title to the Presidency. He concedes that there was little to choose between the tactics employed by the two parties, though he is somewhat inclined to think the Republican pot a shade less black here and there than the Democratic kettle. And he is also disposed to clear Hayes personally of responsibility for devious traffickings by men very close to the President-elect. Such defense as he constructs, however, does not put strain upon the evidence.

C. VANN WOODWARD, professor of history at Johns Hopkins University, is lecturing this year at Queen's College, Oxford. He is the author of "Tom Watson, Agrarian Rebel," "Origins of the New South," and "The Strange Career of Jim Crow."

"Great Lives in Brief"

CHARLES DARWIN, by Ruth Moore; *ALEXANDER DUMAS*, by Andre Maurois; *HANS CHRISTIAN ANDERSEN*, by Rumer Godden; *HENRY FORD*, by Roger Burlinghame; *MAHATMA GANDHI*, by Vincent Sheean. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.50 each.

By Keith Hutchison

THE launching of Knopf's new biographical series—"Great Lives In Brief"—calls for a bottle of vintage champagne. Each of the first five volumes admirably meets the publisher's objectives: they are authoritative, entertaining, and well-written; they provide the essential facts about their subjects succinctly but without any appearance of painful compression; their format and typography maintain the high standards of the house that issues them.

Perhaps the palm should be given to Ruth Moore whose "Man, Time, and Fossils" proved her rare touch in presenting scientific data to the layman. Her assignment on this occasion was a difficult one because Darwin's career, apart from his youthful odyssey in The Beagle, lacked external incident. His was essentially a life of the mind, and Miss Moore holds the attention with a wonderfully lucid account of his intellectual achievements and their revolutionary consequences. At the opposite pole is Darwin's contemporary, the ebullient Dumas the elder. As Maurois demonstrates in a delightful if somewhat impressionistic sketch, the life of the great romancer was even more improbable than those of his most extravagant fictional creations.

The almost equally fantastic story of Hans Andersen is related by Rumer Godden, a novelist of note, with discerning charm. Andersen was truly an ugly duckling who after many struggles rose from abject poverty to world fame. Miss Godden is particularly successful in showing how in many of his tales he transmuted the incidents of his early life.

Two more contrasting figures than Ford, the master mechanic, and Gandhi, the preacher of non-resistance and apostle of the spinning-wheel, can hardly be imagined. Each has played a major role in the shaping of our times and it can perhaps be claimed that the destiny of India—and the world—depends on whether that country can absorb the genius of Ford without destroying the spirit of Gandhi. Roger Burlinghame writes of the inventor of the flivver with cool objectivity, making clear his great achievement in turning "the rich man's toy into the plain man's utility" but not overlooking the grief his "orneriness" brought to his associates, his workers, and himself. Vincent Sheean's Gandhi is a much more personal, emotional work. Stressing the saintly, mystical, and prophetic roles of the Mahatma, it does less than justice to the artistry of his political genius.

KEITH HUTCHISON is a contributing editor of The Nation.

Selected New Books

Belles-Lettres

HAWTHORNE. A Critical Study. By Hyatt H. Waggoner. Harvard. $4.75. A close analysis of the allegory and images of Hawthorne's work, paying special attention to the symbolism of colors, names, shapes, and flowers. It shows how thoroughly the smallest details of Hawthorne's fiction reflect a profound but inconclusive drama of morality.

THE CONFIDENCE-MAN. By Herman Melville. Edited by Elizabeth S. Foster. Hendricks House. $4. The introduction and notes to this handsome edition bring a neglected masterpiece to life by revealing the subtle irony that makes an apparently aimless narrative about a Mississippi steamer into a taut satirical allegory of the spirit.

SANTAL. By Ronald Firbank. Grove Press. $3. Fifty-six pages of deft Firbankian prose which tell of a Moslem boy's flight to a holy man in the mountains and create the precious, devout atmosphere of Oscar Wilde's fairy tales.

EAST-WEST PASSAGE. A Study in Literary Relationships. By Dorothy Brewster. Allen and Unwin. 21s. An excellent survey of the awareness of Russia which has weighed more or less heavily on the minds of English and American authors since Shakespeare's reference to the Muscovite ambassadors in "Love's Labor's Lost." It describes, among other things, the vital role played by obscure travelers and scholars in opening Russia to the West, and the powerful impact of Russian spiritual and critical ideas on the literature and theater of the last hundred years.

THOMAS MANN. By J. M. Lindsay. Macmillan. $3.90. After tracing certain obvious themes through Mann's books, this methodical but uninspiring study examines his gradual awakening to democracy and the view of humanity's spiritual development offered in the "Joseph" novels.

PETRUS BOREL. By Enid Starkie. New Directions. $5. The life of a forerunner of baudelaire who drifted from a gay bohemian youth in Paris into a bitter exile as an inefficient civil servant in Algiers. The few chapters of able criticism are practically incidental to the lively accounts of the wild parties, fads, poses, and public demonstrations of the early French decadents.

JACOB KORG

Fiction

AUNTIE MAME. By Patrick Dennis. Vanguard Press. $3.50. The life and times of Madcap Mame, a delightfully eccentric society female. Some very funny moments and acid satire more than compensate for the determined cuteness. Readers who enjoy fast and foamy narrative will have a grand time with this one.

THE MAGICIAN AND THE WIDOW. By Georges Simenon. Translated from the French by Helen Sebba and John Petrie. Doubleday. $3.95. Two short novels by the prolific M. Simenon, who combines minute psychological detail with clear, underwritten prose. Telling of an alcoholic musician and a violent ex-convict, he builds sympathy for his people even while probing them. There is only an illusion of depth, however; the characters tend to be gargoyles or mechanisms.

FLAMINGO FEATHER. By Laurens van der Post. William Morrow. $3.95. International intrigue in a vivid African setting. A melodramatic plot, fortunately, plays second fiddle in this stirring recreation of African landscape and tribal ways. Van der

Post writes lushly but effectively of a continent he loves.

ONCE IN ALEPPO. By Donald R. Barton. Scribner's. $3.95. An incisive novel of tangled diplomacy in the Middle East. Although the material has been used often in recent years, Donald R. Barton is an unusually sensitive writer etching social as well as political conflict. The result is a perceptive if occasionally bitter book.

FACE VALUE. By Robert Standish. Doubleday. $3.50. Neat short stories of human rascality on several continents, told by a thoroughly professional craftsman. Standish knits his fiction rather too carefully; many readers will find themselves aware of the pattern rather than the substance.

DIPLOMATIC CONCLUSIONS. By Roger Peyrefitte. Translated from the French by Edward Hyams. Thames and Hudson. $3.50. Peyrefitte's portrait of the fall of France in World War II is devastating, although his brilliant cynicism and clever epigrams often seem gratuitous—like a ballet dancer in a crematorium. His wit often "weeps with laughter" despite its lightness of touch.

Theater

Robert Hatch

JEAN GENET is a forty-five-year-old Frenchman, a bastard, a homosexual, and a confirmed thief who has spent a good part of his life in prison. Between 1942 and 1948 he wrote extensively—novels, journals, and plays. This incongruous literacy brought him the attention of Sartre, among other critics, and in the past few years his name has been spreading in Europe and America. One of his plays, "The Maids," is now being well performed at the Tempo Playhouse on St. Marks Place.

There are two maids in the play, Claire and Solange; Madame also appears, but briefly. Monsieur, who has been sent to prison by the false and anonymous accusations of the maids, works unseen on the proceedings. The action is largely a ritualistic masquerade, in which Claire and Solange take turns at playing Madame and each other. It is a game of murder symbolizing sex—masochistic, compulsive, never fulfilled. When Madame appears, the maids try to poison her—or at least they tell each other that that is what they are trying to do. When she leaves, the game starts again. This time the "preliminaries" are omitted and they get nearer to a climax, Solange-as-Claire leading Claire-as-Madame offstage to murder. But Claire returns and commits suicide. It will look like murder and Solange will achieve a spurious fulfilment from a meaningless killing she did not commit.

On the surface "The Maids" is slightly disgusting, an unclean fever. Beneath the surface, I suspect, it is a vision of the absolute based on ignorance. Sartre says in his introduction to the published text that Genet was attracted to the theater by "the element of fake, of sham, of artificiality"; that he turned dramatist because "the falsehood of the

A HISTORY OF THE CRUSADES

Editor-in-Chief KENNETH M. SETTON, *Columbia University*

VOLUME I - THE FIRST HUNDRED YEARS

Editor: Marshall W. Baldwin, New York University

Contributors: Sidney Painter, Benjamin Wheeler, Hilmar Krueger, Robert S. Lopez, Steven Runciman, H. A. R. Gibb, Bernard Lewis, Claude Cahen, Peter Charanis, Frederic Duncalf, James Lea Cate, Harold S. Fink, Robert L. Nicholson, Virginia G. Berry. Cartographer: Harry W. Hazard.

After eight years of planning and research, the first of five volumes is now ready for publication. Much credit must be given to the late Professor John L. LaMonte who gave the project its vast momentum. The book contains 694 pages, 19 chapters, 3 illustrations, 14 maps in 2 colors and a complete gazetteer. It has been printed in monotype in Germany and bound in raw linen there. The size is 7 x 10 inches. Ready May 16, 1955. Price, $12.00.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA PRESS • Philadelphia

stage is the most manifest and fascinating of all." It is the poorest possible reason for turning to the stage, and I cannot understand why Sartre is seemingly so impressed by Genet's involvement in the appearance-reality dilemma. He wished, Sartre tells us, that his female characters should be played by adolescent boys, not primarily because he has a taste for boys, but because travesty would add one more level of falsehood to this process of distilling the essence out of the event. An actor pretends to be a maid who pretends to be her mistress who pretends to revile her maid who pretends to be herself. Truth thus crumbles at whatever point we grasp it, and the only reliable fact is the lie. This variety of intellectual nihilism very probably exerts a strong pull on a man who sees himself a multiple outcast. It is also a playing at epistemology by an ambitious mind that is unschooled in metaphysics and does not know it is breaking a way down a well-traveled path. The theater is a sham only to those who are so naive that they do not presuppose its conventions, and educated minds are not willingly seduced by paradox.

In the Tempo production, the maids and Madame are not played by boys but by three talented and well-directed actresses: Claire by Julie Bovasso, Solange by Joyce Henry, and Madame by Fran Malis. To offset this compromising reality, the scene is set so that the audience can see backstage, and the stage manager appears now and then, script in hand, to exchange glances with the players and to signal light changes and the ringing of telephone and door bells.

The only fault I found in the production is that you know the instant the curtain opens that a masquerade is in progress; I believe Genet means us to be fooled, at least for the first few speeches. The lies, I think, are supposed to be stripped off one by one, reducing us to a state of nirvana, or vertigo, when we finally realize that the truth will always be the next lie but one.

IS "The Maids" worth doing? I think so. People read Genet and read a lot into him. It is interesting, in the first place, to see how his play will play. Technically, it plays rather well, but it trips its author up. Confusing illusion with falsity, Genet did not foresee that an actor is palpably an identity, however many levels of masquerade he is made to wear. Beneath the quaking ground of Claire-become-Solange-become-Madame are the characters and talents of the three actresses. They cannot prevent themselves from developing independent images on the stage, and the inescapable rationality of the theater forces order on Genet's anarchy of prevarication. If boys were playing the girls, the ultimate effect would be no different: the observer *will* make sense of what he sees, however hard a perverse illusionist tries to bewilder him. Therefore we come out of the theater, decently asking what Genet means and he has lost the round, for what he means is that we should despair and stop asking.

"The Maids" is a long one-act play (here presented with one intermission), and Tempo offers as a curtain-raiser "The 13th of March," selections from "The First Reader" by Gertrude Stein. This seems to be some rather contrived "automatic" writing in which a group of young actors play at being children on a rainy day in a garret. They go in strongly for murder, not scaring themselves as healthy children should, and I suppose Miss Stein wants us to be scared by the devil-children within us. It was all a little too cute to be edifying, though again I admired the performance. The players cannot help seeming as though they were mentally retarded, but they make no apologies and are as little embarrassing as possible.

BOOK MANUSCRIPTS INVITED

If you are looking for a publisher, send for our free, illustrated booklet titled To the Author in Search of a Publisher. It tells how we can publish, promote and distribute your book, as we have done for hundreds of other writers. All subjects considered. New authors welcomed. Write today for Booklet 103. It's free.

VANTAGE PRESS, 120 West 31 St., New York 1
In Calif.: 6253 Hollywood Blvd., Hollywood 28

25% Discount
ON ALL BOOKS
(10% on Texts and Technical Books)
*ANY BOOK YOU CHOOSE
1) Deduct 25% from list.
2) Add 15c per book for postage.
3) Send check or money order.
*Only obligation, you agree to buy at least 4 books during first year.
N.Y.C. residents add 3% tax.
THRIFTY BOOK CLUB
206 West 15th Street
Dept.N, N.Y.C. 11, NY
Phone: CHelsea 3-6499
NO MEMBERSHIP FEE

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE

Buy Your Books through THE *Nation*

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular retail price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the retail price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to
Miss O. LePach
THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
333 Sixth Ave. New York 14, N. Y.

Records

B. H. Haggin

BACH'S Cantatas No. 51 "Jauchzet Gott in allen Landen" and No. 209 "Non sa che sia dolore" are sung on Vanguard BG-546 by the soprano Teresa Stich-Randall with the Vienna State Opera Orchestra under Heiller. Unlike Schwarzkopf's vocal tour de force on Columbia, and like Danco's recent London performance, Stich-Randall's of No. 51 is a real performance of the music, in which the voice, though not quite as lovely as Danco's, is crystal-clear and pure and is employed with tensions that give the phrasing more compelling life than Danco's. But the music, unfortunately, is dull. And No. 209 is only slightly less so.

The cohesive pacing and tension of Toscanini's performances of Beethoven's several "Leonore" and "Fidelio" overtures—which are the performances I have heard most—are lacking in the performances on London LD-9185/6 in which Krauss conducts the Vienna Philharmonic. Extremely reverberant reproduction.

London LL-1154 offers a few excerpts from Berlioz's "Damnation of Faust" — Faust's *Sans regrets j'ai quitte les riantes campagnes* and *Nature immense,* Marguerite's *Aut-*

refois un roi de Thule and *D'amour l'ardente flamme,* and their love-duet—sung by Raoul Jobin and Irma Kolassi with the London Symphony under Fistoulari. Jobin's tenor is agreeable in quiet passages that employ its lower range, but tightens and hardens in loud high passages; Kolassi's mezzo-soprano is agreeable at all times and used with excellent musical and expressive effect. The reverse side could have something more suitable than excerpts from Massenet's "Werther."

From its complete recording of Wagner's "Die Meistersinger"—by far the best of the three available versions—London has issued on LD-9078 the two Sachs monologues sung by Schoeffler, and on 9079 the Sachs-Eva duet from Act 2 and the Sachs-Eva-Walther trio in Act 3 that begins with one of the most exquisite passages in all Wagner, sung by Schoeffler, Gueden, and Treptow. Knappertsbusch conducts the Vienna Philharmonic.

London LD-9169 has Siepi singing *Il lacerato spirito* from Verdi's "Simon Boccanegra" and arias from Meyerbeer's "The Huguenots" and "Robert the Devil," Halevy's "La Juive," and Gomes's "Salvator Rosa." Good singing that occasionally is rough-textured and quavering. Erede conducts the St. Cecilia Academy Orchestra.

Vanguard 460 offers Chabrier's one-act operetta "Une Education manque," which has a few pretty tunes, but in which one hears the distinctive Chabrier mind and matured skill operating only in the final duet. A good performance by Christine Castelli and Caudine Collart, sopranos, Xavier Depraz, bass, with the Paris Symphony under Charles Bruck.

In her notes for the performance of the Sitwell-Walton "Facade" on London LL-1133 Edith Sitwell writes that her poems are abstract—that is, patterns in sound, in which she experiments with "rhymes, assonances, and dissonances, placed outwardly and inwardly (at different places in the line) and in most elaborate patterns," with "equivalent syllables," and with other things of the sort. The effect of these devices in the poems recited by their author and Peter Pears to the Walton music is delightful; and my only complaint is with the recording that allows the poems to blanket the delightful music performed by a small instrumental group under Collins. In the old Columbia version in which Dame Edith recites all the poems herself a little less deliberately and sonorously, the group conducted by Prausnitz is closer to the microphone and more clearly audible.

I have only now heard Janos Starker's performances of Beethoven's cello sonatas with Abba Bogin—Opp. 5 No. 2 and 69 on Period 560, Opp. 5 No. 1 and 102 Nos. 1 and 2 on 561. They offer magnificent playing of the cello: Starker's playing reminds one of Frank Miller's with its elegance and distinction of style, and with its tone, which has a dark sumptuousness as against the bright, lustrous warmth of Leonard Rose's. And they offer very fine playing of the music by Starker, but with playing of the piano parts by Bogin that doesn't match Starker's in power and tension.

MGM E-3154 offers Masselo's excellent performances of piano pieces by Satie which, to me, reveal a gift for extremely funny titles and comments but not for the music to go with them.

Cornell University Records has issued on an LP record a new edition of the "American Bird Songs—Volume One" formerly on several 78's. Some of the old songs are omitted; some new ones are added; all are beautifully reproduced.

COMING

Gray New World
An Essay by John W. Aldridge

"The Parkman Reader"
Edited by Samuel Eliot Morison
Reviewed by Kenneth Rexroth

"The Psychological Novel: 1900-1950"
By Leon Edel
Reviewed by Jacob Korg

"Israel's Emerging Constitution, 1948-51"
By Emanuel Rackman
Reviewed by A. Leo Levin

"Children of the Black-Haired People"
By Evan King
Reviewed by Edgar Snow

"Andrew Jackson: Symbol for an Age"
By John William Ward
Reviewed by Harry Barnard

After

TOLSTOY,

TURGENEV,

GORKY . . .

WHO?

You are familiar with the famous names of Russian Literature.

But who are the moderns? Have they carried forward these traditions in their interpretation of present-day life?

There is only one way of knowing.

SOVIET LITERATURE publishes each month the finest short stories and novels by contemporary Soviet writers. In this journal you can read Ehrenburg and Polevoi, Simonov, Fadeyev, Fedin, Azhayev . . . Will their names live on?

SOVIET

LITERATURE

will help you to decide.

30 cents monthly

$1.80 a year's subscription

Sent by post direct
from England through

COLLET'S BOOKSHOPS

Dept. R, 44 & 45 Museum St.,

London, W.C.1 England

DEBATE

Friday, June 3—8:30

ISRAEL vs. ARABS

Near East Powder Keg!!

For Israel:
ERNEST J. ETTLINGER
of Jerusalem; ex-Commander in Israel Army; Member Israeli Bar

For Arabs:
DR. ALI OTHMAN
public liaison office, League of Arab States Delegation

Independent:
A. B. MAGIL
Newsman, covered Israel-Arab War; Author, "Israel in Crisis"

Questions; Refreshments

YORKVILLE COMPASS FORUM
Yorkville Temple, 157 E. 86 St., N. Y.
Contrib: 85c

MEETINGS

Cedric Belfrage
Fight-Back Rally

HEAR

ANNA LOUISE STRONG

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 1—8 P.M.

TRUE SISTERS CLUBHOUSE

150 WEST 85th STREET

ADMISSION $1.

Auspices: National Guardian

DR. HARRY F. WARD
THE BILL OF RIGHTS OR AN AMERICAN POLICE STATE
WEDNESDAY, JUNE 8, 8:45 P.M.
150 WEST 85 STREET
ADMISSION 75c
Auspices
Religious Freedom Commitee, Inc.
118 East 28 Street, New York City

PUBLICATIONS

SOCIALIST BOOKS. Catalog, literature, Free. New York Labor News Company, Dept. M, 61 Cliff Street, New York 38, New York.

BRITISH BOOKS—All Subjects—direct from London to you. Bargain catalogues free. Transbooks, Box 22-N, Brooklyn 26, N. Y.

LITERARY SERVICES

BE WISE—CAPITALIZE! Good writing in your business or professional activities will bring you extra monetary return and advancement. Capitalize on your writing abilities! Ask MEAD LITERARY AGENCY, 419 Fourth Avenue, Dept. Y-15, New York 16, to show you how. No obligation. Write TODAY!

PERSONALS

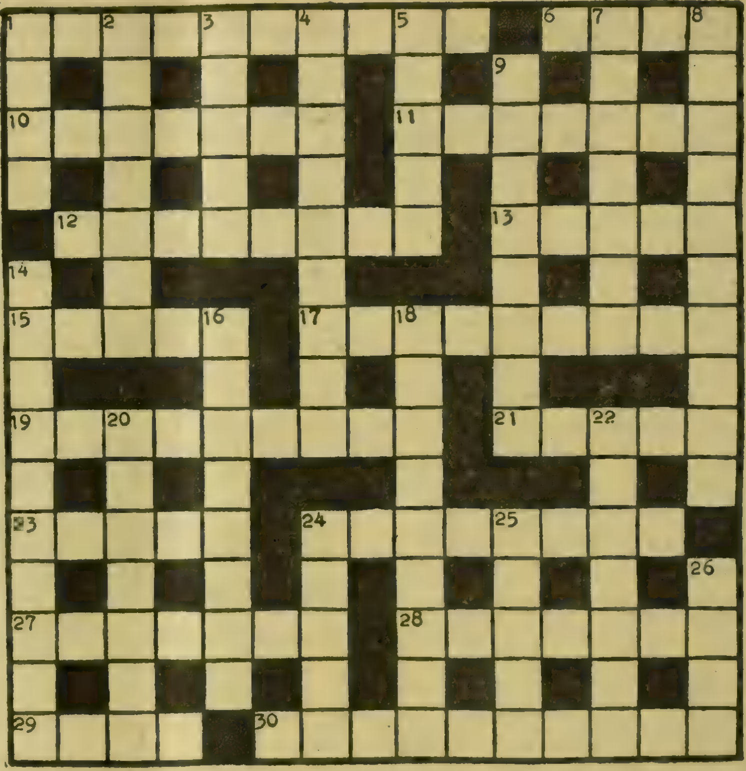
ENGLISH BIKE—3 speed, hand brakes, tourist bag. Regularly $69.95 value. SPECIAL $39.95. Standard Brand Dist., 143 Fourth Avenue (13th & 14th Sts.), N. Y. GR 3-7819. 1 hour free parking or 2 tokens.

TRANSPORTATION—Physician driving from Washington, D. C., to Los Angeles June 19. Share expenses. Box 401, c/o The Nation.

BUY
UNITED STATES
SAVINGS BONDS

Crossword Puzzle No. 621

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 and 11 Some people think he looks more ovine than canine. (10,7)

10 and 6 The wrong sort of grass cutter to throw on the floor, perhaps. (7,4)

11 Se 1 across.

12 Shot a cop in the service? Mine isn't safe with it. (8)

13 In Zeno's school. (5)

15 Leaves when things are called. (5)

17 A religious leader and a number of Romans headed the revolt of Germany. (9)

19 One can see this old coach only with effort. (9)

21 Stiff back? (5)

23 and 24 Evidently there's plenty to listen to, without its being necessarily dangerous! (13)

27 Rhyme in Old English. (7)

28 It's not evil that's uncontrolled. (7)

29 Check 26 out of it. (4)

30 Ten priests, acting with 19. (10)

DOWN

1 and 25 They get publicly slapped now, but people with long hair may pick them more carefully. (4, 5)

2 Taking a chance on Art? (7)

3 and 16 Where to find a sample of 1 and 25 down, or 1 and 11 across? (2,3,8)

4 A bad golfer can make this birdie, however! (9)

5 Dominant. (2,3)

7 The same dress? (7)

8 Deadly sin? Then cry for it! (10)

9 Portends before the wisemen. (8)

14 The worst pride possible, in the backyard? (10)

16 See 3 down.

18 The voters of New York didn't, last time. (9)

20 Runs to the British, with the boys about to raise the color. (7)

22 Sounds like an unknown river at the far end. (7)

24 Erase after a girl's name. (5)

25 See 1 down.

26 Don't disturb 29, or else do! (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 620

ACROSS: 1 GAMECOCK; 9 RAREBIT; 10 RHOMBIC; 11 ANTONIO; 12 FLORIST; 13 LONGHORN STEER; 15 LOVERS QUARREL; 21 KON-TIKI; 22 and 1 down OLD HIGH GERMAN; 23 IN STOCK; 24 IRONERS; 25 EVADED; 26 ASSESSOR. DOWN 2 MARITAL; 3 and 5 CABIN IN THE SKY; 4 CUT TO THE QUICK; 6 HOODOOS; 7 SUBLIME; 8 YACHTERS; 10 REFORMATORIES; 14 I LIKE IKE; 16 VANESSA; 17 RHIZOME; 18 RED ROSE; 19 LOITERS; 20 CHASER.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York

RESORTS

IN THE ADIRONDACKS

CRYSTAL LAKE LODGE

OPENS MAY 27TH—SPECIAL TRAIN

Dramatic Presentations
by Howard daSilva
Songs
by Nina Dova
Folk & Square Dancing
with Cliff Bullard
Dance Orchestra — All Sports
Free weekend to tennis tournament winners.

CHESTERTOWN 3, NEW YORK
Phones: Chestertown 3830—N. Y. OL 3-1884

WINDY HILL

ON ORANGE LAKE

A pleasantly informal vacation in friendly atmosphere. Swimming, Boating, Fishing on Natural Lake, Badminton, Volley Ball, Ping pong, other sports. Movies, records, books, Summer Theatre nearby Food of excellent quality in generous quantity Opens May 27.

Pre-Season $45.00 Weekly: $7.00 Daily
Season and Holidays $50.00 Weekly; $7.50 Daily
65 Miles from New York City
Jane C. Arenz R. D. No. 1 Walden, N. Y.
Phone Newburgh 1232

UNIQUE LAKESIDE RESORT, Lodge & Cabins in deep woods, rustic, informal, moderate. Boating, canoeing, swimming, tennis, shuffleboard, etc. on grounds. Hi-fi recordings, barbecues, hikers' lunches, Tanglewood, Jacob's Pillow, Playhouse. **CHANTERWOOD, LEE, MASS.** Folder N.

THE PINES. Modern year-round retreat for adults in the Blue Mountains of Pennsylvania Dutch Country. Continental cuisine. Intimate group of congenial people, 95 miles from N. Y. C., 60 miles from Philadelphia. Write: **Mrs. Ann Wunthal, Danielsville, R. D. 1. Tel: Bath Te 7-6501.**

TRAVEL

MEXICO BY CAR, 35 easy days, many non-tourist spots, limited. Brochure: **"Mexico," Andover, Connecticut.**

SUMMER RENTALS

FOR RENT, together or separately: two stone cottages in mountains behind Cold Spring on Hudson; all modern facilities, fireplaces, swimming. **Phone: Burgum, TR 3-8448 after 7 P.M.**

HOUSE FOR RENT in Connecticut, Litchfield Hills, July 15 to August 15, two hours from New York. Two bedrooms, two open porches, indoor and outdoor dining, fireplace, 600 yards from beautiful Lake Waramug. $300. Write for appointment to **Box 402, c/o The Nation.**

FOR RENT—Lovely [illegible] bedroom house and garden for July and August. **Louis Rosenberg, 933 Foster Drive, Los Angeles 48, Calif.**

FARMS & ACREAGE

COLONIAL, 5 rooms, bath, oil heat, perfect condition, basement garage. Combination barn-studio-guest room. Stocked pond, fruit, 4 acres. Charming location. $12,950. **Berkshire Farm Agency, East Chatham, N. Y.**

RESORT CLASSIFIED DISPLAY
$7.42 per inch, one insertion
Generous discounts for multiple insertions
ADVERTISING DEPARTMENT
***The* NATION**
333 SIXTH AVENUE
New York 14, N. Y.
CHelsea 2-8400

RESORTS

32nd SEASON
as a parent-child Resort

Chaits

ACCORD 2, N. Y.
An intimate resort with "BIG" hotel facilities
160 beautiful acres ▪ Tennis ▪ Swimming • Golf nearby • Arts & Crafts
Complete Day Camp (8 AM to [illegible] PM)
Professional Direction • Kind'gar'ner
Nite Patrol
SPECIAL DECORATION DAY RATES
3 FULL DAYS
Adults $20 — Children $14
Added Feature: Folk & Square Dancing with TEDDY SCHWARTZ
LOW, LOW Spring Rates
NYC office OL 4-4070 or Kerhonksen 3758

ROUND POND LODGE

Walden, New York

100 acres, secluded, landscaped, vast shade lawns, quality food German-American, refined atmosphere Solarium, spring fed pool, sports Modern conveniences. Good beds Capacity 30 Adults

Pre-Season Rates, $40-$45: Weekends, $7.50-$9.00
Make Reservations Now. Telephone: Walden 2-4964

Stonegate LODGE

ON LONG LAKE, N. Y.

Informal Adult Resort In the Adirondacks
Charming Estate — Limited to 90 — Pollen Free
Folk-Sq. Dances—Concert Trio—Dance Band
All Sports ▪ Fishing • Arts & Crafts
BACHELOR CLUB RATE—FINE FOOD
N. Y. Office: 250 W. 57th • Circle 6-6386
Red. Rates to July 10 Louis A. Roth, Dir.

RESORTS

CONCORD ACRES

Co-Ed Ages 6-15 Hancock, New York

FOR AN EXCITING PROGRAM
IN A RELAXING SETTING

The Tone: Non-regimented, friendly and understanding atmosphere where individual needs are met. Mature staff under top educator and camping leadership.

The Program: Rich and varied program includes all land and water sports, camping and boating trips, nature, arts and crafts, music, dramatics, dancing, archery, photography, and many special features.

Inspected and approved member of the American Camping Association.

Write or phone for brochure, interview, parent references
Moderate Fee
HAROLD ROSENTHAL
149-06 61 Road, Flushing, N. Y., FLushing 3-7750

Echo Lake Lodge

In the Green Mts. Brandon, Vermont
A delightful Vacation Resort for the Entire Family

- On lovely Echo Lake—all water sports
- New canoes, boats, swim and fish
- Tennis, ping-pong, shuffleboard
- Music, square dancing, camp-fires
- Summer theatres nearby

Diana & Abe Berman, N.Y.-WA4-6046, Hubbardton 17-2

ADVERTISE YOUR RESORT
IN THE NATION

50 Miles to FOREST HOUSE

Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality Two grand lakes. All sports.

FOREST HOUSE
Lake Mahopac, N. Y. ▪ Tel. Mahopac 8-3449

Camp Alpine

45 MILES FROM PHILADELPHIA
Pennsylvania's Cooperative Camp

Social Program • Swimming ▪ Hiking • Folk Dancing
Dramatics ▪ Arts & Crafts ▪ New Recreational Facilities
Cabins by the Week or Season.
Plenty of Fresh Air and Sunshine in this Pennsylvania Dutch location
Call Cheltenham 2774 Write box 5183, Philadelphia 41, Pennsylvania

Grand Opening

DECORATION DAY WEEKEND
GREAT ENTERTAINMENT ▪ FABULOUS FOOD
SPORTS FOR DAYTIME PLAYTIME • GOOD FUN
2 BIG SHOWS • COMEDY ▪
DANCE ▪ DRAMA ▪ MUSIC

HEADED by Elliott Sullivan, Avon Long, Cliff Jackson, Sonny Terry and others from the music and theater world. Dancing nightly to the music—sweet, hot and terrific—of Lew Guss's orchestra.

FOR THE KIDS
DAY CAMP and NITE PATROL
ALL WITH BEAUTIFUL LAKE ELLIS
Fishing – Boating – Swimming – Viewing

— Introductory — Offer
FRIDAY—MAY 27th
THRU
MONDAY—MAY 30th
SPECIAL 4-DAY WEEKEND FOR ONLY
$27.00
Come Get Acquainted

WINGDALE LODGE!

ON LAKE ELLIS
WINGDALE 5, N. Y.

AN INCOMPARABLE INTERRACIAL RESORT

FREE BROCHURE SENT ON REQUEST

NEW YORK OFF.
202 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y. CHickering 4-0723

Printed in the U. S. A. by Southern Farmer, Inc., P. O. Box 509, Montgomery, Ala.

You are cordially invited to attend a

Dinner Forum on

ATOMS FOR PEACE

on the occasion of the 90th Anniversary of **The Nation**

Sunday Evening, June 19, at 6:30

Ballroom, Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York

COMMITTEE

for the 90th Anniversary of The Nation

Co-Chairmen

Van Wyck Brooks
Grenville Clark
Frank P. Graham
Ernest Gruening
Eleanor Roosevelt

Treasurer

Max Doft

Members

Thurman Arnold
Emily Greene Balch
Roger N. Baldwin
Arnold Bernhard
Charles F. Brannan
C. C. Burlingham
Joseph E. Davies
Marshall Field
Dorothy Canfield Fisher
Abraham Flexner
Nahum Goldmann
John Gunther
Earl G. Harrison
Brig. Gen. Hugh B. Hester
Alvin Johnson
Louis Lipsky
Gifford Phillips
Jacob S. Potofsky
Mrs. Samuel J Rosensohn
Abba Hillel Silver
Rex Stout
Gerard Swope
Telford Taylor
James P. Warburg
Meyer W. Weisgal

Consistent with its tradition of vigorous, crusading journalism, The Nation celebrates its 90th birthday by focusing the spotlight on the atom—at once the greatest threat and the greatest promise of our time. If you believe that it is within man's power to establish peace and to create for himself an era of plenty in a free and democratic world, you will want to be at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel on June 19 to hear some of the world's great experts chart the brilliant future which lies within our grasp.

Make your reservation now by filling in and mailing the coupon below.

SPEAKERS

Lord John Boyd-Orr

1949 Nobel Peace Laureate
Former Director General,
United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization

Dr. Harrison Scott Brown

Professor, Geo-Chemistry,
Graduate School
California Institute of Technology

Dr. Brock Chisholm

Former Director, World Health Organization of the United Nations

Gordon E. Dean

Former Chairman, United States Atomic Energy Commission

Freda Kirchwey

Editor and Publisher, The Nation

Thomas R. Phillips

Brigadier General, U. S. A. Retired
Military Analyst,
The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt

Suite 600 333 Sixth Avenue New York 14, N. Y.

Please make .... dinner reservations for Sunday evening, June 19, at 6:30 o'clock at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York. I enclose my check in the sum of $ .... covering these reservations at $12.50 per person. (Please make checks payable to **Max Doft, Treasurer.**)

NAME .... ADDRESS ....

CITY .... STATE ....

A PUZZLED RACE: A SHORT STORY BY KAY BOYLE

BURLINGAME
PUBLIC LIBRARY
Burlingame, Calif.

THE Nation

June 4, 1955
20c

Polio: Canada's Way

by Mark Gayn

German Storm Warnings

by Carolus

EVERY
WEEK
SINCE
1865

Jess Gitt's Daily Wasp *George Rudisill, Jr.*

A Chinese Gogol *Edgar Snow*

You are cordially invited to attend a

Dinner Forum on

ATOMS FOR PEACE

***on the occasion of the 90th Anniversary of* The Nation**

Sunday Evening, June 19, at 6:30

Ballroom, Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York

COMMITTEE

for the 90th Anniversary of The Nation

Co-Chairmen

Van Wyck Brooks
Grenville Clark
Frank P. Graham
Ernest Gruening
Eleanor Roosevelt

Treasurer

Max Doft

Members

Thurman Arnold
Emily Greene Balch
Roger N. Baldwin
Arnold Bernhard
Charles F. Brannan
C. C. Burlingham
Joseph E. Davies
Marshall Field
Dorothy Canfield Fisher
Abraham Flexner
Nahum Goldmann
John Gunther
Earl G. Harrison
Brig. Gen. Hugh B. Hester
Alvin Johnson
Louis Lipsky
Gifford Phillips
Jacob S. Potofsky
Mrs. Samuel J. Rosensohn
Abba Hillel Silver
Rex Stout
Gerard Swope
Telford Taylor
James P. Warburg
Meyer W. Weisgal

Consistent with its tradition of vigorous, crusading journalism, The Nation celebrates its 90th birthday by focusing the spotlight on the atom—at once the greatest threat and the greatest promise of our time. If you believe that it is within man's power to establish peace and to create for himself an era of plenty in a free and democratic world, you will want to be at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel on June 19 to hear some of the world's great experts chart the brilliant future which lies within our grasp.

Make your reservation now by filling in and mailing the coupon below.

SPEAKERS

Lord John Boyd-Orr

1949 Nobel Peace Laureate
Former Director General,
United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization

Dr. Harrison Scott Brown

Professor, Geo-Chemistry,
Graduate School
California Institute of Technology

Dr. Brock Chisholm

Former Director, World Health Organization of the United Nations

Gordon E. Dean

Former Chairman, United States Atomic Energy Commission

Freda Kirchwey

Editor and Publisher, The Nation

Thomas R. Phillips

Brigadier General, U. S. A. Retired
Military Analyst,
The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt

Suite 600 333 Sixth Avenue New York 14, N. Y.

Please make ...... dinner reservations for Sunday evening, June 19, at 6:30 o'clock at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York. I enclose my check in the sum of $............ covering these reservations at $12.50 per person. (Please make checks payable to **Max Doft, Treasurer.**)

NAME ....ADDRESS ....

CITY ....STATE ....

VOLUME 180, NUMBER 23
NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JUNE 4, 1955

THE *Nation*

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

The Shape of Things

Canada Points the Way

Mark Gayn's story on the Canadian polio program in this issue constitutes devastating criticism of our own. In Canada they planned boldly, tested cautiously, and centralized authority in the national government. Contrast this with Secretary Hobby's plaintive cry: "We could not foresee that the demand for the vaccine would be so great." It is true that Canada, a smaller country, faced a less formidable task. It is equally true that Canada has fewer facilities than the United States; only one laboratory there is turning out vaccine while six very large pharmaceutical houses were originally licensed to do so in this country. Incidentally, what happens to the argument that mass production under competitive conditions leads to lower prices? The vaccine produced in Canada's government-owned laboratory costs the consumer less than half as much as that sold by the private American laboratories.

Basically the American failure must be ascribed less to bungling than to a political philosophy that would protect private enterprise even to the detriment of public welfare. The attitude of the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare toward the Salk vaccine, a national resource developed at public expense, is no different, in this sense, than that of the Secretary of the Interior toward the T. V. A., another national resource developed at public's expense. In the Administration's last-ditch war on "creeping socialism," it has succumbed to creeping paralysis—an unhappily apt phrase. Were the only result a voters' revolt against the Administration and its political philosophy, the prospect would be bearable. But in this instance the lives of children are at stake.

No Time for Change

The British general election was at bottom a contest between two liberal parties, one of which had the great advantage of holding power. It was little wonder, then, that the Tories came back, a swing of less than 2 per cent of the vote giving them a margin of 59 seats in the new Parliament. Little wonder, either, that the official Liberal Party, which put up 110 candidates in an earnest attempt to stage a comeback, won only five seats. Middle-of-the-road voters could rally behind either Conservative Party or Labor position and feel comfortable whatever the outcome.

The most plausible explanations for the Tory victory are the obvious ones: relative prosperity, little unemployment, and a narrow, mostly rhetorical, difference on major policies. The split in the Labor Party, papered over for the purpose of the campaign, may have influenced the result somewhat—but not decisively. More important was the fact that the Conservatives have in large measure maintained and consolidated the "revolution by consent" made by Labor between 1945 and 1950. The welfare state is mostly intact, save for the denationalization of steel, and Labor could propose little more than its moderate expansion. In foreign policy, too, the Opposition found little it could challenge effectively. Mr. Eden deprived Labor of its best issue when he came out, immediately after ratification of the Paris pacts, for Big Four talks at the summit—and induced Washington to agree. Even the hydrogen bomb failed to give Attlee and his colleagues the explosive issue they needed. Labor's high command had favored the bomb, together with a policy of readiness for prompt retaliation. The difference between them and the Tory leaders was a minor one of degree rather than principle. And while Labor advocates a more conciliatory approach to Communist China, Mr. Eden is on record against any war to keep Chiang Kai-shek in power or to hold the offshore islands—and he was chiefly responsible for the Indo-China truce.

All this is not to imply that if Labor had defended a clear-cut Socialist position on domestic and foreign issues it would have come out better in the showdown. The returns, even in traditionally left constituencies, seem to indicate that Britain's voters are today in no mood for drastic policies or radical change.

Double Standard

When John S. Wood, a former Dixiecrat Congressman, returned from World War I to his native Georgia, he was, as he says, "a sort of joiner," and since the Ku Klux Klan was then "rather in the ascendancy," he gave the Klansmen a check for $15. Later, when he learned that Klansmen wore hoods and were often guilty of such acts as flogging Negroes, he asked for the return of his $15. Listening to Wood's testimony during a hearing on his appointment to a five-year term as a member of the Subversive Activities Control Board, the Senate Judiciary Committee appeared to be quite uninterested. The name of the Klan appears, of course, on the Attorney General's list of "subversive" organizations. Would Mr. Wood's testimony have been treated so casually if he had admitted before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, on which he once served, that he had given a check for $15 to the Communist Party but later had asked for its return

In This Issue

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 473

The Court and the Cold War 475

Ten Cents a Voter 476

ARTICLES

Polio: Canada's Way
Government Held the Reins
by Mark Gayn 476

German Storm Warnings:
The Drive for Neutralism
by Carolus 479

A Puzzled Race:
A Short Story
by Kay Boyle 481

The Lohars Go Home:
Vignette of Today's India
by Elizabeth Partridge 483

That Man of York:
Jess Gitt's Daily Wasp
by George Rudisill, Jr. 484

BOOKS

A Chinese Gogol
by Edgar Snow 486

Early American Radicals
by R. R. Palmer 487

A Developing Democracy
by A. Leo Levin 488

Books in Brief 488

MUSIC by B. H. Haggin 490

LETTERS 491

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 622
by Frank W. Lewis 492

Editorial Board

Freda Kirchwey — Editor and Publisher
Carey McWilliams — Editorial Director
Lillie Shultz — Director, Nation Associates
Victor H Bernstein — Managing Editor
J. Alvarez del Vayo — Foreign Editor

Martin Solow — Assistant to the Publisher

Harold Clurman — Theater
B H Haggin — Music
Robert Hatch — Films
Gladys Whiteside — Copy Editor
Caroline Whiting — Assistant Literary Editor
Alfred Maund — Editorial Assistant
Mary Simon — Advertising Manager

Contributing Editors: Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K Smith, Carolus, Keith Hutchison, H H Wilson, W Macmahon Ball, Maxwell Geismar, Bruce Catton.

The Nation, June 4, 1955 Volume 180, No. 23

The Nation, published weekly by The Nation Company and copyright, 1955 in the U S A by The Nation Associates Inc 333 Sixth Avenue New York 14, N Y Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879 at the Post Office of New York N Y under the act of March 3 1879 Reentered as second class matter at the Post Office Montgomery Alabama Printing Office 1603 Reuben Street

Subscription Prices Domestic One year $7, Two years $12, Three years $17 Additional postage per year Foreign and Canadian $1

Change of Address: Three weeks notice is required for change of address which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs, Information Service, Dramatic Index.

when he discovered that the party did not always abide by Robert's Rules of Order? Membership in the Klan was limited in 1919 to white Protestant Americans—a fact of such notoriety that Mr. Wood could hardly have been unaware of it. Perhaps the committee was justified in passing over this incident so lightly, and quickly, but it is hard to escape the conclusion that Congress adheres to a double standard of political morality when it winks at former membership in the Klan but denies the privilege of government employment, even in the most menial categories, to individuals who once belonged to popular-front organizations and left-wing committees that were set up to defend the rights of racial minorities.

Decline of the Right Wing

The most interesting political news of this spring's dull session of Congress continues to be the dwindling strength of the once fearsome right wing of the G. O. P. Abandoning the Senate to take his case to the people, Senator Knowland has been voicing his criticism of the President with less vehemence each time he speaks. In his most recent appearances he has been discreetly silent about the proposed Big Four meeting. In California, too, the Senator has fallen on bad days. The Reverend Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, addressing the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church in Los Angeles, sharply criticized the "apparent quiescence" of the state's religious leadership in connection with the "isolationist" and "go-it-alone-ism" of a "well-known Senator." Dr. Blake is president of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States. When Senator Jenner of Indiana speaks nowadays, he is almost certain to be attacked at home by Republican Governor George N. Craig, who said recently that Jenner's views on foreign policy were "neurotic." Noticing a nearly empty Senate chamber, Senator McCarthy stopped reading a carefully prepared twenty-two page speech attacking the President's foreign policy at page 7, put the rest of the speech in the record, signaled to his wife Jean in the gallery, and stalked out in high dudgeon. The chief of the Hearst bureau in Washington reports that Joe's followers are now singing the ditty, "Don't throw away your Confederate money, McCarthy will rise again."

Since the vote on the resolution condemning McCarthy, the strength of the right-wing G. O. P. faction in the Senate has steadily declined, until today it probably does not include more than six or eight Senators. What the decline registers, of course, is the growing realization in Washington that the President's latest approach to the Quemoy-Matsu and Big Four issues is meeting with great approval across the country. An unfavorable turn of events might restore the right wing to power, but its basic policy—to back Chiang Kai-shek in a war against China—is now hopelessly discredited. On this issue the right wing has made its bid for power and lost.

The Court and The Cold War

THE implications of the majority opinion of the Supreme Court in the Emspak, Quinn, and Bart cases are considerably broader than the first editorial comments suggested. In reversing these contempt-of-Congress cases the Chief Justice took advantage of the occasion to remind Senate and House inquisitors that their powers are not unlimited. The power of Congressional committees, he pointed out, cannot be used to pry into the private affairs of citizens when the prying is unrelated to a valid legislative purpose; he thereby reaffirmed the sound but almost forgotten doctrine of *Kilburn v. Thompson*. Nor does the power extend to areas in which Congress is forbidden by the Constitution to legislate. The power to investigate, in other words, is no broader than the power to legislate—the court implied its acceptance of the contrary when it declined to review the case of the Hollywood Ten. This power, moreover, should not be confused with the power to punish unlawful behavior which is vested in regular law-enforcement agencies and the courts. Here the Chief Justice was reminding a forgetful Congress that the doctrine of separation of powers imposes limitations on the right to investigate that have yet to be defined. Finally, the power to investigate is always subject to the specific guarantees in the Bill of Rights.

Thus while the decision turns on a rather technical point—namely, whether the protection of the Fifth Amendment had been properly invoked—its tone and scope invest it with substantive significance. While not announcing any new principles, the majority's spirited defense of the Fifth Amendment reaffirms and possibly extends the scope of the privilege. The decision recognizes that the innocent as well as the guilty may invoke the privilege—that it may be claimed, for example, by a witness who is asked to name names. The majority recognize, too, the close historical connection between the First Amendment and the Fifth, a point which may be developed in subsequent decisions. Implicit in the defense of the privilege is a rebuke to those who have sought to discredit it by loose talk about "Fifth Amendment Communists" and the like. "If it is true," comments the Chief Justice, "that in these times a stigma may somehow result from a witness's reliance on the self-incrimination clause, a committee should be all the more ready to recognize a veiled claim of the privilege."

It appears, moreover, that the Chief Justice has succeeded in fashioning a new majority on civil-liberties cases; he was joined in this instance by Justices Burton and Clark, as well as by Black, Douglas, and Frankfurter. The majority decision breathes a strong, confident spirit that is in refreshing contrast to the fear-ridden "crisis" tone that characterizes the court's unfortunate concessions to the hateful spirit of the cold war in the Dennis case and those related to it. It may well mark, therefore, an end to the court's retreat on civil-liberties issues. Two *Nation* contributors—Frank Donner and A. L. Wirin—were of counsel in these cases.

Spring Thaw

OTHER civil-liberties items in the news reflect the thaw in the cold war. In California the state legislature headed into its final sessions with—to quote the San Francisco *Chronicle*—"a higher record for respecting, maintaining, and defending the liberties of Californians than any legislature since the end of World War II." When the Florida legislature tabled his proposal to establish a witch-hunting agency with power of subpoena, Special Attorney General Ellis Rubin announced that he would investigate those who had voted against it. The suggestion did not amuse the legislators, who promptly denounced Rubin as "a small-bore McCarthyite" and said that his threats had confirmed their worst fears about the measure. In Newark the House Committee on Un-American Activities received the liveliest reception of its experience, and strong community support was shown for so-called "unfriendly" witnesses. In New Jersey, too, the state bar association approved a committee report criticizing Senator McCarthy and his staff for the methods used in the Fort Monmouth inquiry. In Washington sixteen Democratic Representatives from New York demanded the removal of Scott McLeod as administrator of the refugee program. Owen Lattimore was granted a passport, and Judge McGuire of the Federal District Court ruled that the respondents in a deportation proceeding must be told the nature of the confidential information which had been used against them.

Former Senator Harry P. Cain, now a member of the Subversive Activities Control Board, in a vigorous speech in New York continued his campaign against the Attorney General's "list." According to Mr. Cain, not more than 30 of the 275 organizations on the list are "fronts" as defined by the Internal Security Act of 1950. Indeed, in his view the list represents nothing more than an attorney's advice to his client, "who started out to be the government but has become anybody and everybody else who makes use of the list." "As a citizen," said Mr. Cain, "I object to the advice because it is unintelligible, misleading, and a threat to the continuing vitality and strength of the nation's internal security."

Not all the civil-liberties news, however, is so pleasant to record. The continued harassment of Cedric Belfrage, editor of the *National Guardian*, can no longer be dismissed, if indeed it ever could, as merely another manifestation of the current deportation delirium. Both the manner of Mr. Belfrage's arrest, on an order for immediate deportation, and the fact that he was held without bail, suggest that the Department of Justice is playing a cat-and-mouse game with him in which his harassment has become an end in itself. The department should be defrosted; Mr. Brownell continues to act as if it were his intention to heat up the cold war that his chief is trying to abate.

Ten Cents a Voter

THE Senate Rules subcommittee has proposed a new code governing contributions in federal-election campaigns. National Committees could spend up to $12,000,000; the present ceiling is $3,000,000. Candidates for the Senate would be permitted to spend $50,000; the present limit is $25,000. Actually a candidate for the Senate would be permitted to spend $50,000 or a sum calculated by multiplying 10 cents by the total number of votes cast in either the last primary or the last general election for the office the candidate seeks. Candidates for Congress would be permitted to spend either $12,500 or the 10-cents-a-voter total; the present limitation is $5,000.

The proposal is not objectionable, but it ignores basic realities. For one thing, we should abandon the myth that campaign costs are "too high." As Dr. Alexander Heard of the University of North Carolina pointed out in recent testimony, campaign costs are neither too high nor too low; they simply reflect the necessities of American-style campaigns. Given the enormous number of diverse political interests in this nation of 160,000,000, as well as the enormous number of elective offices (750,000), the wonder is that so little an amount is spent on campaigns. While the subcommittee is justified, therefore, in recommending that the ceilings be raised, the real issue is not how much is spent but whether the electorate has an adequate opportunity to judge the views of the candidates. Since radio and television costs now constitute a large proportion of total campaign expenditures—approximately 16.8 per cent of the campaign expenditures of the Democratic National Committee in 1952 and 21.4 per cent of the Republican National Committee went for radio and television time—the government should guarantee responsible political competitors balanced and limited access to the networks either at reduced cost or at no cost.

But it would be better to have no ceilings than to have a system of regulation which sustains the myth that since campaign contributions are regulated by law, major social groups compete with substantial equality. Recently the Wisconsin legislature passed a law prohibiting labor unions from contributing funds to state political campaigns. In theory this puts unions on the same plane as corporations and cooperatives. The Madison *Capital-Times* pointed out that nearly two-thirds of all Republican campaign funds come from corporate executives; top executives of Wisconsin corporations, and their relatives, contributed more to campaigns than the total of labor's contributions. Four families—the Rockefellers, duPonts, Mellons, and Pews—made a total contribution of $163,250 to the Republican campaign in 1952. With a one-party press, one-party radio and television control, and one party access to unlimited funds from corporate executives, their sisters, cousins, and aunts, it is absurd to suggest that regulation will place the two parties on an equal footing. Better no ceilings than regulation designed to maintain the myth that since the duPonts of Delaware and Joe Jones of Brooklyn, a $60-a-week factory worker, are subject to the same law regulating campaign contributions, the duPonts will be unable to exercise their very great power at the expense of Jones and his kind. Ten cents a voter is neither too high nor too low; it is simply an irrelevant standard.

POLIO: CANADA'S WAY

Government Held the Reins . . *by Mark Gayn*

Montreal

BACK in the very dark year of 1953 there were 8,900 cases of infantile paralysis and 481 fatalities in Canada. Last year the graph dipped sharply—to 2,400 cases and 105 deaths—but it was still bad enough to induce the government to sponsor field tests of the Salk vaccine in the provinces of Alberta, Manitoba, and Nova Scotia. Even at that time tentative plans were being shaped for mass inoculation should the vaccine prove successful.

By last fall these plans had reached the point where the Department of Health and Public Welfare was ready with specific proposals. When the medical officers from the ten provinces gathered here for the sixty-sixth regular meeting of the Dominion Council of Health, the federal government laid the plan before them. What it said in effect was this: If a uniform program of inoculation could be agreed upon, the department would finance half the cost of the new vaccine, with the provincial governments paying the other half. It was estimated that $750,000 would be needed to inoculate the most vulnerable group of half a million children.

Both vision and courage were needed by Paul Martin, Minister of

---

MARK GAYN, a frequent contributor to The Nation, *is now living in Montreal.*

Health, to make the offer. Biologicals in this country have traditionally been a provincial responsibility, and some of Canada's provinces are just as jealous of their prerogatives as the most ornery American states. Mr. Martin, however, felt that the threat of polio could be regarded as a national emergency in which federal action was justified. If the field tests of the Salk vaccine in Canada and the United States proved successful, there could be no delay in the launching of a mass inoculation.

It is to the credit of the Dominion Council of Health that it wasted no time. A five-man subcommittee that it appointed promptly drafted a national program which assured uniformity in the provinces, free inoculation, and restriction of the vaccine to the age groups which needed it most. One of the subcommittee members was Dr. R. D. Defries, whose Connaught Medical Research Laboratories at the University of Toronto had already done some important pioneer work in the general field. In fact, it was at the Connaught Laboratories that the young Canadian scientist, Dr. J. F. Morgan, and his associates devised "Medium 199," a synthetic medium in which polio virus could be grown in tissue culture.

In October, 1954, the Department of Health and the provincial governments signed the "contracts," and the Connaught Laboratories were told to go ahead with the industrial production of the vaccine. On April 12, when Dr. Thomas Francis, Jr., gave the green light at Ann Arbor, Michigan, the vaccine was ready for distribution to the provinces on the basis of population.

Thus far, more than half a million children have been inoculated and are scheduled to get their second shot before the end of June. Nearly all the vaccine was administered through schools or clinics, to the prescribed age groups. One batch of Parke, Davis vaccine imported from the United States was distributed to doctors through drugstores and used to inoculate some 13,000 children. No more American vaccine has been imported as a result of the series of bans imposed by the United States Public Health Service.

By and large, the program has been carried out with only one minor hitch. In Quebec Province, the original decision was to inoculate children born in 1953. But on the appointed Monday only one child of each expected ten was brought in for inoculation. No one in Montreal is quite sure why. The reasons given to me have ranged from the fact that Monday is washday in French Canadian Quebec to the suspicion that the first ban in the United States might have alarmed many parents in Montreal. In any case, the provincial health authorities then ordered the vaccine to be made available to all children between the ages of three months and ten years. This brought on a stampede, especially in Montreal, where a turnout of 80 to 90 per cent quickly exhausted the vaccine at many clinics, and the "first come—first serve" rule had to be employed. If the Quebec health authorities misread the domestic calendar and the parental moods, they have redeemed themselves with an early $600,000 grant to the Institute of Microbiology at the University of Montreal for the construction of a new laboratory to produce the Salk vaccine. The building will be ready in July, and industrial production will begin in September.

WITH half a million children already given their first shot, Canada has had—at the time I write—only two "suspicious" cases. One was found to be something else than polio; in the other instance polio had struck the child only four days or so after the inoculation and must have been incurred before.

Canada's health authorities, however, are keeping their fingers crossed. It is felt here that "what looks simple in a test tube might prove to be very tricky in a vat." Contrary to the untrammeled early enthusiasm south of the border, the feeling here all along has been that the problems of testing the Salk vaccine have not all been solved. If any of the inoculated Canadian children develop polio as they did in the United States, medical experts here will be distressed but not surprised.

Yet one must also note that medical officials here are proud of the thoroughness of their testing procedures. The original testing, done at the Connaught Laboratories, is very similar to that carried out by

the American commercial producers. In the United States additional "spot-testing" is then done by the Public Health Service. Here the Department of Health has been content with nothing less than a *complete* retesting of *each* batch of the vaccine by the National Laboratory of Hygiene.

Thoroughness has paid off. In the earlier days of the program the National Laboratory, on retesting, detected suspicious evidence in several batches of 100,000 doses each. They were promptly rejected. Had there been no such comprehensive recheck, this vaccine would have been used, with possibly unfortunate results.

Two American firms have been licensed to import and distribute their vaccine here, and the first—and the only—batch of Parke, Davis vaccine brought here was not subjected to a retest. The Washington ban has of course stopped the flow of the American vaccine here; if it is resumed, the Department of Health will require the same thorough recheck that is given to the Connaught vaccine. The department sees nothing wrong with the testing procedures used by the American commercial producers; it simply is convinced that a second thorough check has justified itself. The government is now also insisting that the American firms, instead of shipping here a portion of their domestic output, send vaccine produced in its entirety for Canada. Two firms have tentatively agreed to this, but nothing further has been done.

Public-health experts here think

that, apart from the unexplored characteristics of the industrially produced vaccine itself, the big problem for the United States Public Health Service lies in rechecking the vaccine. The "spot-testing" obviously has not worked out well.

BUT the main contrast between the successful operation here and the confusion to the south lies clearly not in technical procedures but in the underlying philosophy. The Liberal government in Ottawa is just as devoted to the concept of private enterprise as most G. O. P. stalwarts. But at the same time it is aware that there are important areas where the government must take over. Public health is one of them. As much as a year ago the government decided that polio was one area where federal initiative, guidance, financing, and supervision would be essential. In the United States no comparable decision was made. Much of the financing was done by the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, the production by six commercial firms. The difference in the approach was reflected in the results:

First, when the Department of Health and the ten provincial governments concluded their agreement last October, Ottawa was able to insure that the vaccine would be free and would go to the age groups most vulnerable to polio. In the United States roughly half the vaccine had gone to private doctors who could if they wished inoculate all those able to pay for it, whatever their age.

Second, state control here was matched by a most exhaustive double-checking of the vaccine. This has been in contrast to the catch-as-catch-can procedure adopted by Washington.

Third, early federal initiative here insured uniformity in administering the program that was tragically lacking in the forty-eight states to the south.

Fourth, the "polio season" here begins in July and reaches its peak in September and October. Without waiting to see what effect the mass inoculation will have on the incidence of disease, Mr. Martin has already made it known that Ottawa stands ready to finance half the cost of the vaccine needed in 1955-56.

Fifth—and this is perhaps the most striking contrast between the two programs—the Connaught Laboratories are selling the vaccine at cost, which is $1.50 for three doses. At a drugstore in Ottawa or Toronto the same three doses of the American commercial vaccine might be available at $6.60. This of course is the retail price, and if the Canadian government bought the vaccine in bulk from the American producers, it would expect to pay roughly $4.50 for three doses—*or three times what it costs to produce it here.* Canadian public-health experts are willing to concede that the six American drug companies had spent some of their own money to develop the techniques of industrial production. But this fails to explain the tremendous disparity in the cost—for the Connaught Laboratories have also had to develop these techniques. The American prices cause raised eyebrows here.

"If I were running a drug company," says one highly qualified expert, "I'd probably do what they're doing. I'd call the directors in and say, 'Look, boys, we've got this bonanza that'll last us four or five years. So let us exploit it for all it's worth."

IN GENERAL, the Canadian health officials are loath to criticize the Americans in their hour of trouble. All along there has been close United States Canadian collaboration on all levels, scientific as well as governmental. More than that, when Washington banned the sales of the vaccine abroad, it allowed some sales to Canada. Yet the confusion to the south has hurt Canada too, and the Candians would have been inhuman if they had remained indifferent. Ottawa, for instance, had been thinking of inoculating a total of 1,500,000 children this year with the help of vaccine bought in the United States. This hope has now been abandoned.

One indication of Canadian feeling is the circulation in at least one institution here of Walter Lippmann's recent article, Polio Vaccine and Public Policy, neatly pasted on white paper for easy examination. I have also met public-health experts in both Ottawa and Montreal who shared Mr. Lippmann's misgivings about the "dramatic buildup, the theatrical suspense, and the spectacular publicity" which attended the Ann Arbor announcement. There is widespread agreement with this view that the "blazing publicity was bound to convey, as it did convey, the misleading impression that a full solution had been found"; and one finds an almost identical belief expressed by Mr. Martin: the vaccine is "a very encouraging beginning . . . not a total and complete preventive of paralysis from polio."

Some of the experts I have met felt Washington should have been ready with national legislation even while the field tests of the vaccine were in progress last summer; or, at the least, should have initiated detailed consultations with the scientists and manufacturers last year, instead of waiting until May. There is, finally, a belief here that the American press, by and large, contributed to the confusion and shock by reducing a major item of medical research to the level of a glorious bar-room brawl. "Here in Canada," I was told, "the press has co-operated with us in toning the story down and in keeping a sane approach to this difficult problem."

But in the end it is relatively unimportant whether the United States Public Health Service did or did not begin holding comprehensive consultations until this spring, whether the Ann Arbor ceremony was conducted with the desired decorum, and whether the bulk of the American press has thrown its blackest headlines into the exploitation of the polio tragedy. The only thing that really matters is that Canada has demonstrated that the program could be carried out with a minimum of hitches and a maximum of safety, with the greatest benefit to those who need the vaccine most, and at the lowest possible cost.

This is the great lesson that Canada offers Washington. The failure of the United States government to take over control of this crucial program from the outset was a costly and even tragic blunder. The human costs are bound to soar if the present haphazard course is pursued. From this vantage point there still seems to be time and opportunity to put the "Canadian experiment" to good use in the United States.

GERMAN STORM WARNINGS

The Drive for Neutralism . . *by Carolus*

Bonn

TEN years after Hitler's end and Germany's unconditional surrender *de jure* sovereignty of the West German rump state was proclaimed. Bonn entered NATO and became Washington's ally; remilitarization was assured: John Foster Dulles and Dr. Adenauer had reached their goal.

It would have pleased the federal Chancellor if the church bells had been rung, if a national holiday had been proclaimed, and if he himself had been hailed as a new liberator and the country's guardian angel. Nothing of the sort happened. The fifty million Germans of the Federal Republic remained cool and made caustic comments about the kind of sovereignty granted them. In the letters column of the *Frankfurter Nachtrichten,* a reader wrote: "In 1914 and in 1939 we had our sovereignty, and both times this sovereignty ended in war and endless misery. There are indications that our new sovereignty will take the same road."

Even Dr. Adenauer's most loyal supporters looked enviously toward Vienna, whose "treachery" has added some extremely bitter drops to Bonn's official cup of joy. Not one speaker, in Parliament or at the official banquets, expressed a word of thanks to the Western Allies who had allowed the German phoenix to rise from the ashes—from ruins, hunger, and the disgrace of unspeakable crimes—to such a height. In ten years the West German state had become the strongest economic power in all Europe (including Great Britain), with an industrial production which had nearly doubled since 1935.

Dr. Adenauer's first disappointment came on May 5. He had planned to make the solemn announcement of the country's sovereignty to Parliament in the presence of the diplomatic corps, but when the Western ambassadors arrived at the appointed time, they found the session had been postponed. Parliament was in an uproar. Even Adenauer's own party was ready to revolt. It had been discovered that the final sentence of his proclamation was to be: "Germany is again a sovereign state." After several hours of debate behind the scenes, the Chancellor was compelled to change it to run: "The Federal Republic is again a sovereign state." To complete his discomfiture, he had to permit the proclamation to be read by the speaker of the house. If he had read it himself, the opposition would have taken advantage of its right of subsequent debate, which was at all cost to be avoided.

ANOTHER sour note was the news from England. Several years ago an Anglo-German Association came into being, dedicated to the discussion of foreign-policy problems. The association usually met around Easter at Koenigswinter, near Bonn. This year, too, prominent representatives of the British and German political parties and of the press gathered in the little Rhineland town. And on May 2 the Germans were amazed to see on the front page of the largest German daily, *Die Welt,* the banner headline: "Wave of Indignation in England; Germany Accused of Being Unreliable."

The report of the Koenigswinter debates which Richard H. S. Crossman contributed to the London *New Statesman and Nation* of April 30 began as follows:

> "The ingratitude of these damned Germans. I shall never trust them again " The place where this was said to me was Koenigswinter. . . . The speaker was a well-known Labor M. P.—a supporter of German rearmament who has often bluntly told the Commons that since the French are hopeless, we must forget old scores and trust the Germans as our allies in defense of Western civilization. . . . This year, throughout the Federal Republic, the wintry climate of cold war has suddenly changed and German loyalty to NATO is breaking up like an ice pack in spring. No wonder the British M. P.'s who believed that West Germany had been safely frozen into the West were shocked by what they saw and heard at Koenigswinter. Editors of staunchly anti-Socialist newspapers, right-wing generals, even members of Dr. Adenauer's coalition were all thawing out of their rigid Western orientation, stretching themselves toward Moscow, whence Dr. Raab had just returned to Vienna loaded with concessions.

Disregarding the comments of the London *Daily Telegraph,* the *Sunday Times,* and even the British radio, which were in similar vein, I will simply cite the reaction of the arch-conservative *Economist,* which declared after the return of the Tory delegates from Koenigswinter:

> One visitor to the conference remarked bitterly that he had heard of rats leaving the sinking ship but never of them deserting one that had just been launched. But that was the impression gained by the British from the Germans at the meeting—that they were planning to leave the Western alliance before the ink on it is dry. . . . The suspicion was aroused . . . that the Germans have gained what they want from the West—sovereignty and the right to rearm—and think now is the time to sell it to the East.

What shocked the British delegates and started the reported "wave of indignation" was basically the same thing that today embitters Dr. Adenauer: the Germans are playing *German* politics, not British or American politics. Phrases like "defense of the West" or "defense of Western culture and Christian civilization" are good enough if they serve Germany's purpose. But Western integration can go to the devil if it is to be paid for with the permanent division of Germany and

---

CAROLUS is the pseudonym of The Nation's *correspondent in West Germany.*

with the chance that Germany will be a battlefield in another war.

Adenauer's most sincere adherents did not expect this kind of bargain. For him, it was no slip of the tongue when he identified the Federal Republic with all Germany. But for the people and their representatives in Parliament it was blasphemy, and the British at Koenigswinter were so notified.

AT ABOUT the same time—around Easter, when the spring thaw set in—the Bonin case came up. During World War II Colonel von Bonin, member of an old aristocratic family, was chief of the operational division of Hitler's armies. In the present Bonn Ministry of Defense—which in collaboration with General Gruenther, commander of the NATO set-up, has been busily preparing Germany's remilitarization—he was one of the shining lights until, shortly before Easter, Adenauer fired him without notice. The obvious reason was that Bonin had protested against Gruenther's and Adenauer's military plans and political concepts. In speeches, articles, and memoranda he had explained that it was senseless and unpatriotic to defend Europe at the Rhine with the help of German soldiers—as provided by NATO—instead of defending the West German state at the Elbe. Colonel von Bonin does not want West Germany to contribute troops to NATO, since in that case the Russians will remain in the east zone and Germany will not be unified. He does not want a West German army of 500,000 men, which can be created only through universal military service. He wants a small elite army of 150,000 mercenaries on a voluntary basis, a force held firmly in hand by its leaders and capable of wielding political influence, a force like von Seeckt's Reichswehr in the early days of the Weimar republic. Bonin insists that most of his World War II comrades and most German generals share his views. And according to what people are shouting from the rooftops about the composition of the new German army and the selection of its officers, he must be believed.

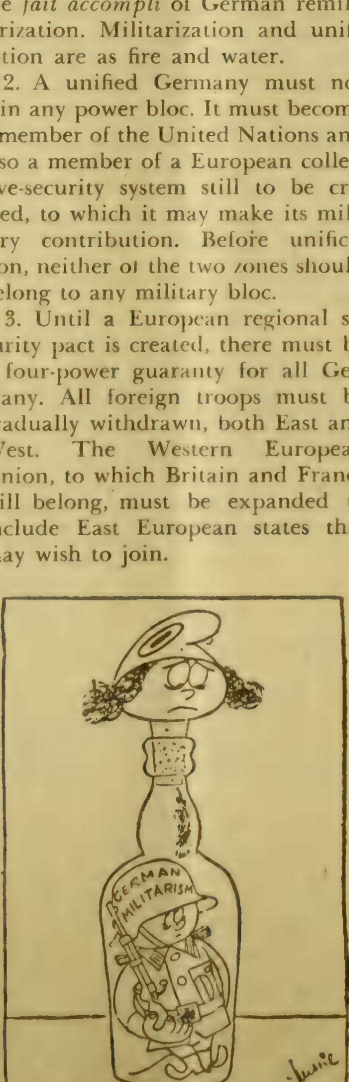
The lesson to be learned from the Bonin affair is that the Western powers should not underestimate the increasing desire of the Germans for reunification. What today is a comparatively mild breeze blowing from Vienna may tomorrow turn into a storm that will sweep away all the West's illusions. With Adenauer, the last barrier will fall and he is now eighty years old.

Whatever the respective strengths of the political parties, their composition in today's West Germany must be understood mainly in terms of class and religion: the foreign policy of the Social Democratic opposition is also that of the Protestant church and the trade unions. Its fundamental tenets are:

1. German unity and European security are inseparable. They can be attained only by four-power negotiations and an understanding with Soviet Russia. The Soviet Union must not be confronted with the *fait accompli* of German remilitarization. Militarization and unification are as fire and water.

2. A unified Germany must not join any power bloc. It must become a member of the United Nations and also a member of a European collective-security system still to be created, to which it may make its military contribution. Before unification, neither of the two zones should belong to any military bloc.

3. Until a European regional security pact is created, there must be a four-power guaranty for all Germany. All foreign troops must be gradually withdrawn, both East and West. The Western European Union, to which Britain and France will belong, must be expanded to include East European states that may wish to join.



This program of the Social Democratic opposition undeniably resembles Nehru's concept of a neutral power bloc in Asia and Tito's goal of a neutral European strip extending from Scandinavia to the Mediterranean. Dr. Adenauer, the close friend of John Foster Dulles, is of course unalterably opposed to the program, which explains his eagerness to carry out remilitarization.

ADENAUER'S coalition partners, especially the Free Democrats, the second-largest government party, voice strong criticism of the Chancellor's negative attitude toward the question of unification. At the beginning of May, Dr. Schwann, a Free Democratic deputy, visited the Russian High Commissioner in the east zone. Adenauer would have been pleased if the party had expelled this bold explorer behind the Iron Curtain, but it did not do so. At present the Free Democrats are in the throes of severe internal conflict. Many members, like the industrialists and the propertied middle classes, are afraid of a Soviet-American understanding at the expense of German unity. These elements are urging an agreement with Russia which will open to them the lost markets of Eastern Europe and China.

For the protection of their class interests against the demands of the workers the propertied middle and upper classes want an army, but they are wondering whether an understanding with Russia and Germany's reunification can be coupled with a German army, whether their particular class interests can be reconciled with national interests. The Free Democrats would like to solve the problem by having the "sovereign" Bonn government resume diplomatic relations with Moscow and negotiate pending issues.

In its report of the Koenigswinter meeting, the London *Economist* of April 13 said:

> If the Bonin episode proves how essential it is to rearm Germany inside a Western framework, because the Germans would have rearmed themselves anyway, the Koenigswinter discussions show how necessary it is for the West—including the Adenauer government—to keep the initiative in reunification, because the Germans will otherwise reunite themselves inside a Russian cage.

A PUZZLED RACE

A Short Story . . *by Kay Boyle*

THERE was nothing of the bureaucrat, nothing of the acquiescent man, or the bending reed in him, although he walked out of a building that housed government offices with an ease that signified he was familiar with the territory. He was gray-haired, and neither tall nor short, not old or young, with a quality as solid as stone about him, and a vigorous step. The air felt foolishly tender and light on his cheek as it might to a man newly in love, he thought, and the delicate leaves of the trees before him, the floating heavens, seemed too ethereal to be a part of Germany. Behind him was the vast, familiar honeycomb of the offices of the United States High Commission, and as he started down the steps he thought of his age, and a network of lines diffused in humor around his eyes. *I'm too old to feel this pull at the heart,* he thought, but in spite of the accumulated years of his life—nearly fifty now—and of the political climate of this particular year, the spring all about him seemed almost lovelier than any spring he could recall. It had not been lent this poignancy because of any wild new attachment either to woman or to country, he knew as he waited for the uniformed driver to bring his car up to the curb. His wife was his established love, and he needed no other, and America was his country. No surge of nameless emotion could persuade him now that Germany was better than he had believed merely because its outer texture was transformed by May.

"Home first, and then to the airport," he said to the back of the driver's head as he got in the car and closed the door; the same head, the same set of the cap, the same flushed cartilege of the ear, he had spoken his directions to for two years or more. *And this perhaps the last day I'll ride behind him,* he thought, and he lowered the window-glass and looked out in silence on the vineyards they were passing. The vines hung like emerald necklaces on the high, tilted slopes above the swiftly flowing waters of the Rhine. Perhaps he felt this sudden tenderness for the landscape of Germany because he might not see it just like this again, for in a few hours' time he would be leaving it, and, if he returned, he knew this defenseless moment of its rebirth in spring would be forgotten as the Ice Saints of May came shivering in. He had come to know it as a country in which one iron season seemed to follow upon another because of the iron faces, the iron intentions, the bland, iron aplomb. But as he settled back on the deep cushions of the seat, it seemed to him for just this brief instant that he too had laid down his arms, and that Washington could do exactly as it wished with him. *Just for this second, as I look out,* he thought, *I do not care.*

WITHIN a quarter of an hour they had reached the housing project, and they drove past the rows of two-story apartment buildings that zigzagged, bright with stucco and nickle and plate-glass, among the apple and pear trees of the farming country whose fields and orchards had followed the river here before. This was the American enclave, with an unfinished look to it still, but the circular flowerbeds before the post exchange and before the coffee shop were planted with purple and white hyacinths, and grass was beginning to grow at last on the stretches of tan mud around the commissary and the gas station and the dry-cleaning plant. One strip of newly broken land along the Rhine seeking with desperation to emulate America, the man reflected, but failing because the reason for America was not there. Except for the bicycles, the kiddie-cars, the tricycles, of United States make, that lay discarded on sidewalks and cement-bound lawns, and for the children coming home from school, bands of them in blue jeans and cowboy boots, even a group of Cub Scouts in shirts and caps of blue and gold, it was still Germany. From the car, he could hear the children's voices, Midwestern, tough, and at the same time vulnerable and shrill, stirring in him the memory of other springs.

America, he thought, his arm held in the car's brocaded sling; *this time you're going to show me a grimmer face.*

Beyond the apartment houses were four geometrically angled and roofed houses, built closer to the river and given an aura of seclusion in indication of the higher rating of the men who lived within. The car had entered the drive of the first of these, and at once the man saw the boy waiting on the path that led to the white stone step and the clouded glass of the front door.

"We should leave at four. I'll have my bag ready by then," the man said to the back of the driver's head, and he moved forward on the seat. "Get them to fix you a meal in the kitchen before we go. You'll get back late." The car had stopped, and the man got out, and closed the car door behind him, and started walking toward the boy. "Isn't it getting too hot for the coonskin cap?" he said.

Even before the car had stopped, the boy in his blue jeans and red flannel shirt had begun coming, without haste but doggedly, over the flat slabs of the pavings that marked the path. And now, head lowered, he turned on his black-and-white sneakers and fitted himself against the man, his left shoulder pressing, thin and strangely forlorn, into the hard bones of his ribs. He put his hand on the boy's right shoulder, feeling the brittle, inverted cup

---

KAY BOYLE is well known as novelist and short-story writer. Her latest book is "The Seagull on the Steps."

within his palm, and the sharp wing of the shoulder blade.

"Can I go to the airport with you?" the boy asked, not looking up. He was watching his own feet and the man's, lengthening his step to walk as the man walked as they went toward the smooth white step and the ultra-modern door.

"It would be better if you stayed here," the man said. "Mother doesn't want to leave Vinnie while she's coughing still. You'd better stay with them."

"I'm going to have lots of trouble with my arithmetic," the boy said. "Are you sure you have to go?"

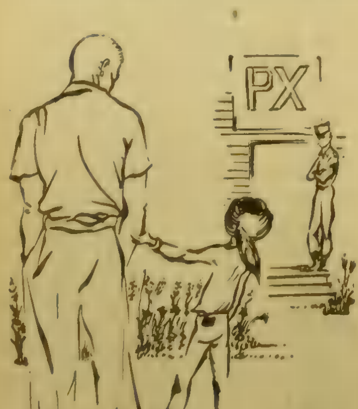
"Yes, I have to go," said the man, and he looked down at the silvery, brown-tipped hairs of the raccoon cap and the strip of leather that formed the crown. "They want me to answer some questions over there," he said.

"How many days will it take?" the boy asked, and now he hung back a little, prolonging the moment before they must go up the step.

"I hope it won't be more than a week," the man said, walking slower too. The striped raccoon tail hung the length of the hollow of the boy's thin neck, and when he raised his head quickly to look at the man, the tail swung, fat as a caterpillar, to one side.

"What kind of questions will they ask you?" the boy said, scrutinizing the man's face now.

"Oh, about people," said the man, and he looked down into the long-lashed eyes below him. The brows were as black as his own brows, but delicate and silky, and the eyes were clear and gentle and a translucent blue. "Just about people I used to know."



They had come so close to the scrubbed white step that had they moved forward they would have mounted it and opened the door and gone into the house together, but the man lingered too, as if reluctant to let this moment go. He felt the perishable bones of the boy's shoulder in his palm, and he thought of the process that turned the softness of a boy's substance to that of a man, the toughening, the hardening, the growing suspicion of one another, and the final dying of belief, until citizen suspected citizen, and friend looked warily at friend. *When does it begin? How does it happen?* the man thought, looking down into his son's face. *When do men begin doubting each other, and fear to look into each other's eyes?*

"WHY can't you answer the questions from here?" the boy asked, his head tilted back, holding stubbornly to the idea that the man might still not go.

"I answered them from here," the man said, "They want me to say it over again, out loud."

"Because they didn't believe you?" the boy said, his eye gone a little shrewd.

"Perhaps some of them didn't," said the man. Looking at his watch, he thought: *I must go now. I must get my things together, get my papers straightened out, the last things said to Mary before I go.* And then he saw the look in the boy's face, and he turned abruptly, and drew him with him down the stone path, their backs turned on the house. "I don't want you to worry about it," he said, his hand holding the boy's shoulder hard. "It's going to be all right. Last night I found a book about Daniel Boone on the floor beside your bed. It must have fallen off when you went to sleep. I picked it up and I read it straight through to the end. Maybe you haven't come to the part where they didn't believe the answers Boone gave."

"I'm at the part where his son gets killed by the Indians," the boy said, walking close to the man.

"Well, you'll read the rest," said the man. "You'll read about how, at one time in his life, his fellow-citizens couldn't agree about him, so there was nothing for it but to have a trial." He and the boy had left the angularly paved path and crossed the drive, and they stopped at the edge of the field that, generations before the Americans had come, must have been plowed by German plowshares, drawn by German horses, driven by German hands. But now the field waited, as if in bewilderment, neither pasture nor orchard, garden nor lawn, and certainly not fallow land. "Look," said the man. Through the ancient trees that leaned, lovely with May, at the end of the field, could be seen the swiftly passing Rhine, and great, handsome barges rode the current, so heavily loaded that only their cabins, as pretty as cottages, with geraniums blooming in their window-boxes, and children playing at their doors, seemed to rise above the water line. Yet however heavy the cargo that they bore, they sped along with singular festivity, as if to the pace of music rippling fast across the water and the air. "There goes a barge flying the Belgian flag," the man said, and standing there with his son in the delicate, spring light, he suddenly saw the words as clearly as if they were written out across the mud and grass. "Men who in private had questioned Boone's loyalty now doubted it in public," went the grieveous legend, and he looked away from it to the pennants of bright, flapping clothes that hung, drying, upon the barges' decks. "They were cruel, and they were unjust, but they were very natural, these grave suspicions of Boone's loyalty," the words went on. "Americans were a puzzled race in those years . . .There was nothing for it but a formal trial." The man said, watching the barges go: "I'd like to take that book with me on the plane tonight."

"Sure, you can take it," said the boy, but his mind was on something else now. "If you got on that barge then you wouldn't have to go to Washington. You could go to Belgium instead."

"Except that isn't where they're expecting me," the man said.

When they turned to go, the words that he had not said aloud moved with them, and the man watched them pass, like subtitles on a movie screen, across the macadam of the drive. "That Boone ever really contemplated treason is a ridiculous idea, disproved by all his years of faithful service," went the tape recorder of his memory. "It was not the last time that he was to feel the ingratitude of his friends, but it was the first and perhaps the bitterest. . . ."

"In a week they're going to have the kite-flying contest like last year," the boy said in a low voice as they went up the path.

"I'll try hard to be back for it," the man said. "I'll do everything I can."

"But in the end," the boy said suddenly when they reached the step; "I mean, this thing about Daniel Boone. Did they believe him in the end?"

"Yes," said the man. "Of course they believed him." He could not say to the silvery hairs of the cap that moved below him: *They acquitted him, but something was altered in him, something they hadn't the power to condemn or clear. Boone went to Spanish territory, to Louisiana, in the end, and became a Spanish magistrate. He didn't want to give up his American citizenship and become a Spaniard. But he did. It meant becoming a respected man, and making a living for his family again.* "They had a trial, and he was acquitted of the charges. You wouldn't be wearing a raccoon cap today if he hadn't been acquitted. Boone wore his cap for half a century before Crockett came along," he said, and he pulled the plump, striped tail as they went up the step together. "In later years," the words moved in silence across the frosted glass of the door, "his children often repeated Boone's stories and his opinions, but to this episode they seem never to have referred." "I'll be back in a week, and I'll bring you a kite, and we'll fly it, and perhaps we'll win," the man said. He was thinking of his wife upstairs as he walked into the hall.

THE LOHARS GO HOME

Vignette of Today's India . . *Elizabeth Partridge*

New Delhi

IT WAS a *tamasha* after Nehru's heart. For the Lohars a 400-year-old pledge had been redeemed. Excitement rippled through the crowd like the color in the Flame of the Forest trees. The ochre earth of the Rajasthan Desert atomized under that searing sun into a fine cloud of misery. It sifted into eyes, nostrils, throats and lungs, gritting between teeth and toes, harsh under palms and fingertips—equally for Mr. Nehru, leaping from a scarlet sedan, as for the boy brushing off bruised rose petals from wet fingers: dust the great leveler. The crowds surged around him, "Nehru ki jai!" A headache for the sweating security officers but the stuff Nehru's dreams are made on.

The Gadi Lohars trace their origin, it is said, to the Rajput defenders of Chittor, the ancient Mewar capital which fell to the Moguls in 1568. Driven out of the fort of Chittorgarh into fitful guerrilla warfare, these artisan Lohars became in time nomad blacksmiths. They took a vow that they would never return until Chittor was free, never settle in one place but roam in carts, never draw water with a rope, never light lamps near their carts, and never sleep on cots—never until Chittor was freed from foreign invaders. Which it was seven and a half years ago, though not until this year could Nehru make them believe it. Now he could lead them back into Chittor.

It's much too good a story for the cynics to spoil. True, the Lohars are not mentioned in Todd's "Annals of Rajasthan," but a Mr. Patterson, another of those indefatigable mid-Victorian chroniclers who seemed to administer British India as an after thought, does allow them. And how else account for those nomad blacksmiths all over India, speaking a form of Rajputani, bound by hearsay oaths, father to son ("Never cross the Bhagmeri River into Chittor until it is free!"), sleeping in the monsoon under reversed cots?

"Stuff and nonsense, tomorrow's ceremony," growled a quite different descendant of the Rajput warriors, Sandhurst educated. "They should ask us, Madam, what we think of it, ask *us*, the descendants of the real defenders of Chittor. What fighting did the Lohars do, may I inquire?" "It's all this equality nonsense," he added darkly. A last Rajput defiance against the inroads of socialism.

But anyway, there they were, some 4,000 Lohars, rounded up on reduced fares from all the states, waiting for Nehru to lead them across the Bhagmeri into Chittorgarh Fort. Never since Rajput clashed sword with Mogul had there been such tumult in Chittor, its 10,000 population swollen to 100,000 as the people piled in on foot, on train footplates, in bullock carts. The Rajasthani still looks a warrior in his *dhoti*, his wife like a princess in her swirling skirts—not even the dust could blunt those purples and reds, silver-embroidered. At least one woman was carrying a sword.

They swarmed round the Lohars, strangely quiet by contrast, disciplined into a procession by loudspeakers since dawn. Tall men—taller by reason of their festive pink turbans, full twenty yards twisted up and up—curly hair tumbling to their shoulders, silver medallions on bootlaces round their necks. Near them their carts, gaily decorated, some beflagged, some bearing Shiva tridents, drawn by little milky oxen in red and blue coats. Seated in the carts with their children were the Lohar women, half a dozen silver

---

ELIZABETH PARTRIDGE, a freelance writer, lives in India.

bracelets on arms raised to veil their faces from the curious.

At the head of the procession a young Lohar bore aloft a model of a cart containing a cot upside down. In the ceremony at the bridge Nehru would reverse it, symbolically freeing the Lohars from their vow. As press photographers jostled him for their insatiable public, the young Lohar leader seemed to draw on that innate dignity found inviolate in most Indian peasants, on which Nehru builds his hopes for a brave new India more than on the technology of the Westernized few.

As the scarlet sedan approached, a full-throated roar went up, and the crowd, surging into the road, blocked the bridge. A red banner across the bamboo arch came loose at one side and hung limp, illegible—which was perhaps just as well, since it said "Welcome to Emperor Nehru." An Indian district officer shrugged and rolled his eyes. "It would have been better organized in the British days," he shouted apologetically in my ear.

Nehru performed the cot-reversing ceremony, then grasped the microphone and invited the Lohars to enter Chittorgarh Fort.

Instantly there was a mass movement forward over a million rose petals. A haze of dust and shouting. The Mewar Bhil fife band in its green banners and leopard skins inaudible except for its big drum. Fifty thousand tramping feet across the bridge. In the confusion the press cars went astray and we had to jump aboard the V. I. P. jeeps, slowed to walking pace. All up the narrow roadway people stood on balconies, benches, and roofs, waving flags, showering rose petals and jasmine. Then in the square within Chittorgarh Fort, Nehru performed the *tilak* (welcoming) ceremony, placing a dot of vermilion on the Lohar leaders' foreheads.

As we drove down again, he was clearly in high spirits. From my place in the chief security jeep, just in front of the scarlet sedan, I could hear him say, "There's a taste of my socialistic pattern for you."

It would probably have been better organized in the British days —but not half so much fun.

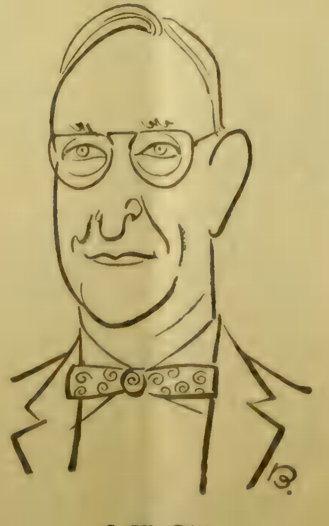
THAT MAN OF YORK

Jess Gitt's Daily Wasp . . *by George Rudisill, Jr.*

"I NEVER read the *Gazette and Daily*," protested my Republican godfather, "but occasionally I take a look at my neighbor's copy just to see how far That Man will go." "That Man" is J. W. Gitt, for the past forty years editor and publisher of the *Gazette and Daily* of York, Pennsylvania. York County, where he is a constant source of inspiration and irritation, in a conservative but perversely Democratic community of Pennsylvania Dutch farmers and small manufacturers.

Jess Gitt's standards of personal and journalistic integrity have always been high, and his paper bears out his early belief that "a newspaper is a public servant and to be permanently successful must be faithful to the interests of the public it serves. It dare not be selfish. It dare not be mercenary." His creed is in marked contrast to a formula which appeared in the *Wall Street Journal* in 1925: "A newspaper is a private enterprise, owing nothing to the public, which grants it no franchise. It is therefore 'affected' with no public interest. It is emphatically the property of its owner, who is selling a manufactured product at his own risk."

Gitt has demonstrated that public service and "successful" journalism can be combined. His paper has the largest circulation in the county—almost 36,000 and still increasing; it won the N. W. Ayer award for typography and make-up for tabloids regardless of circulation four years running (1946-49); and according to Irving Dilliard, director of the editorial page of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, Gitt's own editorials "would distinguish a newspaper with a dozen times the circulation of the one for which he writes."



J. W. Gitt

The *Gazette and Daily*, like its editor, of whose dominant personality the paper is largely a projection, is known for its determined independence and uncompromising support of progressive causes. As Louis Adamic once wrote of Gitt and his editors, "They simply refuse to be intimidated." This is a costly policy. Liquor and patent medicine ads are out. The paper invites complaints from the public about misrepresentations on the part of its advertisers and prints Federal Trade Commission reports on their products. Such independent ways usually mean more than the loss of advertising. "It almost goes without saying," Gitt recently observed, "that a man who runs a newspaper and lives up to the ideal of printing the news without fear or favor will not have a large circle of friends." "Only

---

GEORGE RUDISILL, JR., is a native of York.

if he has a thick hide and a determined conviction of right," he has said, "can the non-conformist carry on in times of hysteria, or indeed in almost any other period."

NON-CONFORMITY, of course, is relative. During the war and its aftermath, when such writers as Max Lerner, J. Alvarez del Vayo, Lowell Mellett, Harold J. Laski, Owen Lattimore, I. F. Stone, Theodore White, George Seldes, Andrew Roth, Albert Deutsch, Edgar Ansel Mowrer, and Anna Louise Strong graced the second editorial page, the *Gazette and Daily* was not so out of step with the times. But now the paper is almost the only United States daily that is still reporting the cold war rather than waging it. The peak of non-conformity was reached in 1948 when the paper backed Henry Wallace and Jess Gitt became chairman of the Progressive Party in Pennsylvania, where only two newspapers, with a combined circulation of 58,226, backed Harry S. Truman and seventy-six, with a circulation of 3,379,700, supported Thomas E. Dewey.

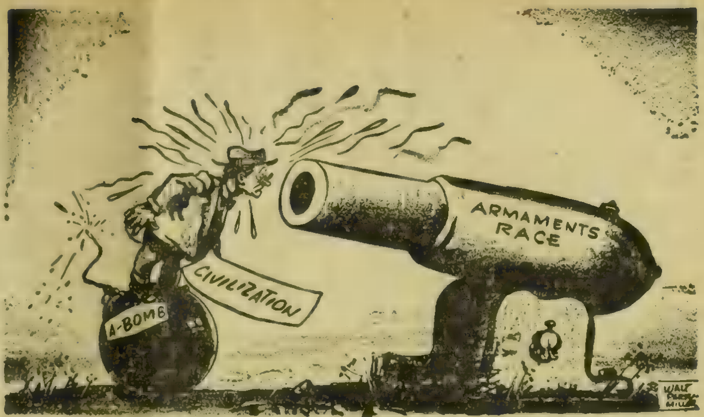
Gitt believes that United States foreign policy by bypassing the United Nations has undermined its usefulness as an instrument of peaceful persuasion. The Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, and NATO may have achieved security for the vested interests, both economic and political, but they could not bring about a peaceful settlement of the cold-war issues, if indeed they were ever designed to do that. Today the emphasis has shifted to Asia, but the policy remains the same. "We are getting to the national-honor stage right now," Gitt recently warned—a dangerous portent for world peace. "We have certainly got ourselves into a lamentable state of mind if aggression against the Chinese Chiang Kai-shek by those in power in China is interpreted as aggression against us."

At a time when the American public has united in uncritical support of the shibboleth of anti-communism which masquerades as foreign policy, Jess Gitt has refused to be misled by demagogues or timorous administrators who seek to check communism by imitating its most repressive features. To what avail it is hard to say. Citizens of York welcome the *Gazette's* support of flouridation without joining it in questioning the wisdom of German rearmament. They are likely to be less critical of Jess Gitt's unrelenting defense of civil liberties than of his attacks on our Far East policy.

His defiance of a virtually unanimous demand for "national unity" in foreign affairs has given him an unmerited reputation for radicalism. While he has long felt the need for a truly progressive party in the United States—he backed La Follette and the Progressives in 1924—he has never favored any brand of socialism, either Fabian or Marxist. He would simply like to see the electorate rescued from a surfeit of bipartisanship, something he believes the Democrats cannot accomplish so long as the Southern Bourbons hold the balance of power. In economics he is opposed to monopoly, his views on this subject being much like those of T. K. Quinn, author of "Giant Business: Threat to Democracy." His reading of John Maynard Keynes undoubtedly impressed upon him the need for planning. From his experiences as the York County relief chairman under Gifford Pinchot, whom he always supported, he learned what the New Deal really stood for. In working for a healthy democracy and a just society he seeks inspiration in ancient Greece and Asoka's India rather than in Labor Britain or the Soviet utopia.

Grandson of a Reformed clergyman who was more of a philosopher than a theologian, Jess Gitt grew up in an ethical tradition that placed right conduct above creed and insisted that it be practiced for its own sake. This is the real source of his much-berated radicalism. It is simply a matter of personal integrity and intellectual honesty. Journalism, he believes, like history teaches a philosophy of life by example. The important thing is to have a philosophy worth teaching.

Crusading Cartoonist



Walt Partymiller, whose cartoons (see sample above) appear each morning on the front page of the Gazette and Daily, is the newspaper's first full-time editorial cartoonist. He joined the staff ten years ago after some years of free-lancing during which his work appeared in publications such as the Gazette, The Nation, the New Republic, the Survey Graphic, and PM. His free-lance career began in Seattle, where the artist sought to reflect something of the titanic labor and civil-rights struggle that engaged the Pacific Northwest in the 1930's. It continued during the years he studied art in New York.

Jess Gitt, publisher of the Gazette, has said of his editorial cartoonist that "it isn't in Walt to draw anything except what is basically liberal and truly in the public interest. He suits us to a T." When Partymiller was mentioned for the American Newspaper Guild's Heywood Broun award several years ago, William L. Shirer referred to him as "cartoonist for one of the most remarkable small daily newspapers in the United States . . . there was no doubt in the judges' minds that Partymiller was as remarkable as his newspaper."

BOOKS

A Chinese Gogol

CHILDREN OF THE BLACK-HAIRED PEOPLE. By Evan King. Rinehart and Company. $5.

By Edgar Snow

SCHOLARSHIP and creative talent have seldom been more successfully combined than in Evan King's novel of pre-revolutionary village life in China. Considered as a work of fiction it is the best thing written by a foreigner about contemporary Chinese for many years; as a sociological study it is as interesting as "Dead Souls." The author is almost Gogol's equal when it comes to bucolic characterization, and he is not much behind him in sense of comedy—tempered by an underlying wonder and pity. Certain scenes are as funny in their close-up view of human absurdity as anything in "The Inspector-General."

"Evan King" is the nom de plume adopted by Robert S. Ward when he was still a United States foreign-service officer in China. Probably the most brilliant language student sent there after our China service was established, he so immersed himself in Chinese culture that he is at times able to take you right inside the skins of these people. He has learned to think in Chinese and in some degree to write like their classics—in prose distinguished by lucidity and grace and by what Chinese might call "roundness" or fulness. Undeniably some of the digressions in this book—such as the business about hexagrams, yin and yang, fox demons, Confucianism, Taoism, and the writings of Mo Tzu—are pretty long-winded interruptions of the main story. Personally I don't mind. They seem to me to add as much to a full appreciation of the "Children of the Black-Haired People" as the many pages of painfully recorded research on cetacean life contribute to "Moby Dick."

King has probably been influenced by Melville in other respects—the anachronism of his style, for example. But that is also curiously reminiscent, as it flows on with majestic rhythms and undulations, of Chinese classics such as the "Shui Hu Chuan" and the "Red Chamber Dream." In his treatment of bedroom material, also, the author reminds us of still another Chinese classic, the Rabelasian "Chin P'ing Mei," for he is equally candid concerning sex appetites, lusts, and the libidinous, and as moralistic in his analysis of evil. By the time the long book ends it has fully animated all the hypocrisies in the practical application of basic philosophical principles, customs, taboos, superstitions, and prejudices which governed the loves, hates, and routine of life in a typical village.

OUR words "China" and "Chinese" are of course European inventions; the Chinese call themselves Sons of Han or Middle-Kingdom People or by more fanciful names. One of the latter is Children of the Black-Haired People. King's story about them is timed thirty years ago, during the Nationalist revolution, and it takes place in the Li Family Village in Shansi, in the north. Third Immortal Maiden is a diabolically clever peasant woman who learns the black arts after she is seduced by Precious as Pearl, head of the local gentry. Having disposed of her stupid husband, Precious as Pearl gets her into a powerful secret society where she helps the rich Li clan hold and enlarge its control over the peasants. When already past her prime she develops a lustful passion for Iron Lock, a handsome young peasant who comes to one of her seances. But Iron Lock sees Second Lass, Third Immortal Maiden's slave girl, and at once falls in love with her. While the seeress is planning to seduce him, he and Second Lass secretly become lovers. When this is revealed, Third Immortal Maiden tries to prevent their "against-the-rites" marriage but fails. Consulting her incense bowl, her gods, and her horoscopes, she publicly predicts their ruin and privately vows eternal vengeance.

The story revolves largely around the skilful maneuvers with which the Third Immortal Maiden, helped by the Li clan gentry and good luck, gradually brings about the total downfall of the young couple and all their friends. They become first the symbolical and next the literal personification of "peasant rebellion" and of everything hateful to the gentry about "modern reform." Second Lass is banished as a fox demon. Iron Lock loses his land; then Mayor Precious as Pearl tricks him into a position where he can save his own head only by surrendering to the lecherous demands of Third Immortal Maiden. In this dilemma the author mercifully contrives an awakening for his hero just at a point where he has begun to seem almost too stupid to be believable.

Minor and appealing characters such as Possessed of Talent, Wang of Peaceful Fortune, Cold Beginning, and Omen of Courage are involved in sub-plots which at times sustain the major interest. As only English meanings of Chinese proper names are used, with no transliterations, readers unfamiliar with the language will have trouble identifying originals where real people are concerned. How many will recognize in "General Tin Mountain" our old friend Yen Hsi-shan, former "model governor" of Shansi? Or know "Lone Stone" for our stout ally, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek? West of the Mountains may be permissible for Shansi province, but surely City of Upper Sea for Shanghai, Heaven's Ferry for Tientsin, and so on, are preciosity carried to pointless obscurity.

Despite its idiosyncrasies the novel's prescience is clear enough. This is the end of a decadent society that had exhausted the possibilities of its long-nailed magistrates and gentry, its immortal maidens, its rule by secret societies of procurers, by superstitions and cabalistic controls. Science and knowledge and the long winds of change—carrying new portents of good and evil—are raging outside the ruined walls of Li Village. And thoroughgoing violent revolution is not far off.

EDGAR SNOW is the author of "Red Star Over China" and other books.

Early American Radicals

REBELS AND DEMOCRATS. The Struggle for Equal Political Rights and Majority Rule During the American Revolution. By Elisha P. Douglass. University of North Carolina Press. $5.

By R. R. Palmer

MUCH of the recent writing on the American Revolution stresses its conservative character. Mr. Douglass does not deny it. By its conservatism, however, he means not only defense against encroachments on American liberties originating in England but defense against native American radicalism originating in the colonies before and during the struggle for independence. His book is about these native radicals, the "rebels and democrats" of the American Revolution. While admitting that the main stream was relatively conservative, he shows how this "conservatism" of the Revolution was itself shaped by the existence of a movement farther to the left. No one after reading the book will feel inclined to dismiss his revolutionary democrats as minor characters in the play. By "democrats" he means those who demanded manhood suffrage, equal electoral districts, a single legislative chamber, eligibility to office with little or no property qualification, short terms of office, popular ratification of constitutions, and other measures designed to keep government responsive to the people as a whole.

He proceeds state by state, though without giving the same attention to all. He begins with South Carolina, the clearest case of successful conservatism, concluding that there the colonial upper class actually intrenched itself by throwing off the British authority. He then moves to New York, describes the agitation of the 1760's, points out its social rather than purely political character as a protest against the quasi feudal landlord-and-tenant regime, and shows how a predominantly conservative state constitution emerged from these conflicts in 1777. Most of the book is devoted to a more detailed treatment of North Carolina, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania, where the democratic forces were politically most effective. In North Carolina the democrats, after being forcibly suppressed in the Regulator movement, renewed their demands during the troubles with England and succeeded in getting a number of democratic features written into the state constitution; in practice, nevertheless, the "courthouse rings," or groups of governing families in the counties, remained intact. In Massachusetts the small farmers blocked attempts of the upper-class revolutionaries to preserve the colonial charter as the state constitution; in the ensuing contest certain basic concepts of popular sovereignty, of the difference between constituent and legislative power, and of the role of a special constituent body, or "convention," were worked out. The distinctive feature in Pennsylvania was the formation of a true democratic party; here the fact that the back-country farmers were in arms and were needed as soldiers by the somewhat pacifistic Quaker oligarchy in its quarrel with England gave a peculiarly practical character to the situation.

MANY reflections suggest themselves. The author believes the revolutionary democrats, in asserting themselves against the established colonial aristocracies, took the lead in institutionalizing such abstract concepts as the social contract and sovereignty of the people. The constitutional convention, the written constitution itself, and the idea of the legislature as possessing only a derivative delegated authority were the result. On the other hand, such characteristic American institutions as bicameralism and the separation of powers arose under conservative sponsorship, in the arena of practical politics, as means of checking the democratic thrust.

It seems clear from Mr. Douglass's book that the democratic strength lay in rural regions and in what was then the West; the lower classes in Boston or Philadelphia could do nothing alone. The grass-roots character of democratic ideas is to be noted; a Jacksonian democracy, if one may so call it, already existed before its Jeffersonian variant entered upon the national stage. Indeed, Mr. Douglas, while maintaining great respect for Jefferson, sharply distinguishes between him and the kind of common-man democrats he is talking about.

The author rarely mentions Europe. His characters never cite a Continental thinker, except Montesquieu, who was quoted most frequently on the conservative side. It is therefore uncanny to find the grass-roots and Western farmers of the Berkshires, or of Lancaster County in Pennsylvania, delivering themselves of propositions strangely similar to those of Rousseau, of whom they had probably never heard. "The Great Secret of Government is governing all by all," announced Spencer, Massachusetts, in words surely suggesting Rousseau more than Locke.

Mr. Douglass concludes on an irenic note, declaring that American liberty owes much to both the conservative and the democratic forces of the Revolution. He makes many

---

R. R. PALMER, Dodge professor of history at Princeton University, is the author of "Twelve Who Ruled," "A History of the Modern World," and other books.

REGULATING BUSINESS BY INDEPENDENT COMMISSION

By Marver H. Bernstein

A fresh, comprehensive appraisal of the role of our indpendent regulatory agencies—the Interstate Commerce Commission, National Labor Relations Board, Federal Power Commission, Securities and Exchange Commission, Federal Commerce Commission, Civil Aeronautics Board, and Federal Trade Commission. The author traces the evolution of thinking on regulation and suggests new ways of regulating our economic affairs in the public interest within the existing framework of private enterprise.

352 pages $5

Order from your bookstore, or

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS
Princeton, New Jersey

sensible remarks on the weaknesses as well as the achievement of his rebellious democrats, and on why the conflict between democrats and conservatives did not develop the animosity, fear, and vindictiveness that made the class problems of Europe so pernicious.

A Developing Democracy

ISRAEL'S EMERGING CONSTITUTION, 1948-1951. By Emanuel Rackman. Columbia University Press. $3.

By A. Leo Levin

UNWRITTEN and unratified, Israel's constitution requires somewhat special treatment. As a developing pattern of democratic procedures which govern the operation of the state, the constitution is real enough. It can and does exist without the fixed text of any document more formal or immutable than simple statutes. Yet one should not underestimate the important role a written constitution would play in giving stability to the pattern, particularly in a new state which lacks controlling traditions.

Israel has tried, seriously and at length, to develop a written constitution. Rackman deals ably with the attempt, with the factors which have prevented success, and with the substitutes which have been made to serve. He slights neither the institutional view of the constitution as it exists nor the importance of the work yet to be done. His book contains valuable material for understanding the government and politics of the new state.

The chief deterrent to the adoption of a comprehensive basic law is the religious problem. Differences over such matters as religious control of personal status, the availability of civil marriage and divorce, government control of pork production are at the heart of the current controversy. Rackman is himself an eloquent advocate of renewed creativity in Jewish religious law, but he preserves an admirable objectivity in assessing the probabilities of change and in criticizing both those whom he favors and those whom he has long opposed. The religious bloc, too often treated as a unitary force because it has presented a single list in national elections, is revealed as the combination of four often bickering parties which it is. The time-hallowed cry of "clericalism" is put in perspective against the background of total lack of economic power in the most rightist of the religious groups and the liberal social and economic policies which the "lion" of the coalition, the religious labor party (Hapoel Hamizrachi), shares with the secularist Mapai.

Rackman finds a serious threat to the constitutional development of Israel in the large number of political parties. These engender excessive party zeal and force members of the coalition Cabinet to dissipate their energies protecting narrow party interests no less against their partners in power than against the opposition.

There is a fascination about the process of birth which lends sparkle to what might otherwise have been prosaic, technical material. Not the least interesting portion of the book is the painstaking description of early governmental practices, their historical antecedents, and the gradual evolution of a more complex and stable system. Rackman offers a rich collection of material in this section, much of it not elsewhere available in English.

The book's greatest defect is its time limit. Much has happened since 1951. A new method of selection of judges has attracted interest in this country and might well be emulated. Developments with respect to the jurisdiction of the religious courts deserve careful analysis. Perhaps when Israel's written constitution becomes a reality, Rackman will write a supplement to this book. After all, the state of Israel is hardly more than half as old as was the United States when our Constitution was finally ratified.

A. LEO LEVIN is professor of law at the University of Pennsylvania and chairman of the editorial board of the Jewish Horizon.

Books in Brief

More About Johnson

YOUNG SAM JOHNSON. By James L. Clifford. McGraw-Hill. $5.75.

THE HIGHLAND JAUNT. By Moray McLaren. Sloane. $4.

Samuel Johnson took a rather cavalier attitude toward literary scholarship. His disciples do not, and here are two more impressive additions to the mountainous accumulation of documents, facts, and interpretations. Professor Clifford, whose book might have been called "The Johnson Boswell Didn't Know," presents the first full account of his hero's early life, and Mr. McLaren dogs the footsteps of the famous pair on their "perambulation" of wild Scotland. Though the one book is only a sort of footnote while the other represents a major contribution, both add new facts which help to complete the picture. Mr. McLaren, being a passionate Scotsman and an accomplished antiquarian, knows his terrain as it was and as it is. Professor Clifford, long recognized for his tireless researches, has built up a picture richer in fact and atmosphere than most scholars would have believed it possible to draw of Johnson's life from birth to the time when he was just emerging from obscurity. The reconstruction of the corporate and social life of Lichfield is particularly impressive and surprisingly interesting. In fact, the general reader will find both of these books more rewarding than he might be inclined to suspect, and Professor Clifford's is certainly a permanently important contribution to scholarship.

Discerning but Dull

SINCERELY, WILLIS WAYDE. By John P. Marquand. Little, Brown. $3.95.

John P. Marquand's books seem to become automatic best-sellers. In other best-selling novelists this might be accounted for by a certain lack of respectability, but Mr. Marquand's books are thoroughly respectable. They also tend to be dull.

"Sincerely, Willis Wayde" is a

sincere effort to portray the self-righteous insincerity of an American business type. It is a depressing effort because Mr. Marquand approaches his Babbitt with a unique rigidity of his own. His portrait certainly cannot be indicted for inaccuracy; indeed, there is no escape from the monotone of Mr. Marquand's accuracy. Details are set down with regular and insistent rhythm, like drops from a water faucet. The New England factory town and the New England aristocrats, the salesmen and the hotel rooms, the "deals" and double-cross of high finance—all are drawn carefully and clearly.

The dulness, however, remains. Perhaps Babbitt has been given literary life once too often; perhaps another dimension is needed which Mr. Marquand has not been able to discover. Perhaps also, Mr. Marquand has neglected what is, after all, a literary truism—that novelists must face the challenge of dealing imaginatively and sympathetically even with protagonists who are essentially unimaginative and unsympathetic.

Existentialist Sermon

ALL MEN ARE MORTAL. By Simone de Beauvoir. World. $5.

"All Men Are Mortal" is an oddly ponderous fantasy; a tour de force superimposing an existentialist sermon on the familiar story of a man who becomes immortal by drinking a magic potion. Wandering through a wide variety of human cultures and conflicts, Simone de Beauvoir's hero finds that perpetual being makes action and inaction equally meaningless.

Mme de Beauvoir, as always, is at her best when dealing with neurotic or self-assertive individuals. The most successful portrait in this book is that of a woman who demands the ultimate assertion of self, the power to break through the indifferent facade of other minds and shape the universe to her image. She falls in love with an immortal, however, and so meets obliteration; her life becomes a smudge on a blank wall, erased even as it is being drawn. The moral: reality has meaning only for those with faith enough to act in the face of their own mortality.

Beginning as a stimulating examination of the human ego, "All Men Are Mortal" soon founders in self-inflicted futility. "Why do people bother to live, since they are going to die anyway?" its hero asks from the pinnacle of immortality. He continues to ask it, however, under all manner of circumstances, until the entire problem becomes vapid. The novel finally lurches into a philosophical stutter interesting chiefly for the brilliance of the Beauvoir verbal pyrotechnics.

Southern Summer Camp

TO EAT A PEACH. By Calder Willingham. The Dial Press. $3.

Calder Willingham's new novel is a pungent recreation of a summer camp—Southern, of course—and the familiar types who meander about the woods and shoddy tennis courts enjoying outdoor life. There is the extrovert athletic instructor, appropriately enough named Ham, the eccentric camp director, and the female dietician; there is also what passes for a young intellectual, and—most important—the attractive young girl who serves as an erotic gadfly in the otherwise placid existence of Camp Walden.

The primary resource of Mr. Willingham is rapid and effortless prose echoing with wit and narrative melopoeia; he uses verbal tones like a virtuoso. He does, however, have affection for and knowledge of his people; within the stylized pirouette of his narrative there is exact observation. He gets within the individuals of his book, but remains detached enough to present them with effective irony. Ultimately, however, this detachment—despite the wit it makes possible—is crippling. The literary artist certainly must manipulate his material for effect, but preoccupation with effect defeats its own ends, no matter what resources of language and observation are possessed by the writer.

Mildly Terrifying

TERROR IN THE MODERN VEIN. Seventeen Unusual Tales; An Anthology Edited and with an Introduction by Donald A. Wollheim. Hanover House. $3.95.

Mr. Wollheim's collection is rather carelessly edited, and its title is not particularly apt, for few of the stories

THE
ATOM
SPY
HOAX
by
William A.
Reuben

"Thorough, systematic and competent . . . this volume is a comprehensive and at points quiet detailed analysis of the "atom-spy" cases and trials that have occurred in Canada, England, and the United States . . . Reuben's thesis is that these atomic cases were man manufactured consequences of the cold war and were used to support it, and were not themselves causes of the cold war. In short, his conclusion is that the whole atomic-spy business was a hoax . . . Reuben's persistent and penetrating probing of the spy trials . . . merits sober consideration . . . The purpose of this review is to bring Mr. Reuben's book to the attention of thoughtful and sensitive members of the community in the belief that the cause of justice and our political well-being will be better served if his contentions are discussed and evaluated."

—Bernard M. Loomer, Prof. of Philosophy & Religion at the Divinity School of the Univ. of Chicago, in The Nation, May 28.

512 pages $3.75

ACTION BOOKS Dept. 103
165 Broadway, Room 2800, New York 6

Please send me ______ copies of THE ATOM SPY HOAX by William A. Reuben at $3.75 each complete. I understand if I am not satisfied with this book for any reason whatsoever, I may return for full refund.

☐ Check here if you would like your copy autographed by the author, at no extra cost.

NAME ____________________

ADDRESS ____________________

CITY ________ ZONE ____ STATE ______

are terrifying. Wells's The Croquet Player was written when his powers were failing; H. P. Lovecraft, represented by He, is strictly for readers with strong appetite for lush prose; Kafka's The Burrow is tedious as only Kafka can be tedious. Four resurrected items range from the dull to the undistinguished, leaving a slim group of ten stories for serious consideration. Of these, Robert Heinlein's They—forerunner of a number of variations, most of them first class—is grimly amusing; Fritz Leiber's social comment The Girl with the Hungry Eyes and Ray Bradbury's angry The Crowd are disturbing—a much greater achievement than the creation of vulgar "terror." A. E. Coppard's Gone Away is slight but enjoyable; Shipshape Home is science fiction by one of the newer masters but far from in his best vein. The Dream Makers by Robert Bloch is an exasperating near-miss which originally appeared in *Galaxy*—possibly during a period when the editor dropped his critical guard. The remaining three tales—Fritzchen by Charles Beaumont, The Fishing Season by Robert Sheckley, and The Rag Thing by David Grinnell—are fair run-of-the-mill, such as can be found in almost any issue of the better fantasy or science-fiction magazines.

Music

B. H. Haggin

FOR its recent New York engagement Ballet Theater had the idea of reviving some of its earlier productions with former members of the company in guest appearances in their original roles. And this worked out well in some performances I saw, but poorly in some others.

In the Tudor "Romeo and Juliet" with Markova and Laing it worked out poorly. As early as 1946 Markova had begun to exhibit the reduced intensity which by now had reached the point where her dancing was completely without the projected animation and force that once made her quick darting movements in the early scenes of "Romeo" and her lyrical lifts in the bedroom and vault scenes breathtaking. It was Alonso's dancing in a later performance that now was breathtaking in this way; and it was Youskevitch, in this performance, who exhibited not only the security in sustained balances and slow turns that Laing no longer has, but the fluidity of subtly inflected movements that Laing never had.

The part of Taglioni in Dolin's "Pas de quatre" lent itself better to Markova's miniature-scale operation, in which the configurations of her body as it moved through the air or came to rest in a pose were exquisite. But Moylan, in a later performance, reminded us of the exciting leaps which Markova's present itsy-bitsy hops are reduced from.

Of Tudor's "Jardin aux lilas" also the performance with Viola Essen back in the role of the bride and Tudor as the bridegroom was much less effective than the one with Nora Kaye and Job Sanders in these roles (Sanders, an exceptionally gifted young dancer, was given nothing but old men to do). And other performances of Lichine's "Graduation Ball" must have been more effective than the one I saw with Lichine himself as a portly forty-year-old who somehow had strayed in among the cadets of the military school.

On the other hand Agnes de Mille's "Three Virgins and the Devil" with de Mille, Chase, Annabelle Lyon, and Lazovsky in their old roles came off delightfully. It would have achieved sheer perfection if Jerome Robbins had also been there to do the Youth's saunter across the stage with an economy in its jauntiness that Kriza might emulate. And Lazovsky's Petrushka retained its power—though in a performance in which the carnival scenes were a shambles.

The program that began with the Markova-Laing "Romeo" ended with Balanchine's "Theme and Variations"—previously one of the company's most distinguished achievements—which shocked me this time with the evidence of diminishing powers in the classical dancing of Alonso and Yousketvitch, and with the company's lack of the sharp clarity and animation I had become used to seeing in the dancing of the New York City Ballet. The Ballet Theater corps exhibited the same lethargy and blurring in a shabby performance of "Swan Lake" in which Alonso returned to her old practice of doing too much too hard; and here again Youskevitch had to have the tempo slowed down in part of his solo. Kaye also required this in the opening section of the "Black Swan" pas de deux; but her young partner Erik Bruhn executed his brilliant leaps and turns with the ease, elegance, and noble style of a superb classical dancer. And I might add here that in the revival of Massine's "Aleko" with Alonso and Kriza in the Markova and Laing roles, it was Bruhn in the Skibine role who, with his elegant sustained style, contributed the only impressive moments in all the Massine clutter.

It was good to see Muriel Bentley again in Robbins's "Fancy Free"; and it would have been even better if Robbins himself had returned not only to dance his original part but to clean up the production. Even in its hammed-up state this piece and its performance were one of the best things Ballet Theater offered—the others I saw being Loring's "Billy the Kid," the second scene of de Mille's "Rodeo" (I don't like the first scene), and Ross's "Caprichos." In them Kriza, though a little less secure in his dancing, remained an outstanding performer.

It seems to me that Ballet Theater would do well to stop thinking up spectacular ideas like this one of revivals with guest appearances by former members of the company, and settle down instead to the urgent task of building up a stable company for a stable repertory. And in this it would be wise to disregard the flattering suggestion by its doting admirer John Martin. The New York City Ballet's excitingly beautiful production of even one act of "Swan Lake" with a ballerina and corps superbly equipped for the purpose brought from Mr. Martin only a stern rebuke to the company for messing around with such old chestnuts; but in the Ballet Theater performances of this act with Nora Kaye Mr. Martin's eyes recently saw the company and the "ideal ballerina for a full-length 'Swan Lake.' "

Letters

The Congress of Women

Dear Sir: Mr. Gillmor in his too kind article about me in The Nation of May 14 makes one slip which I hope you will be good enough to let me correct. It is not the case that the International Congress of Women which met at The Hague forty years ago was under the leadership of two American women. It was initiated by European women, especially a well-known Dutch doctor, Dr. Aletta Jacobs.

In the United States the way was prepared by Rosika Schwimmer and Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence. Jane Addams was invited to preside, and I was a very inconspicuous member of a delegation of some forty-six women who went over with her on the old ship, Noordam.

EMILY GREENE BALCH
Wellesley, Mass.

More on Soviet Consumers

Dear Sirs: William M. Mandel, in a letter in The Nation of May 7, seems to suggest that something like a miracle of the loaves and fishes has occurred in the Soviet Union. According to Mr. Mandel, meat consumption in Russia today is much greater than it was in 1928, although a detailed report by the Soviet leader, Nikita Khrushchev, shows that the per capita supply of livestock was lower in 1953 than in 1928. As there have been no recorded meat imports into the Soviet Union of any consequence, the mystery of how more meat to feed a larger population can be obtained from fewer cattle is left unexplained.

Two of Mr. Mandel's other "proofs" of the good life in the Soviet Union seem open to question. Anyone who has lived in the Soviet Union—I happen to have been born there, of American parents—knows that pre-revolutionary houses were as a rule more carefully and solidly built than those of Soviet construction. And the peasants might well prefer old-fashioned homespun to the shoddy and very undurable cloth often turned out by Soviet factories.

ELIZABETH EPSTEIN
Cambridge, Mass.

Socialism and Human Beings

Dear Sirs: Professor Cole's article, A New Socialist Program, published in the April 23 issue of The Nation is about the most intelligent writing I

KNOWLEDGE THAT HAS ENDURED WITH THE PYRAMIDS

A SECRET METHOD FOR THE MASTERY OF LIFE

WHENCE came the knowledge that built the Pyramids and the mighty Temples of the Pharaohs? Civilization began in the Nile Valley centuries ago. Where did its first builders acquire their astounding wisdom that started man on his upward climb? Beginning with naught they overcame nature's forces and gave the world its first sciences and arts. Did their knowledge come from a race now submerged beneath the sea, or were they touched with Infinite inspiration? From what concealed source came the wisdom that produced such characters as Amenhotep IV, Leonardo da Vinci, Isaac Newton, and a host of others?

Today it is known that they discovered and learned to interpret certain *Secret Methods* for the development of their inner power of mind. They learned to command the inner forces within their own beings, and to master life. This secret art of living has been preserved and handed down throughout the ages. Today it is extended to those who dare to use its profound principles to meet and solve the problems of life in these complex times.

This Sealed Book — FREE

Has life brought you that personal satisfaction, the sense of achievement and happiness that you desire? If not, it is your duty to yourself to learn about this rational method of applying natural laws for the mastery of life. To the thoughtful person it is obvious that everyone cannot be entrusted with an intimate knowledge of the mysteries of life, for everyone is not capable of properly using it. But if you are one of those possessed of a true desire to forge ahead and wish to make use of the subtle influences of life, the Rosicrucians (not a religious organization) will send you a Sealed Book of explanation without obligation. This Sealed Book tells how you, in the privacy of your own home, without interference with your personal affairs or manner of living, may receive these secret teachings. Not weird or strange practices, but a rational application of the basic laws of life. Use the coupon, and obtain your complimentary copy.

The ROSICRUCIANS
SAN JOSE (AMORC) CALIFORNIA

SCRIBE: N. W. J.
The Rosicrucians (AMORC)
San Jose, California
Please send free copy of Sealed Book, which I shall read as directed.
NAME..................
ADDRESS..................
CITY..................

Use this coupon for **FREE** *copy of book*

AMENHOTEP IV
FOUNDER OF EGYPT'S MYSTERY SCHOOLS

MEETING

DR. HARRY F. WARD
THE BILL OF RIGHTS OR
AN AMERICAN POLICE STATE
WEDNESDAY, JUNE 8, 8:45 P.M.
150 WEST 85 STREET
ADMISSION 75c

Religious Freedom Commitee, Inc.
118 East 28 Street, New York City

LITERARY SERVICES

WONDER DRUGS? The real stimulant is ACTIVITY! If you are pondering the sale of your short stories, articles, books and plays—consult MEAD LITERARY AGENCY, 419 Fourth Avenue, Dept. Y-15, New York City 16. No obligation. Write TODAY!

PUBLICATIONS

BRITISH BOOKS—All Subjects—direct from London to you. Bargain catalogues free. Transbooks, Box 22-N, Brooklyn 26, N. Y.

SOCIALIST BOOKS. Catalog, literature, Free. New York Labor News Company, Dept. M, 61 Cliff Street, New York 38, New York.

OUT-OF-PRINT BOOKS. Let us find them for you. OSTER'S, Dept. C, Box 111, Times Square Station, New York 36, N. Y.

PERSONALS

OUTDOOR BARBECUE GRILL—Adjustable Grill Bowl—Diameter 18″—easily knocked down. Regularly $9.95— SPECIAL $7.45. Standard Brand Dist., 143 Fourth Avenue (13th & 14th Sts.), N. Y. C. GR 3-7819. 1 hour free parking or [illegible] tokens.

FARMS & ACREAGE

FOR SALE: Gentleman's small estate. 11-room colonial, 3½ baths, laundry, playroom, oil heat, 4 fireplaces, 3-car garage. Excellent barns. 25 acres, young orchard. Outstanding landscaping. $27,500. Berkshire Farm Agency. East Chatham, New York.

HOUSE FOR SALE

SACRIFICE, 7 room house, one acre land, landscaped, 40 miles from city, easy commuting, community lake. Call KAtonah 4-1164 after 6 P.M.

SUMMER RENTALS

FOR RENT—Lovely 3 bedroom house and garden for July and August. Louis Rosenberg, 933 Foster Drive, Los Angeles 48, Calif.

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE

Buy Your Books

through THE *Nation*

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular retail price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the retail price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

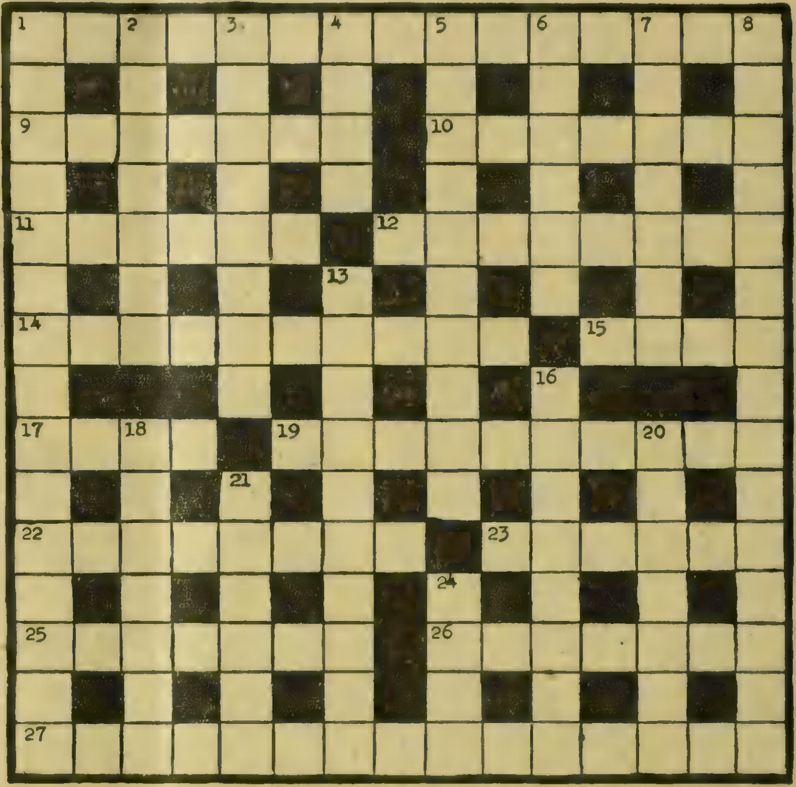
Please address your orders to

Miss O. LePach

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
[illegible] Sixth Ave. New York 14, N. Y.

Crossword Puzzle No. 622

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 See 10 across.
9 Are tall, but not forward. (7)
10 and 1 across Novel setting as seen by the emperor? (3, 4, 4, 7, 4)
11 A way to prepare potatoes with one rib. (6)
12 The musicians take it to and fro. (8)
14 Order to pay after getting irritated by the extra examination? (5-5)
15 To check an article, perhaps. (4)
17 Every one has a bad pain! (4)
19 Art invites it, with some object in view probably! (10)
22 Wrong? Sure it's wrong, and causes some anguish. (8)
23 More political romance! (6)
25 One might see it creep around the kitchen. (7)
26 Macassar, perhaps. (4,3)
27 Duck down here when the fire is right. (Unless one prefers to draw on a pipe! (8, 7)

DOWN

1 This doesn't mean that graduate students are little better than animals. (6, 9)
2 One way to get to Rio, an entirely different type of city. (7)
3 Going to the bad through poetry. (8).
4 A dark spot underground or in the water? (4)
5 Delightful. (10)
6 Keep close watch around Miller's river when it's rising fast. (6)
7 Was sex confused with 15? (7)
8 Did song afford comfort in the depression? (4,2,3,6)
13 A lot larger than a village dance. (10)
16 In a cold dry wind, I couldn't get a dozen people to agree with it. (8)
18 Where colonial people are cordial. (7)
20 Burst in spirited vein? (7)
21 Project in which the little title comes up for a professional man. (6)
24 Harrison and Taylor, typically. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 621

ACROSS: 1 and 11 BEDLINGTON TERRIER; 10 and 6 SCATTER RUGS; 12 FIREDAMP; 13 STOIC; 15 PAGED; 17 CLERGYMAN; 19 DILIGENCE; 21 STERN; 23 and 24 RADIOACTIVITY; 27 OVERSEE; 28 VIOLENT; 29 TEST; 30 PERSISTENT. DOWN: 1and 25 BASS VIOLS; 2 DRAWING; 3 and 16 IN THE DOGHOUSE; 4 GERFALCON; 5 ON TOP; 7 UNIFORM; 8 STRYCHNINE; 9 PRESAGES; 14 SPIDERWORT; 18 ELECTIVES; 20 LADDERS; 22 EXTREME; 24 ADELE; 26 STET.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York have seen in a long time. Conservatism, progressivism, socialism, democracy, communism—so many "isms" and so very little positive thinking. . . . It seems to me that everybody knows pretty well what he is against these days, but who really knows what he is for?

I would go along cheerfully with the "four things" Mr. Cole considers subjects for this interchange of ideas. I would like to add one all-important point. We cannot improve the lot of humanity unless we improve human beings.

How do human beings learn? How do they form their impressions of the world they live in? When we can understand this process, we shall know how to educate humanity to be civilized and mature.

MARY ALICE HILTON

La Canada, Calif.

More on Haiti

Dear Sirs: The recent exchanges in your columns concerning the extent of democracy in Haiti prompt us as Americans somewhat familiar with the facts to add our comment. Neither critics nor defenders of this valiant little republic point out the basic and undisputed fact which makes democracy so difficult.

The basic fact is that 90 per cent of Haiti's four and a half million people speak one language, Creole, as their only tongue, while the other 10 per cent speak French as theirs. All the French-speaking Haitians also speak Creole, but few of the Creole-speaking peasants can speak or understand French. This puts the French-speaking minority in control of government, as well as education, since Creole is not a written language. All newspapers, books, radio, movies thus reach only a fraction ofthe people.

Under such conditions how can a democratic system as we understand it function? The masses of the people simply ignore the government. Nor can political parties exist in any true sense—nor indeed representative organizations. Government is confined to the literate minority which professes democratic principles it can practice only within the limits of its own group. Not until a common language binds Haitians together as a single people will a real democracy be possible.

SELDEN RODMAN
ROGER BALDWIN

Oakland, N. J.

CORRECTION:

In Alexander Werth's article, Seven Days to Peace?, reference was made incorrectly to the eighty-fifth anniversary of Lenin's death. The reference should have been to the thirty-first anniversary, which was celebrated in Russia on January 21 this year.

RESORTS

CRYSTAL LAKE
LODGE
all deluxe accommodations at
LOW JUNE RATES
Folk & Squares with Cliff Bullard—Informal Fun
9 championship clay tennis courts, handball, fishing, riding, all water sports on private Crystal Lake. 1500 Woodland acres.
FREE weekend to tennis tournament winners.
CHESTERTOWN 3 NEW YORK
Phone 3830 N. Y. Phone: OL 3-1884

Echo Lake Lodge
In the Green Mts. Brandon, Vermont
A delightful Vacation Resort for the Entire Family
- On lovely Echo Lake—all water sports
- New canoes, boats, swim and fish
- Tennis, ping-pong, shuffleboard
- Music, square dancing, camp-fires
- Summer theatres nearby
Diana & Abe Berman, N.Y.-WA4-6046, Hubbardton 17-2

CHANTERWOOD, LEE, MASS. Unique lakeside rustic Lodge & Cabins in deep woods far from highways. Plenty to do on grounds, Tanglewood, Jacob's Pillow, Playhouse nearby. Ideal swimming, boating, hiking, outdoor recorded concerts. Folder N.

WEST POINT FARMS
RELAX in quiet, lovely surroundings. Rooms with private bath. New large swimming pool, terrace. 40 miles from N. Y. Superb cuisine.
CENTRAL VALLEY, N. Y.
Highland Mills 7895

32nd SEASON
parent-child Resort
Chaits
ACCORD 3, N. Y.
An intimate resort with "BIG" hotel facilities
160 beautiful acres • Tennis • Swimming • Golf nearby • Arts & Crafts • Art Classes • Folk & Square Dancing
Complete Day Camp (8 AM to 8 PM)
Professional Direction • Kind'gar'ner
Nite Patrol
LOW, LOW June Rates
Full Program Starts July 1
Activities Dir.: ARDEN EAST
Adults $45 up • Children $32.50 up
NYC office OL 4-4070 or
Kerhonksen 8316

THE NATION
RESORT CLASSIFIED DISPLAY
$7.42 per inch, one insertion
Generous discounts for multiple insertions
Write or phone today for further information
ADVERTISING DEPARTMENT
The NATION
333 SIXTH AVENUE
New York 14, N. Y.
CHelsea 2-8400

RESORTS

WINDY HILL
ON ORANGE LAKE
A pleasantly informal vacation in friendly atmosphere. Swimming, Boating, Fishing on Natural Lake. Badminton, Volley Ball, Ping-pong, other sports. Movies, records, books. Summer Theatre nearby. Food of excellent quality in generous quantity. Opens May 27.
Pre-Season $45.00 Weekly; $7.00 Daily
Season and Holidays $50.00 Weekly; $7.50 Daily
65 Miles from New York City
Jane C. Arenz R. D. No. 1 Walden, N. Y.
Phone Newburgh 1232

50 Miles to FOREST HOUSE
Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes. All sports.
FOREST HOUSE
Lake Mahopac, N. Y. • Tel. Mahopac 8-3449

Stonegate LODGE
Informal Adult Resort in the Adirondacks
Charming Estate — Limited to 90 — Pollen Free
Folk-Sq. Dances—Concert Trio—Dance Band
All Sports ■ Fishing ■ Arts & Crafts
BACHELOR CLUB RATE—FINE FOOD
N. Y. Office: 250 W. 57th ■ Circle 6-6386
Red. Rates to July 10 Louis A. Roth, Dir.

ROUND POND LODGE
Walden, New York
Adults. 100 acres, secluded, landscaped, vast shade lawns, quality food. German-American, refined atmosphere. Solarium, spring fed pool, sports. Modern conveniences. Good beds. Capacity 30
Pre-Season Rates, $40-$45; Weekends, $7.50-$9.00
Make Reservations Now. Telephone: Walden 2-4964

MODERN ADIRONDACK HOUSE, white birch motif, gas cooking, screens. $50.00 week. Other cabins. Vern Hutchins, Indian Lake, N. Y.

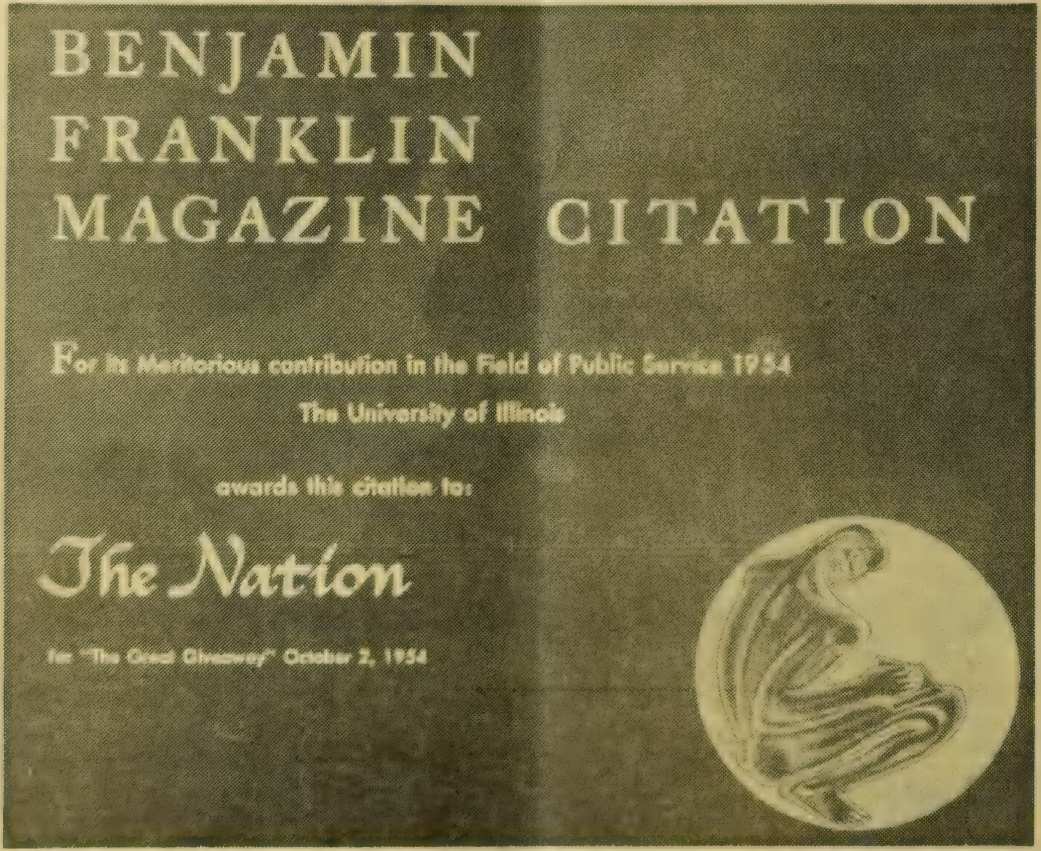
VACATION PLUS
at World Fellowship
Combine insight and recreation at our 300-acre forest-lake-mountain estate near Conway, N. H. For ALL faiths, races, colors, convictions.
Season Opens June 23rd
SWIMMING, FISHING, BOATING, FOLK-DANCING, EXCURSIONS
Forums, conferences ■ Peace, Civil and Religious Liberty, Labor, Culture and Faiths of Different Peoples.
Generous family-style meals.
Room and board $4 to $7 daily.
For full information, address
Dr. Willard Uphaus, Ex. Dir.
WORLD FELLOWSHIP, Conway, N.H.

CONCORD ACRES
Co-Ed Ages 6-15 Hancock, New York
FOR AN EXCITING PROGRAM
IN A RELAXING SETTING
The Tone: Non-regimented, friendly and understanding atmosphere where individual needs are met. Mature staff under top educator and camping leadership
The Program: Rich and varied program includes all land and water sports, camping and boating trips, nature, arts and crafts, music, dramatics, dancing, archery, photography, and many special features.
Inspected and approved member of the American Camping Association.
Write or phone for brochure, interview, parent references
Moderate Fee
HAROLD ROSENTHAL
149-06 61 Road, Flushing, N. Y., FLushing 3-7750

Camp Alpine
45 MILES FROM PHILADELPHIA
Pennsylvania's Cooperative Camp
Social Program • Swimming • Hiking • Folk Dancing
Dramatics • Arts & Crafts • New Recreational Facilities
Cabins by the Week or Season.
Plenty of Fresh Air and Sunshine in this Pennsylvania Dutch location
Call Cheltenham 2774 Write box 5183, Philadelphia 41, Pennsylvania

Printed in the U. S. A. by Southern Farmer, Inc., P. O. Box 509, Montgomery, Ala.

We Acknowledge With Pride . . .



BENJAMIN
FRANKLIN
MAGAZINE CITATION

For its Meritorious contribution in the Field of Public Service 1954
The University of Illinois

awards this citation to:

The Nation

for "The Great Giveaway" October 2, 1954

The Nation has been awarded a Benjamin Franklin Magazine Citation in the field of Public Service. The Benjamin Franklin awards, administered by the University of Illinois, are comparable — in the magazine field — to the Peabody awards for radio and television and the Pulitzer Prizes for newspapers. Other awards in the same category were won by Redbook, The Reporter, The Readers Digest and Life Magazine.

We are honored to receive this recognition for one of our outstanding issues. "The Great Giveaway" created widespread interest when it appeared prior to the 1954 elections. It was highly praised by Senators, Representatives, historians and educators.

If you would like to introduce The Nation to a friend, we will be happy to send them this award-winning issue with your compliments— as part of a special new-subscriber offer which will bring them 26 weeks of The Nation for only $2.00. Address your requests, along with your payment, to The Nation, Department G, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York City, N. Y. Only a limited supply of the issue is on hand so please act promptly.

PAY-AS-YOU-SEE TV BY HAZEL COOLEY

BURLINGAME
PUBLIC LIBRARY
Burlingame, Calif.

THE *Nation*

June 11, 1955
20c

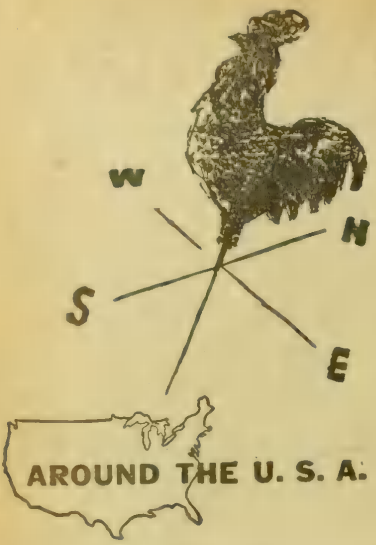
Hornell Hart

The Power to Kill

From Clubs to Cobalt Bombs

Thomas Mann at Eighty *Frederic Morton*
Ten Years of Peron *Lisandro Montes*
What Bandung Achieved *C. P. FitzGerald*

EVERY
WEEK
SINCE
1865


W
N
S
E
AROUND THE U. S. A.

Controlling the Conscience of the Church

Los Angeles

CALIFORNIA is still the only state in the Union where churches and educational and charitable organizations must sign once a year a declaration of "non-disloyalty" in order to obtain tax exemption. The law requiring them to do so, passed in 1953, is an enabling law to a previously passed amendment to the California constitution which stipulates that no person or organization advocating the overthrow of the government of the United States or of California by force or violence or other unlawful means or the support of a foreign government in case of hostilities shall be entitled to tax exemption.

While charitable and educational organizations have shown little interest in the law, some churches and veterans' groups have brought the matter into court. Two of these cases were won, a third was lost. In Contra Costa County, Lawrence Spiser, a veteran and a member of the American Civil Liberties Union, brought suit against the tax assessor, and the Superior Court of the county, with all five judges sitting as a body, decided unanimously that the law was unconstitutional.

In the Superior Court of Los Angeles County, Judge Philbrick McCoy ruled in favor of the plaintiff in a suit brought by the People's Church in Van Nuys, but the state has appealed. In the same court Judge Rhone found that the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles had no case in contending that the law was contrary to the federal and state constitutions in that it violated religious freedom, freedom of speech, and the principle of equal application, and threw the claim out. The First Unitarian Church is preparing an appeal.

The decision of the five judges in Contra Costa County is the most important one. It branded as a violation of the Bill of Rights the attempt by the state to force, under threat of economic penalties, a person or organization to take an oath which he or it may not be able or willing to take in good conscience. In addition, it declared the law invalid because discriminatory.

The case of the People's Church in Van Nuys, in which the American Civil Liberties Union joined, was decided on a rather narrow issue. The court refused to rule on the most important contention—that the law violates religious freedom and the traditional separation of church and state—though this was ably argued by Attorney A. L. Wirin. It confined itself to ruling that the law was invalid because it demands the "non-disloyalty" declaration only from certain persons and organizations instead of from all.

MORE than a year ago this writer reported on the church loyalty oath in *The Nation* and quoted various religious leaders who were convinced that the oath was in effect an attempt by the state to control the conscience of the church. At that time many churchmen felt such fears were exaggerated. This feeling is not prevalent any longer.

Assemblyman Levering, author of the original loyalty-oath law, this year introduced a new bill which denies tax exemption to any church which "knowingly permits the use of its premises by any person connected with or by any of the organizations named on the Attorney General's list." Thus churches which have signed the non-disloyalty declaration in their tax return would have to investigate not only every member and prospective member but also every guest speaker and every organization renting a church room for a meeting. Every occasional visitor who came to worship would have to be screened the same way. As the Reverend George Wormer, retired Superintendent of the Methodist conference, ironically remarked, a church would have to post a permanent investigator at the entrance to its rest rooms to make sure that no "subversive" person would by "using the premises" cause the church to lose its tax exemption.

Under the chairmanship of Dr. Wormer an Interfaith Council to Eliminate Tax Oaths has recently been formed in Los Angeles, comprising Methodists, Congregationalists, Unitarians, Universalists, and Jews. The council is planning a state-wide educational campaign for funds to help the churches defray the cost of test cases. Effective lobbying in Sacramento has at least resulted in the introduction, by State Senator Richard Richards and Assemblyman Lester McMillan, both from Los Angeles, of two spot bills aimed at repealing or modifying the law. A convention of Unitarians from the West Coast and British Columbia held in Alameda last February resolved to support churches fighting the loyalty oath and to lobby in the state capital against the new Levering bill. The Board of Rabbis for Southern California has passed a resolution to encourage temples and synagogues to join the fight against the loyalty oath.

In Sacramento the new Levering bill has recently been defeated in committee. On the other hand a bill excusing churches but not other organizations from the tax-exemption oath, which had been passed in committee, has been defeated in the Assembly.

But the fight against the loyalty oath is still far from won. Court contests are long-drawn-out and expensive, and the few brave churches which have entered on them must bear the burden of a greatly increased budget. In the form of state property taxes they are paying the price of continued religious freedom. What the British two hundred years ago called "the destroying taxing power of the state" and succeeded in abolishing by gaining tax exemption for churches is exercised in California at this moment.

MARTIN HALL

[*Martin Hall is a California free-lance writer.*]

VOLUME 180, NUMBER 24
NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JUNE 11, 1955

THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

The Shape of Things

Toward "Active Coexistence"

By round-about routes no one would have thought of a year ago, the world seems to be moving toward peace—a cold peace perhaps, but better than either a cold or a hot war. One sign of progress was China's release of the four American fliers, announced in India and following the visit to Peking of V. K. Krishna Menon, Premier Nehru's emissary, now on his way to Washington. It is known that Krishna Menon has been searching for ways to overcome the deadlock over Formosa and China's representation in the U. N.; he may bring with him to Washington suggestions based on his talks with the Chinese leaders. Mr. Nehru is on his way to Moscow with a state visit to Belgrade to follow, and U Nu, his fellow neutralist, has just arrived in Belgrade enroute to London and New York. These journeyings, like that of Krishna Menon, have a single purpose—the encouragement of what Tito has labeled "active coexistence."

The visit of the Soviet leaders to Belgrade, their public apologies for the wrong done the Yugoslav Communists in 1948, their approval of Tito's foreign policy—including even his acceptance of aid from the West—and especially the signing of a joint declaration that incorporates Tito's conditions regarding "mutual respect for, and non-interference in, the internal affairs" of other countries—all this has become the subject of fascinated scrutiny and debate here and elsewhere.

Some observers seem to think Krushchev's bear-like friendliness trapped the Yugoslavs into naive support of Russian policies. Some credit Tito with a diplomatic triumph that diminished the stature of the Soviet leaders and may result in the crumbling of the Soviet bloc. But the truth probably lies elsewhere. For reasons of its own self-interest, Moscow quite obviously wants to reduce the stress that has solidified a Western military alliance and all but insured the massive rearming of Germany. The declaration signed in Belgrade is an unqualified acceptance of the principle of coexistence, spelled out in terms that are bound to have a wide appeal. Its echoes will reach far, perhaps into the minds of the satellite leaders—even while they plan the new association of Communist nations in which Russia will be only the "first among equals"—but surely into the councils of the Western powers as they attempt to formulate a coordinated plan for the coming Big Four meetings.

Thus the Belgrade talks must be regarded as a "deed" in the sense suggested by President Eisenhower. Clumsy as the behavior of the Russians appeared, the consequences of their visit will undoubtedly reinforce pressures throughout Europe for the kind of policy called for by Tito in his speech at Tula a few days before the Russians arrived: ". . . not a policy of blocs, of an ideological division of the world into blocs, but a policy of discovering another road, the road of cooperation and active coexistence among nations . . . regardless of differences in internal political systems."

Prompt and Reasonable

Instead of setting a deadline for compliance with its school-desegregation decree of May 17, the Supreme Court ordered only a "prompt and reasonable start toward full compliance." The determination of what is "prompt and reasonable" is left, for the time being, to the lower courts, and the country can look forward to some highly diverting semantic arguments on this score. Already Senator Eastland of Mississippi has indicated that he believes that a "hundred years" would be a "right reasonable" time for compliance. No doubt his colleagues from other parts of the Deep South feel the same way. Yet even Mr. Eastland does not expect to be Mississippi's Senator for the next hundred years or anything like it, and his successor may feel differently about matters. It is such long-range thinking that led the N. A. A. C. P., which led the fight for desegregation, to accept the Supreme Court's latest order with equanimity. The border states have already given signs that they are prepared to be reasonable about defining what is "prompt and reasonable"; the Deep South's defenses will crumble more slowly, but crumble they must under the long-wearing effects of law and the national mores.

This at least is the theory. The more militant exponents of racial equality disagree; they would have preferred a show-down to a slow-down. But even they will admit that as a result of the Supreme Court's actions segregation in the public schools has been placed on borrowed time. The greater the public pressures, the sooner will the courts be able to demand payment in full.

The Constitution Is For All

In recent years Congressional inquisitors have driven home the simple truth that a Congressional committee is an improper forum for determining an individual's guilt or innocence. *The Nation* has consistently maintained that a witness's use of the Fifth Amendment was an indication that the committee might be invading a

In This Issue

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 493
Post Mortem in Britain 495

ARTICLES

Ten Years of Peron: Death of a "Revolution" by Lisandro Montes 495

O'Clock (a poem) by Lincoln Fitzell 497

Pay-as-You-See TV: It Makes Good Sense by Hazel Cooley 498

The Power to Kill: From Clubs to Cobalt Bombs by Hornell Hart 499

What Bandung Achieved: A Setting for Asian Unity by C. P. FitzGerald 502

Thomas Mann at Eighty: Still the Adventurer by Frederic Morton 504

BOOKS

Spain Divided by Kay Boyle 506

Science: Dawn and Triumph by Benjamin Harrow 507

A Poet's Progress by May Swenson 508

Selected Verse by John Ciardi 508

World Politics by Frederick Schuman 509

THEATER and FILMS by Robert Hatch 510

RECORDS by B. H. Haggin 511

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 623 by Frank W. Lewis 512

Editorial Board

Freda Kirchwey	Editor and Publisher
Carey McWilliams	Editorial Director
Lillie Shultz	Director, Nation Associates
Victor H. Bernstein	Managing Editor
J. Alvarez del Vayo	Foreign Editor
Martin Solow	Assistant to the Publisher
Harold Clurman	Theater
B. H. Haggin	Music
Robert Hatch	Films
Gladys Whiteside	Copy Editor
Caroline Whiting	Assistant Literary Editor
Alfred Maund	Editorial Assistant
Mary Simon	Advertising Manager

Contributing Editors: Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K Smith, Carolus, Keith Hutchison, H. H. Wilson, W Macmahon Ball, Maxwell Geismar, Bruce Catton.

The Nation, June 11, 1955. Volume 180. No 24

The Nation, published weekly by The Nation Company and copyright, 1955, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879 at the Post Office of New York N Y under the act of March 3, 1879 Reentered as second class matter at the Post Office Montgomery, Alabama Printing Office, 1603 Reuben Street

Subscription Prices Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17 Additional postage per year Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs, Information Service, Dramatic Index.

sphere properly reserved for the courts. It was discouraging, therefore, to read the newspaper reports of Senator Estes Kefauver's treatment of three witnesses, operators of bookstores, who appeared before his subcommittee investigating juvenile delinquency. If the witnesses had answered certain questions put to them, they might have been liable to prosecution under state obscenity statutes. They were clearly within their rights, therefore, when they invoked the privilege against self-incrimination. Nevertheless, Senator Kefauver announced that he considered them in contempt and would proceed with immediate citations.

The Senator's subcommittee has every right to investigate the sale of pornographic literature. Any evidence it may gather should be turned over to the proper law-enforcement authorities. It may certainly hear expert testimony concerning the relationship between pornography and juvenile delinquency. But any Congressional committee dangerously oversteps its bounds when it uses the threat of contempt to elicit testimony which could subject the witness to criminal prosecution. Such violations of due process are no more excusable when the witness is an alleged pornography peddler than when he is a school teacher, minister, or government employee. In a period when the investigative technique has been used to submerge liberal thought and action, leaders like Senator Kefauver must preserve with scrupulous care those constitutional safeguards which have been so badly abused.

A Special Issue and the Forum

In connection with *The Nation's* ninetieth anniversary dinner forum on Atoms for Peace, to be held at the Waldorf-Astoria in New York on June 19 (the program is given on the cover), this magazine's next number will be a sixty-four page special issue devoted to the same subject. The editors believe it will be worth a permanent place on your bookshelves. They believe that the breadth and depth of its approach to the problem and its distinguished list of contributors will make it a milestone in magazine history. The contributors include Bertrand Russell, philosopher and Nobel prize-winner; Leland Olds, perhaps the greatest American authority on public power; J. Bronowski, the brilliant British scientist; David O. Woodbury, author of "Atoms for Peace"; Gunnar Randers, special consultant on atomic energy to the Secretary General of the United Nations; Sir John Cockroft, director of Britain's atomic-energy research center at Harwell and a Nobel prize-winner; David Cavers, associate dean of the Harvard Law School, who has written much on the peace-time uses of the atom; M. L. Oliphant, one of Australia's foremost scientists and a former associate of the great British physicist, the late Sir Ernest Rutherford; and others of high distinction. The issue will be a stupendous job of exploration into the atom's potential. But like the forum to which it is linked, it will have more than that: it will have a focal point, a direction, which should hearten liberals in their fight for a better world.

Extra copies of the special issue will be available for bulk orders. Interested persons who plan to attend the dinner forum on June 19 will find a copy at their place. (Those who live too far away may want to reserve a place for a friend or relative in the New York area. This may be done easily by using the coupon on the back cover.)

Post Mortem in Britain

A London correspondent writes: The election was scarcely over when the knives were out in the Labor Party's factional fight. "I accuse Bevan!" was the bold headline in the Sunday *Express* over an article by Woodrow Wyatt, right-wing Laborite, who lost in a marginal constituency. The Manchester *Guardian* said: "The Bevanites did not do well; it will be seen that the swing against them was above the average and they had some extremely small majorities." The *Daily Mirror,* a pro-Labor paper which in many ways is more influential than the party's official organ, the *Daily Herald,* charges that Bevan cost Labor a million votes but it has begun a campaign to oust not only the left-wing leader but Attlee, Morrison, and the whole Old Guard of the party. The pressures have already brought results. Hugh Dalton, one of the party's veterans, has indicated he would not be a candidate for reelection to Labor's "shadow cabinet," and there have been reports that Attlee himself wants an infusion of younger blood into the leadership.

The elections showed that the British voter prefers reasonable and constructive programs to oratorical brilliance. By a slight margin he found more of what he wanted in the "new" Conservatives than in the unreconstructed Labor Party.

Did Bevan really wreck the elections for Labor? The evidence is that the 1,500,000 votes lost by the party were withheld about equally from right, left, and center. If Bevan, in winning his Welsh mining-district seat, ran behind his own previous effort by 2,000 votes, right-wing Laborite James Griffith, standing in a similar area, saw his former majority decreased by 5,000 votes. The facts would seem to show that Labor candidates lost votes in most instances not because they were right, left, or center, but because so many of them were doctrinaire in their campaigning and neglected domestic issues in favor of foreign affairs. Harold Wilson, left-winger running in a Lancashire distrct, won because he offered himself as an economic technician capable of handling a threatened textile crisis. Bevan's close associate, Michael Foot, a brilliant theorist and pamphleteer, lost in Davenport, a family stronghold; Ian Mikardo, of the same faction, who paid close attention to his political machine and campaigned chiefly on domestic issues, won fairly handily.

TEN YEARS OF PERON

Death of a "Revolution" . . *by Lisandro Montes*

TEN years of one of the most arbitrary and personal political regimes in Latin America have converted General Juan Domingo Peron into a tired, skeptical man whose chief amusement seems to be watching the internecine struggle of his own henchmen over the question of his successor.

The government itself no longer interests him; he works very little, spending the greater part of the day with the students and sportsmen who surround him in his residence, Olivos, fifteen miles from Buenos Aires. Of ten audiences which he grants, six are likely to be to drivers of racing cars, boxers, and movie stars. He still appears at political and workers' demonstrations organized by his propaganda apparatus, which are each time smaller and less spontaneous. He makes speeches as in the past, but without his former demagogic fervor, without warmth or conviction, simply as if he were complying with the routine demands of his office.

Ten years of destructive and negative action, of disintegration and growing corruption, without the slightest positive or durable achievement, have corroded the substance and elan of a movement which pretended to be a popular revolution. In 1945 many people honestly believed in Peron. In 1955 the masses still follow him, chiefly out of inertia and fear of what might befall if they did not, but no one any longer believes in *justicialismo* or hopes for anything from its leader. The government is an arena in which rival bands of racketeers and speculators try to enrich themselves as fast as possible and everything is "traded," from the concession to a foreign consortium of the petroleum resources of the nation to a license for importing Chevrolets, which are sold in the black market at the in-

---

LISANDRO MONTES is the pen name of a journalist who recently visited Argentina and interviewed the leaders of the government and the opposition.

credible price of $12,000 (1955 Cadillacs cost $30,000). But in the country there are not enough trucks to transport the harvest, and industrial plants have such antiquated machinery that they often are forced to halt production for lack of parts. On the other hand, the state spends thousands of millions of pesos a year on Olympic games, festivals, and parades.

DURING carnival I went to a little city in northern Argentina. For a week interest was centered in parties and balls, with queens being elected in each neighborhood by popular vote. The queens, perched on the high thrones of the carnival floats, were daughters of local workers, farmers, and small merchants; they and their courtiers were the youth of the Peronist era whom the state spoils with costly and elaborate entertainments. The *pane et circenses* of the Roman tyrants are incredibly well handled in the Argentina of Peron—the only thing the state has been able to organize in such perfect style. It has expropriated the buildings and installations of most of the social and sport clubs and of many luxurious hotels in the resort cities and given them to the workers' unions and the organization of Peronist students, that is to say, to the people. The U. S. E., an association of secondary-school students, is today the most powerful body in the country, for Peron personally occupies himself with organizing its social and sport events. Sources close to the Casa Rosada, the Presidential palace, assure me that Peron spends half his day directing the activities of the U. S. E. Thus the unions and Peronist organizations have become the new social hierarchy and been given the opportunity to enjoy pleasures and luxuries formerly reserved for a small minority.

The former aristocrats look with a melancholy eye upon this eruption of the masses into their traditional preserves, and have retreated to unassailable positions on their great estates. There the revolutionary wave has not intruded nor will it, for Peron has taken away from the old oligarchy only its monopoly of elegance, the glitter and pomp of other times, in order to give the masses the illusion of a social revolution. He has not modified one bit the basic structure of Argentina. On the contrary, he has impoverished the small agricultural producer and has augmented the wealth of the great absentee landlords and cattle men just as he has created monopolistic concentration in industry.

Peron

THE result of ten years of Peronist economics could not be more negative. Under Peron the state exercises absolute and arbitrary control over the economy. It also exploits directly several industries and public services and is the sole exporter of agricultural products. Economic planning, which in other countries has been successful, has produced the following deplorable results in Argentina:

1. The total national income of Argentina rose from 16,584,000,000 pesos in 1945 to 20,180,000,000 in 1953 (computed at the 1945 value)—is to say, an increase of 22 per cent in eight years, which signifies an annual increase of less than 3 per cent. During the same time the national income of other Latin American countries rose 8 per cent a year. In terms of the per capita increase the percentage only reaches 2 per cent, for in these eight years the population has increased 20 per cent. This signifies that economic development has remained stationary in the Peronist era after having shown a rapid increase during the two world wars.

2. The agrarian policy of Peron has brought depopulation of the countryside and considerable decline in production. Cultivated areas have diminished 34 per cent, and the real income of farmers has gone down 36 per cent. This explains why from 1945 to the present 100,000 farm families have abandoned the land and migrated to the cities.

2. Industrial production was valued at 4,146,000,000 pesos in 1945 and increased to 4,776,000,000 in 1953—in other words, a modest annual rise of 2 per cent. In the same period the average annual increase in other Latin American countries was 6.4 per cent—a low average compared to other regions of the world. The growth of Argentine industry, which between 1935 and 1942 was at the rate of 8 per cent a year, has been entirely arrested, and a period of real crisis threatens owing to the scarcity of raw materials, fuel, and power. Textile and shoe factories are working at a fraction of their normal capacity. The situation benefits only the great monopolies, which realize a profit of 30 to 40 per cent, while their small competitors disappear.

4. The inflationary policies of the government have ruined the middle classes and ended by nullifying the wage increases and social benefits granted to the workers at the beginning of the regime. The cost of living has risen to 659.9 in 1953 (based on 100 in 1943), while salaries have only increased to 521.4 on the same basis. This means that in real wages the workers are getting 33 per cent less than ten years ago.

Discontent is evident among the majority of trade-union members. But all signs of protest are squelched by the leaders, who act in effect, as police officials of the government. Militant workers are frequently denounced and turned over to the police by the union leaders themselves. Strikes are forbidden, and unions no longer hold meetings. Of the 600 political prisoners at present in jail 90 per cent are workers, arrested for daring to disobey the orders of their leaders who had sold out to the government. The rest are lawyers who tried to defend these workers, students of both sexes, and intellectuals—among them the famous architect Fermin Beretervide. All are held prisoner without judicial process by virtue of a power conferred on the President of the Republic by the law of "the internal state of war," sanctioned in 1951 to suppress a military uprising which was put down in twenty-four hours.

The climate of violence, arbitrary

control, and corruption which pervades the government has spread to large sections of the population. Industry and commerce are subject to the compulsion of racketeers and adventurers who make impossible the normal development of lawful business. Permits for imports and exports, the stock market, relations between capital and labor, the levying of taxes, and the application of all the infinite regulations that the state imposes on the economy are subject to the intervention of functionaries who only act in response to a *coima* (bribe). There are small *coimas* for minor functionaries and large ones for ministers and governors. The following conversation between an American business man who was visiting Argentina to study the opportunities for investment and group of local technicians who were assessing the cost of development was related to me. One necessary expenditure was listed as for "invisible costs." "What are these?" asked the American. "The *coimas*, sir; it is customary to calculate an annual allocation for the *coimas*," answered the Argentines.

Within this frame of general immorality flourish thousands of new merchants and speculators who introduce an element of insecurity and lawlessness. Trade is hampered by uncollectible promissory notes, credit letters issued by insolvent individuals, and bad checks. In 1953 the bank of Buenos Aires had to cross off more than 6,000 regular customers who wrote checks without funds. In the same year there were defaults in the amount of 700,000,000 pesos. Peron knows all about these practices—and fosters them. One of the new multimillionaires is a former male nurse in a military hospital, a friend and associate of Juan Duarte—Peron's brother-in-law who died two years ago—and also of the President. The mood of improvisation and disorder permeating the regime is deliberately created by its chief: "I am the son and the father of chaos," Peron once affirmed in a circle of his military friends. The dictator is also perfectly aware that his government and country are in the last throes of bankruptcy and will remain on their feet only as long as there is no slump in the world price of agricultural products, which is the real basis of the Argentine economy.

O'Clock

Let wild men rant of armored right,
We shall not crouch with them tonight,
But breathe the earth as it was born,
The petal closer than the thorn.

Walk out to darkness in a road
That shifts the fragrance of hay load.
Not here in spill of scattered grass,
Shall we confront the man of brass.

As plain as straw that wisdom chews,
The stars give light our feet can use.
Only the dark of heart are blind.
This old, familiar dusk is kind.

Another noon survives the sun.
Another night for sleep is won.
And better work we did all day,
Than mad Colossus, armed to slay.

LINCOLN FITZELL

MEANWHILE Peron cares only for the present and shrugs his shoulders over the future. This philosophy has been behind his decision to hand over the exploitation of Argentine oil to foreign consortiums, although the very essence of his *justicialista* constitution proclaimed the "economic independence" of the country. For the same reason he "invites" those who finance the much-vilified "Yankee imperialism" to invest in Argentina and overwhelms with courtesies the American business missions which frequently visit the country. (Yet it seems questionable whether American capital will flow into the country on a large scale in view of the anarchic conditions in which it would have to operate, especially at a time when Argentine capital is withdrawing from investments at home and emigrating abroad.) The government of the United States seems disposed to make a pact with a Peron who today agrees so docilely to deliver the oil and follow Washington's cold-war strategy. The visit of the United States Secretary of the Navy around the middle of March was interpreted here as a gesture which could signify the beginning of a close military collaboration with Peron—or with the military group which may succeed him.

Behind this recent apparent cordiality between Buenos Aires and Washington there seems to be hidden a subtle play on the part of the American government: on the one hand, it makes its peace with Peron, who lowers his demagogic anti-Yankee banner; on the other surreptitiously establishes contact with two powerful groups quietly working in parallel fashion to organize the Argentine government that will come into being when Peron no longer serves the interests now supporting him. One of these groups is made up of the right wing of Peron's own party and a large number of officers in the military ministries of his government. The other is the Catholic church, directed from Rome to organize a Christian Democratic party. Allied to the right wing of Peronism or opposing it, as conditions may dictate, these elements are preparing the ground for a conservative pro-American government which would try to save the country from the economic bankruptcy into which the racketeers around Peron are dragging it. This vast and well-organized maneuver was revealed to Peron by his expert political police. They informed him that the Catholic church and a military group were working actively to infiltrate the Peronist movement, the unions, the universities, and the army, with a view to gaining control of the political-military machinery of the state and then making a rightist coup.

SUPPORTED by the C. G. T.—his labor federation—and by the ministers who represent the left wing of the government, headed by Interior Minister Borlenghi, Peron raised his war cry against the church and approved in one night a law allowing divorce and the return of legalized prostitution, two moves profoundly resented by the church. The Vatican answered this challenge with a pastoral letter by the Argentine bishops and violent editorials in the *Osservatore Romano*. But the measures against the clergy have not been revoked: religious teaching has been abolished in the public schools; *El Pueblo*, organ of the curia, has been forced to disappear; judges are beginning to grant divorces under the new law; and a commission of municipal architects is making plans for a monumental building of twelve hundred rooms—the first official brothel—the inmates of which will have the status of municipal employees.

But the most telling blow against

the Vatican forces has been the law, approved last month, convoking a national convention within the next six months for the purpose of amending the constitution to separate church and state. The Peron-packed convention will abolish the constitution's second article, which states that "the federal government supports the Roman Catholic apostolic faith." It will also remove provisions which require that the President and Vice-President of Argentina be of the Catholic faith. The result will be that the Roman church will lose the few privileges now remaining to it, especially in the matter of taxes.

The church is a powerful enemy and Peron knows it. For months church officials have been answering the government-sponsored anti-clerical campaign with pastoral letters of protest, peaceful demonstrations, and clandestine pamphleteering. But on May 28, Argentina's Independence Day, the struggle entered a new and sharper phase. Violence erupted among celebrating crowds in the streets of provincial capitals, and the police arrested more than 125 persons. Even more important, army units in many places observed church rites despite Peron's own widely publicized absence from the traditional Te Deum mass celebrated in the Buenos Aires cathedral. The incident tended to confirm rumors that the army will maintain its church connections no matter what the government does.

The democratic parties in Argentina, weak and functioning under severe handicaps, do not clearly understand the complicated maze of intrigue. They continue to speak of pro-Peron and anti-Peron forces without seeming to realize that the polarization of the population no longer corresponds to this simple scheme. Only youth groups and leaders of the left-wing political factions and unions recognize the change. The leader of one of these youth groups summarized for me the delicate situation in the country. "Until yesterday," he said, "we in Argentina divided ourselves between the friends of Peron and his enemies. Today Peron is finished as a political equation. The important thing is to know for what purpose we will give him his death blow—to turn the clock of history back and revert to our former condition of an Anglo-American semi-colony, or to march ahead and build an Argentina that is politically free and economically just and independent."

PAY-AS-YOU-SEE TV

It Makes Good Sense . . *by Hazel Cooley*

THE latest fuss in television circles could have been avoided if the gadget that makes a pay-as-you-see system possible had been invented twenty-five years ago. If there had been a way to collect from the public in the days of radio's supremacy, it would have been in use from the start. The only method suggested at that time was a tax on radio sets, which was looked on with disfavor for fear it would make radio subject to government direction. So the industry, in 1925, worked out a scheme whereby it could support itself. With the establishment of the network system business interests immediately recognized the value of broadcasting as an advertising medium. Radio could make up for its inability to charge tolls by selling the advertiser, and that is how he became top man in deciding broadcasting policy.

Subscription TV will operate on a different system from either commercial or educational TV. In commercial TV the sponsor, or advertiser, pays for the time and puts on the kind of program he thinks the most people will like. Educational TV is prohibited from selling time; its costs are paid by universities, schools, communities, state funds, or private or public donations. Subscription TV will use existing broadcasting facilities unless it chooses to establish new stations. The difference is that before its program can be seen, it will collect a fee by means of the home box-office attached to the TV set. The program, whether black-and-white or color, comes in scrambled, and a card or coin must be inserted into the box to decode it. A device attached to a dial-telephone pickup will also be effective.

Educational TV offers no competition to commercial stations, but toll TV does. The networks fear that it will be able to outbid any advertiser for a performer or event and that they will have to cut down their charges to sponsors. Such a leveling-off of inflated values, in the opinion of many persons, would be sufficient justification for the new system. The economist Dr. Millard C. Faught, one of the leading advocates of subscription TV, says: "Actually we can be the means of creating more TV stations and thus create more markets where commercial broadcasters can operate too. Toll TV can introduce the greatest natural marketing system ever devised, and it can be used to cure—rather than worsen as TV now does—the marketing problems of many of the spectator commodities like movies and sports." Dr. Faught quotes a baseball-club owner: "The trouble with television is that we gotta give away our ball game to sell the sponsor's beer." He believes that since it still costs at least 50 cents of the average retail dollar to get a finished product to the consumer, subscription TV can save the American buying public a lot of money by serving as a distribution system.

HAZEL COOLEY author of "Vision in Television," writes frequently for The Nation *on new developments in the industry.*

Subscription TV advocates would not attempt to make people pay for what they can see free. They plan to broadcast events that are now kept off the air because no sponsor can afford to pay for them: many notable sports events as well as other spectacles worthy of showing and re-showing go unrecorded for that reason. The fees collected, however, would enable toll TV to bring to the home first-run movies, opera, and Broadway shows. The whole family, with guests too, could see them for the price of one admission. National appeals, like those made by the Red Cross, could be answered at once simply by putting another token in the toll box. It is even suggested that toll TV might alleviate some of the financial troubles of educational broadcasters.

Three companies are now sponsoring subscription systems—the Zenith Corporation of Chicago, Skiatron T.V. Inc. of New York, and the International Telemeter Corporation of Hollywood. More than four years ago Zenith tested one of its five systems in Chicago for ninety days. Three hundred families saw and paid for regular motion pictures in their homes at $1 per family per movie. More than 50,000 other Chicago families asked to participate. Although the movies shown were at least two years old and about one-quarter of the three hundred families had seen them, the test proved that more than three new customers were produced for every one the same films would have brought into the theater.

What will be done about the channel that is dark to all but those who pay the toll for unscrambling has not been decided. If no other channel can be received in a particular area, the problem created is obvious. Yet those who have been close to the whole development of toll TV are convinced that the majority of set owners will want the toll service.

It is estimated that the gadget will cost in the neighborhood of $50. Opponents of the pay-as-you-see plan believe this will be a real obstacle; they cite the difficulty UHF operators have had to get people to spend money for conversion. Advocates say the cases are not the same and that people always manage to find the money for the entertainment they want. As for the cost, they remind you that the average family of four going to the movies twice a month at 85 cents a ticket spends $81.60 a year—not counting the price of popcorn.

The F. C. C. will decide whether to give the signal to go ahead with the plan after June 9, the deadline set for "hearing from the public." Up to the middle of May it had received 9,500 letters, postcards, and telegrams on the subject, of which 8,000 were for and 1,500 against, a ratio of 16 to 3 in favor.

Television should certainly serve the whole range of the public interest and not be dictated to or confined by the advertisers' needs. If it takes three systems to do this, then let us have them. The strains and complexities of a free society, the advances made in science and technology, the wonders of the atomic era are going to require a lot of explaining. We have three TV systems to share the responsibility.

THE POWER TO KILL

From Clubs to Cobalt Bombs . . *by Hornell Hart*

"FASTER, and faster, and faster" might summarize our civilization. Not only during the past few decades but actually for tens of thousands of years man has been achieving mastery over his physical environment with ever-accelerating speed. There have been setbacks and periods of stagnation, but the trend is unmistakable.

When a vehicle speeds up under full and wise control, the driver and passengers feel a sense of power—perhaps of exultation. But when it runs away down a mountain road, with defective brakes and broken steering gear, they have good reason to be terrified. Are the brakes and the steering gear of our civilization adequate to control the speed-up in technology—particularly the speed-up in killing power? If not, ours is a runaway civilization.

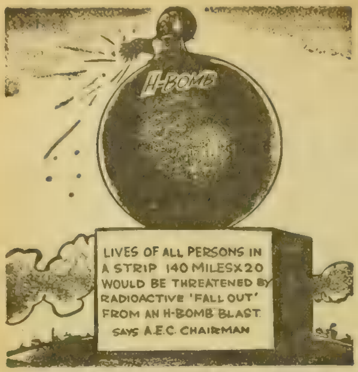
The difficulty is that the power to destroy has been increasing far more rapidly than the power to create, and that the power to manipulate matter and advance technologically has increased more rapidly than the power to make social, political, and ethical progress. If destructive power should go on outdistancing socially creative power, the resulting explosion might mean the end of civilization. Nuclear bombs are not in themselves the essence of the world menace. They are merely products of the age-long accelerating increase in destructive capacity, which has now reached a point that threatens imminent disaster.

The increase in the efficiency of cutting tools is a good example of the acceleration of technological advance. If prehistoric flint tools are rated with respect to (1) keenness of the cutting edge, (2) durability, (3) differentiation and specialization, (4) effectiveness of mechanisms employed to apply the blade to the materials to be cut, and (5) utilization of auxiliary power, the combined index shows that man's competence in the cutting and shaping of materials has increased at least as much in the last three thousand years as it did in the previous million years.

Methods of applying physical power have similarly improved. During the whole duration of the

---

HORNELL HART, professor of sociology at Duke University, is the author of "Consensus for World Law and Order" and other books.


H-BOMB
LIVES OF ALL PERSONS IN A STRIP 140 MILESX20 WOULD BE THREATENED BY RADIOACTIVE 'FALL OUT' FROM AN H-BOMB BLAST SAYS A.E.C. CHAIRMAN

York Gazette and Daily
It's No Secret Now!

Early Stone Age the power applied to tool-driving was derived entirely from human muscles. Domestication of beasts of burden and enslavement of human beings were late elaborations of the age of muscular power. Four-wheeled wagons drawn by asses and oxen were used in Mesopotamia about 3300 B. C. The ancient Romans turned their millstones by horse-power, slave-power, and probably water-power. Windmills began to be used in England as early as 833 A. D. These developments occupied by far the greater part of man's past time on earth. It took our ancestors more than a million years to acquire the aid of any tool-wielding power beyond their own muscles. The age of horse-and-sail transportation and of slave and water-wheel work-power lasted from approximately 3000 B. C. to 1800 A. D.—nearly five thousand years. Then came the Industrial Revolution.

Watt's first patent on his steam engine was granted in 1765. From then on the use of power derived from coal, oil, gas, and falling water expanded rapidly. In comparison with the almost unimaginably long stretches of time during which man had only elementary aids to power, the electric, internal-combustion, and jet-engine phase of power-evolution has been exceedingly brief, less than a century. Yet in the eighty years from 1873 to 1953 the per capita production of power in this country was multiplied more than sevenfold. And now comes the dawn of atomic power. The swiftness of acceleration in man's mastery of his material world could hardly be more clearly demonstrated than by this upsurge of power at his command.

The increasing speed with which human beings have been able to move parallel to the surface of the earth offers another illustration. Before 1800 man had no means of travel faster than horses. (Horses first appear in history about 1700 B. C., when the Hyksos invaders brought them with them to Egypt.) When Napoleon was in a hurry to get to a crucial battlefield, he could go no faster than his horse could carry him. The first advance over horse speeds came with the invention of the steam locomotive. Between 1829 and 1909 improvements in the locomotive increased the speed of travel more than it had increased in the previous million years. By 1954 the automobile and the jet airplane had increased man's speed nine times as much in forty-five years as the locomotive had in eighty.

Man's conquest of death has also been strikingly accelerated. In ancient Greece four thousand years ago, when bronze tools were giving place to iron, the average life-span of a human being was about eighteen years. The increase since that date is shown in the following table.

Gains per Decade in Expectation of Life at Birth

2000 B. C. to 200 B. C.	.02
200 B. C. to 1840 A. D.	.79
1840 to 1910	1.9
1910 to 1940	2.4
1940 to 1953	4.1

If life expectancy continues to increase, it may reach one hundred in the year 2000.

Falling death rates reflect not only man's increasing control of his physical surroundings, with the resultant better food, clothing, shelter, and medical care, but his growing scientific knowledge of the causes of disease and accidents. It also reflects his success in solving social problems, in building efficient local, state, and national health services, developing international cooperation in health problems, and supporting voluntary agencies to reduce death hazards.

CULTURAL progress can be described in terms of man's power to carry out his purposes In the illustrations thus far presented the purposes have been constructive. But human beings are also moved by the desire to destroy.

The most reliable quantitative measure of destructive power is the range of projectiles. During the early part of Paleolithic times there were no hafted weapons, and a killing beyond arm's reach was done with a club or hand-hurled rock; the range of a rock, it may safely be assumed, was less than the modern record for putting the shot, which is about .01 mile. The bow and arrow came into use sometime between 75,000 and 10,000 B. C., and raised the killing range to not over .2 mile. Between 500 B. C. and 1453 A. D. catapults and ballistae were in use, with ranges somewhere between .2 and .5 mile. At the siege of Constantinople in 1453 cannon with a range of one mile were in use. Such data prove the accelerating increase in killing ranges in prehistoric and ancient times. From 50,000 B. C. to 1453 A. D., the increase in the range of a killing weapon was about 300 times as rapid as it had been during the previous 150,000 years. Between the siege of Constantinople and World War I, the range of artillery increased still faster; but the rate was eclipsed by the rate at which the range of bombing planes increased between World Wars I and II.

On the basis of record-breaking ranges of projectiles, it is possible to calculate, for specified dates, the maximum areas within which life and property could be destroyed from a given base. These areas have increased in extent at such an accelerating pace that they are evidently about to engulf the total surface of the earth.

The power to destroy has other dimensions than that measured by the range of projectiles. The effectiveness of projectiles depends on (1) their range and consequent killing area; (2) the accuracy with which they can be aimed; (3) the number of tons which can be delivered to the target area in a given length of time; (4) the destructive power per ton; and (5) the speed and other qualities which enable the projectile to evade or penetrate interception. Owing to lack of space, the present discussion will be confined to the fourth point—the power per ton of explosives to kill and to demolish.

Long before the military men learned to use TNT, the chemists were developing such explosives as fulminate of mercury (1800), guncotton (1838), and blasting gelatin (1875). Each of these broke all previous records for explosive power. Fulminate was 1.7 times as powerful as gunpowder. Blasting gelatin was about three times as powerful as fulminate. Cyclamite (1948) was described by army authorities as twenty-two times as powerful as black gunpowder. Even these nonatomic increases show marked acceleration. After 1875 the percentage increase per year was five times as great as it had been in the previous five centuries. But the final figure sinks into insignificance when compared with explosive power of the atomic bomb.

In 1896 Roentgen's discovery of X-rays opened the way to knowledge of radioactivity and of atomic energy. After 1905 Einstein's Theory of Relativity led to his equation: $E=mc^2$, which expressed the basic transformation of mass into energy. On December 2, 1942, at the University of Chicago, the first self-sustaining chain reaction was accomplished, and atomic energy became available. The resulting sequence of the actual or prospective development of explosive power may be summarized as follows:

	Type Bomb	Explosive Power (in tons of TNT)
1945	Hiroshima A-bomb	20,000
1951	Trigger for H-bomb	250,000
1952	Primitive H-bomb	5,000,000
1954	Full-scale H-bomb	40,000,000

During World War I the bombs dropped by Zeppelin airships on English cities killed somewhat less than 3 persons for every 100,000 of population. In the saturation bombing of English and German cities during World War II, almost 300 persons were killed for every 100,000 of population. These figures reveal a sharply accelerating trend. Before World War I there were no deaths from bombing raids. In World War II civilians were killed at a rate 120 times as great as in World War I. Obviously two points and a base line do not provide enough data for the inductive derivation of a mathematical law. Yet it is evident that the death rate of civilians from bombs rises with the increasing size of the killing area, the increasing tonnage that can be dropped in a raid, and the increasing killing power of the explosive used, especially when these are combined with the absence of any effective international controls. It must be concluded that the potential death rate of civilians in any nation subjected to bombing in a world war in 1963 would approximate 100,000 per 100,000. In other words, if this trend predicts the future accurately, it points to the complete annihilation of populations subjected to bombing in wars after 1963. (The curve might, of course, approach but never reach complete annihilation.)

Note that the data on which the above forecast is based do not include any deaths from atomic bombs. But the meaning of this trend must be interpreted in terms of the ever-stronger threat that such cities as London, Moscow, Leningrad, New York, Washington, and San Francisco may be smashed by uranium, hydrogen, and lithium bombs.

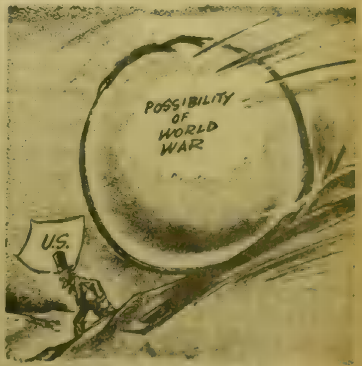
WHILE the data on civilian bombing deaths are too meager for reliable conclusions, the casualty rates of combatants per thousand of population have been roughly estimated since 1100 A. D. From 1100 to 1700 the casualty rate generally accelerated. From 1700 to 1914 it sank back to the level of the sixteenth century. In the first half of the present century it showed an unprecedented upsurge.

The century of peace before World War I is often called Pax Britannica. It was the period during which Protestantism, parliamentary government, and popular education were reaching high levels of development in the Western world. In the seventeenth century the war-casualty rate had risen to more than twice that of any previous century. The Pax Britannica lowered it again to half its peak. But the two world wars carried the death rate from battle in the twentieth century up to nearly six times what it had ever been before.

The conclusion seems, then, to be clear-cut. Hiroshima and Nagasaki are merely new highs in the runaway acceleration of destructive power. The explosion of the atomic bomb has not been an isolated fact, suddenly disrupting an otherwise secure civilization. Explosive power is only one of several factors, each reinforcing the others, and all contributing to the basic trend. If this trend continues, the annihilation of entire populations will become possible in a very few years.

The situation, it will be noted, is not due primarily to the discovery of the atomic bomb. It is the result rather of the accelerating development of military technology. Ever since our illiterate ancestors substituted bows and arrows for spears, human power to kill has been increasing more and more rapidly. The public was temporarily upset by the spectacular jump in explosive power represented by the atomic bomb. The thing to remember is that this was merely a dramatic expression of a tendency which has been evident for centuries and is now culminating in a world-threatening up-rush of destructive power.

The steep increase in destructive power requires a radical increase in the power of social control—which is not synonymous with coercion. The required development must be thought of as a tenfold or hundredfold multiplication of effectiveness rather than as a 10 per cent improvement. It can be achieved only by some radically powerful new factor. And the only new factor which seems to promise anything like the needed effectiveness is the application of thoroughly scientific methods to the life-and-death problems of the atomic age. Such methods have produced major accelerations in industrial and agricultural production, in eliminating disease, in speeding travel and communication, and in increasing the available amount of educated brain power. They might hold the solution for the atomic crisis.



York Gazette and Daily

Watch It Uncle!

WHAT BANDUNG ACHIEVED

A Setting for Asian Unity . . *by C. P. FitzGerald*

[C. P. FitzGerald attended the Bandung conference as an observer. In an article which appeared in this magazine two weeks before the conference opened—in the issue of April 2—he forecast some of the results with remarkable accuracy. He is a reader in Oriental Studies at the Australian National University in Canberra and the author of "Revolution in China" and other books.]

Canberra, Australia

WHAT were the accomplishments of the Asian-African Conference which met in April at Bandung? This question can best be answered by recalling the hopes and purposes which brought the twenty-nine participating nations together. It is clear that a conference which included nations like Communist China on the one hand and Turkey on the other cannot have been expected to produce any agreed conclusions on the problem which seems to the Western world to be all important—that of the cold war and its chances of becoming hot. The fact that twenty-nine Asian and African independent countries could find other problems which seemed to them of real significance is in itself notable.

The conference was expected to adopt resolutions condemning colonialism and racial discrimination, and the West was rather inclined to shrug this off as obvious and irrelevant. But to the participating countries these matters are in no way irrelevant. Colonialism, it was at once plain, means much more to them as a burning issue and glaring wrong than communism and its aggressions. Delegates from every country from Turkey to Japan agreed to condemn the colonial empires in scathing terms, to deny them any virtue, and hope for their speedy dissolution. No distinction was drawn between the colonies formed from ancient civilized peoples, such as Algeria and Tunisia, and colonies which have for the first time in history brought civilization to savages, such as West New Guinea or the African possessions of the European powers. All are equally wrong; all must equally and speedily disappear. The opinions of Asians and Africans on this matter may not be just or logical, but they are strong; Western powers seeking their cooperation for other purposes will have to take more account of these views.

It is true that some of the delegations—Turkey, Iraq, Lebanon, and Ceylon—also raised the awkward question whether there was not in fact a new colonialism—of Russia in Eastern Europe. Strangely, no one seems to have paid much attention to a continuing Russian colonial empire, inherited by the Soviets from the czars, in Central Asia. The attempt to discuss Communist imperialism, although it led to some sharp words behind the scenes, was not pursued, mainly because the attitude of China was so conciliatory, and this attitude evoked a response from the main body of the delegations that made attacks upon communism seem in bad taste. Moreover, even the strong anti-Communist nations did not attack China as a "new colonial power"; Tibet was not mentioned.

THIS fact reveals an assumption about colonialism that colored the attitude of all delegations, although it was never stated. Colonialism meant to them the domination of an African or Asian people by a European power, not the conquest and subjection of one Asian people by another. The decision not to follow up any accusations against Russia sprang from this assumption. The occupation of Lithuania or Rumania by Russia is not colonialism—though many would have agreed that it is also not ethical. Anti-colonialism thus passes no judgment upon what goes on in the way of conquest or subjugation within one continent but strongly condemns the use of these methods against peoples of another continent.

Upon racial discrimination, which the West agrees to condemn, and also to condone, the conference, as expected, was firm and unanimous. South Africa was held up as the example of this evil in its most flagrant form, and all delegations, however light their skins, agreed to deplore any form of racial discrimination without qualification. In the United Nations it must in future be expected that the Bandung powers will stand together on this matter as on the colonial issue.

The conference thus gave reality and strength to views long held by the participating powers with more or less force; it showed that there are issues, cutting across the battle arrays of the cold war, upon which Asia and Africa are of one mind. Whether this solidarity is considered an obstacle to enlisting these nations on the democratic side, or a reason for hoping that they may yet act as a bridge to unite the antagonists in peaceful coexistence, the West cannot ignore the reality of the feelings made manifest at Bandung.

Probably none of the sponsoring Prime Ministers expected that the resolutions adopted by the conference could go beyond this, but they hoped, no doubt, that the meeting of so many nations and of such incompatible political systems, would bring forth the seeds of further agreement. Nor were they disappointed. While the nations of western Asia and North Africa mainly saw the conference as a stage upon which Israel could be denounced and the cause of North African freedom proclaimed, those of eastern Asia were in the main occupied with the problem of China—to recognize or to ostracize, to negotiate or to denounce. China's Chou En-lai unexpectedly helped them to make up their minds on these matters, and gave the conference a real issue to think about, an issue which perhaps was unwelcome to some and unhoped for by others.

IF PRINCE Wan of Thailand and General Romulo of the Philippines came to Bandung ready to deliver the type of speech they are accustomed to making at the U. N., resolutely opposing communism and denouncing its aggressions, they must have been perplexed to find themselves beating the air. Here was no inflexible Vishinsky reiterating the monumental dogmas of the Communist faith. Chou En-lai was all friendliness and conciliation. He had not come to quarrel but to seek points of agreement; no doubt many differences divided the delegations, but why harp on those points? And when Thailand brought up, admittedly in a very mild tone, the questions over which it is in dispute with China—infiltration, dual nationality, and the presence of Pridi Panomyang in Peking—Chou was ready on the instant to meet the charges with offers of negotiation, with reassurances, with an invitation to come and inspect the Chinese frontier, and with—ever so gently urged—a mild reminder that in the matter of the Kuomintang remnants on the Burma-Siam-China frontier, the Thailand government was not without sin.

The opportunity offered by the conference was taken to announce to the world the conclusion of a treaty between China and Indonesia which regulated and settled the old vexatious problem of dual nationality among the Chinese resident in Indonesia. Chou hastened to remind Thailand, the Philippines, and others that they too could have such a treaty if they wished, and did not underline the obvious prior necessity of these nations recognizing Peking. Now the problem of dual nationality is as real and urgent in Siam and the Philippines as in Indonesia, and the provisions of the S. E. A. T. O. pact do not help solve it in any way. So these nations were very politely offered an alternative—and left to think it over.

The uncommitted nations of Southeast Asia—Laos and Cambodia—which have been offered cover under the outside edge of the S. E. A. T. O. umbrella, preferred, openly, to escape from this dubious protection and negotiate with Chou in his accommodating mood. Prince Sihanouk of Cambodia had a long conversation with the chief of the Chinese Communist delegation and professed himself satisfied and reassured. Laos agreed to regulate its relations with Vietminh and China on the basis of the Nehru-Mao Five Principles, and these powers in turn agreed to treat the Communist rebellion in northern Laos as an internal affair of the Laotian Republic. Prince Wan was quite ready to talk to Phan Van Dong of Vietminh about the refugees in Thailand who want to return to northern Vietnam and are feared by the Thais as the spearhead of Communist infiltration. Real negotiations on urgent issues were the fruits of Chou En-lai's speech during the last days of the conference.

THE question arises, therefore, how far had Chou intended to pursue this line when he accepted the invitation to Bandung, and how far was the Chinese policy formed to meet the mood of the conference as it declared itself after the opening? Two speeches were circulated by the Chinese delegation; one, prepared in Peking, was never delivered. It did not, indeed, contain much that would have sounded offensive to the delegations at Bandung, but neither did it contain much that was constructive. The other speech, which was delivered, was written by Chou En-lai on his knee during the second session of the conference, handed to his translators, who sat beside him, put into English (excellent English), and delivered twenty minutes later, when the delegates for Turkey sat down. This speech contained the specific answers to the accusations made by Prince Wan of Thailand, the definite offers to negotiate matters in dispute and to open the Chinese frontier for inspection by those who feared aggression, and the reassurances concerning Chinese policy in Southeast Asia.

FUTURE
OF
ASIA

Whether this change was a response to the speeches already made, to the atmosphere of the conference, or to the private approaches which India and perhaps Burma had made to China, it is clear that it was made by Chou En-lai on his own initiative, without consultation, and without reference to Peking—or to Moscow. This fact alone makes the Chinese intervention in the conference one of the most significant diplomatic events of recent years. The offers to the Southeast Asian countries were made on the second day of the conference. It was not until the last that Chou sprang his second surprise, the offer to negotiate with the United States to "relax tension in the Strait of Taiwan." By that time he had had four days to see how the yeast of his first offers would work in the politics of East Asia. The private meetings he had had with Prince Wan, Carlos Romulo, and others had no doubt satisfied him that these offers were having a marked and favorable effect. Then he produced the offer to America—diplomatic timing of rare skill.

It must be supposed that Nehru and Premier U Nu of Burma, when they insisted on inviting China to Bandung, had no certain expectations that Chou En-lai would use the conference to announce this policy of conciliation and negotiation. They may have hoped that if China were drawn into the society of Asian nations as an equal and friend rather than as a champion of communism, it would say agreeable things, and that in itself would have been well worth while in their eyes. The fact that China chose the conference as the stage to announce a policy which has probably been the fruit of secret negotiation both with Russia and with Britain, as well as with India, was a compliment to the five powers and a skilful acknowledgment of the value of the non-alignment policy which India pursues.

the policy which made Bandung possible.

Bandung thus more than fulfilled the hopes of its sponsors. It gave proof of Asian solidarity on matters of race and colonialism; it opened the way to useful local settlements; it offered a stage on which wider issues could be raised in an atmosphere free from alignment with either side in the cold war. By these accomplishments it emphasized the value of the policy which India, Burma, Indonesia, and Ceylon have made their own.

THOMAS MANN AT EIGHTY

Still the Adventurer . . *by Frederic Morton*

HIS house stands on a hill overlooking the huge mirror of Lake Zurich. Cowbells tinkle not far from its lawn; a village church rings out its vespers; a dog wanders through the rooms, the earnest intelligent family-member dog, the German shepherd dog which has appeared so many times in Mann's novels and stories, the dog whose predecessors have lived and died in his household.

His wife looks as youthful as he. Both seem to be barely in their sixties, though she is seventy-three and he turned eighty on June 6. His secret family nickname is "the Sorcerer," hers "Mielein," though her real name is Katia. They don't address each other by the sobriquets before a visitor; yet their conversational interplay is still marked by quick smiling glances, a certain archness. She possesses a girlish vivacity, is well versed in interrupting him, interpreting him, enlarging his remarks or, sometimes, deflating his statement with fond humor. She is quite modish in a light-gray, thin-sleeved silk dress and gray silk stockings; she leans forward listening, serving canapes, gesturing cordially. He reclines dapper in a beige business suit, a little like a chairman-of-the-board banker who hates to drag his eminent office around with him and who likes to see his wife chuck it out of the way in order to get on with the business of friendship. The room is well furnished, Alpine style tempered with modernity, the dog wanders and the cows tinkle.

"I am going to stay in Switzerland," he says. "It is after all a German-language environment. And I know Zurich, having stayed here from 1933 to 1938, till Princeton called me as a lecturer in the humanities. . . . Yes, I liked it there very much, but when I discovered Pacific Palisades on the West Coast I was seduced by that idyllic spot. . . . Why didn't I stay?" He takes a long, deliberate breath. "Well, America is a pressure place today. Fortunately the political and the literary are still a bit separated there. In fact, during that period, recently, when I was so often attacked, I had more requests from newspapers and magazines than ever. Still, though I can't say I feel freer here in Europe, I feel more relaxed. It may be a paradoxical thing to say about the greatest democracy, but perhaps this pressure business is a phase in a nationalism that is still maturing. Other countries have gone through much more virulent spells. . . . Personally, I shall always be grateful to the United States for the refuge granted me during the Hitler days, and even before Hitler for the very mundane fact that it was American dollars—from the United States sales of 'Death in Venice'—which kept my family eating during the German inflation period of the twenties."

"Do American writers influence European literature? . . . . Yes, to a degree I have never noticed before. But on the other hand, the Europeans also influence the Americans more. There seems to be a Kafka-Hemingway import-export arrangement, a very useful cross-fertilization. Of course every country can influence and be influenced more than ever because communication and education reduce barriers. And the H-bomb [he pronounces the word in English] with its possibility of universal destruction sets up an apocalyptic ferment which tends to experimentalism. New methods are tried, *perforce*, in literature. The necessity to burst old molds, in other words, the freedom to create, is the good side of a bad civilizational experience."

"HOW do these developments affect me?. . . . All right, take me, for, after all, I am still a writer." He smiles and she exclaims, "Listen to him!"

"I am continuing a novella I wrote thirty years ago—'Felix Krull: the Confessions of a Mountebank.' I start precisely where I left off: Krull goes to Paris where he befriends a marquis. He exchanges identities with the marquis and goes as nobleman on a grand tour through South America. It is a *Schelmenroman*—a picaresque novel; I mean it belongs to a traditional genre which started with Cervantes in Spain and which I am trying to continue into the present day. I attempt to present old values in contemporary form because I am anxious to see what happens when ancient truths are subjected to the huge pressures of today. When truth and pressure meet, the truth must win in the end, but it's a newer, more seasoned, deeper truth. In that fashion I am experimenting too. And that excites me." Now he too leans forward, though he channels his eagerness into pouring himself more tea. "You see, I've never tried to do a full-length picaresque novel before. I try to do something different each time I begin a project.

FREDERIC MORTON, author of "Asphalt and Desire" and other novels, teaches writing at the New School in New York City.

If I didn't, I would have written 'Buddenbrooks' over and over again." "And made a great deal more money that way!" she interrupts him smiling. "Yes, it would have been financially more advantageous, but there was no stimulus within me to repeat. 'The Magic Mountain' was an attempt in another direction. So were the 'Joseph' books and 'The Holy Sinner' and now 'Krull.' That's why I never have the feeling of mastery. I am glad I don't, for it would bring with it a rigidity, a complacency, a formula-happiness. I need the challenge of uncertainty. I don't want to draw a life-long moral pension from the Nobel Prize, and I don't want to fall asleep on top of a lucky reputation. I want writing to be an adventure, and I am greedy enough to grope for a new elusive trophy every time."

WHAT about his reading today, the visitor asks. "Oh, I am at Gide again," he says. "Gide opened all of French literature to me, as well as all of the so-called decadent literature. He was a gateway author to me, and so was Turgenev, who opened the Russians to me. And do you know whom I am reading again these days? Hermann Bahr [an Austrian essayist and dramatist]. I began with him, you know. When I was in my late teens I was so fascinated by his style that I used to write whole diaries in slavish imitation."

Mann himself, the visitor remarks, is a gateway author to German literature. He appears to bow to the compliment, but what he actually does is duck away from it, reaching for a canape. "You know," he says, in a slightly embarrassed non sequitur, "many years ago I wrote a novel called 'Royal Highness.' They just made a motion picture out of it, the first film made of any of my books. I hear they will show it in America. 'Royal Highness' is interesting to me today also for another reason. It stems from the same creative period in my life as the 'Felix Krull' novella. Both the swindler and the monarch are primarily concerned with the ceremonial of make-believe. Both succeed through the nurture of illusion even though they are at opposite ends of the social scale. The artist, that is, the writer, shares characteristics of both, for the lies he tells and the illusions he conjures up are not taken literally, as are the monarch's, but are still socially sanctioned; on the other hand, the artistic illusion also exploits the public's need to be beguiled on which the swindler plays. So I suppose that both 'Royal Highness' and 'Krull' are works about the artist."

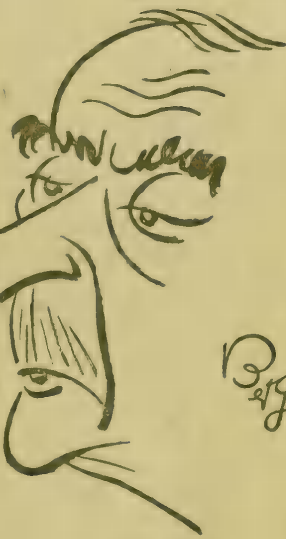
He has dropped the kindly, composed banker manner; not merely his body reclines against the pillows but his head against the sofa back. His eyes have lost focus as he suddenly talks Thomas Mann prose, full of long rhythms and intricate diableries, his voice changed, his pitch higher.

"I suppose I am making a big book out of 'Krull' today because I am worried about the place of the artist. His position is more precarious than ever. His illusions are more needed than ever and the truth inside them. But there is so much doubt and confusion nowadays that as defense we have built a cult of efficiency around us like a cocoon." His mouth remains serious as his eye twinkles: "And it's hard to be a creative swindler in a cocoon."

Then his whole face smiles; he has caught sight of a copy of the old "Krull" his visitor has brought along for autographing. Spontaneously he takes up the book, leafs through it. "This illness-faking scene is one of the most capital I ever wrote," he says, reading, almost in amazement. Abruptly he laughs out loud, closes the volume. "Do you know what I would like to do at this moment? I should like to stand in front of an audience and read this scene to them. There is nothing I like better when lecturing than laughter. Then I know I have reached them, that I am really talking to them. Critics call me a symbolist or an ironist, but what I actually am, in intention if not in execution, is a humorist . . . especially as I grow older. Strangely enough, emigration did not make me at all gloomy. On the contrary, I am glad it happened to me, though the circumstances prompting it were terrible. But for me personally it was a revelation to make friends with the New World. You might say it gave me a new pair of eyes. I feed on contrasts, you know. I try to make the most of them, my Latin mother and my North German father, for instance—I wrote about that in 'Tonio Kroeger.' And now, after America, I am another contradiction richer."

WHAT are his future plans, asks the visitor.

"We are going to the premiere of 'Dial M for Murder' in the *Schauspielhaus* tomorrow night, something I would really hate to miss. They say it's very entertaining, and I love the theater." "He wants to be beguiled!" interrupts Mrs. Mann. "And the day after that," he resumes, "bright and early we are off to Lake Geneva for a little vacationing, and after that an excursion to Italy." "And we are going to look for a house," she admonishes him. "Yes, we are looking for a place to build a house. Here Golo and Erica [two of his children] are living with us and we are too cramped in two small floors." He smiles wryly. "I know it is a little foolish for a man of my age to build a new house, but somehow I feel I have a lot to do yet. There is already a great deal of manuscript on Krull and there will be a lot more. I still have to learn how to be weary." He sees that the visitor has risen. "And I have to learn how to say goodby—that too is an old man's art." He seems to have small aptitude for it; as the phone rings and she runs into the next room and exclaims "It's Florence! Thomas, it's Florence!" he grips the visitor's hand firmly, turns, waves: *"Auf Wiedersehen!"*



Thomas Mann

BOOKS

Spain Divided

THE CYPRESSES BELIEVE IN GOD. By Jose Maria Gironella. Alfred A. Knopf. Two Volumes. $10.

By Kay Boyle

JOSE MARIA GIRONELLA is a Spanish writer who lives in Spain, who is not yet forty, and who is of the belief that "no real poet ever deserts his country." And there is in this long novel, with its singularly moving title, a great deal of authentic poetry. "Revolution and blood," writes Gironella, "cypresses and bones," giving us in one phrase the inseparable equation of political drama, and in the other the eternal commitment of man's substance to the soil. Evidence of this dual awareness is present on nearly every page of this book, which Gironella considers "a reply to those books on Spain written by Hemingway, Koestler, Malraux, and Bernanos." He found he was not convinced by the books of those four authors, "not for political reasons, but because they give a small view, a folkloric view, of the Spanish drama and do not confront the theme in its totality." Thus the intention of "The Cypresses Believe in God" is to make clear with complete impartiality how Spain came to be divided in two. The book, reportedly a best-seller at the time of its appearance in Spain, is now presented to American readers in an admirable translation by Harriet de Onis, and the publisher recommends it as "the first Spanish novel of world-wide relevance since Vincente Blasco Ibanez wrote 'The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse' " nearly forty years ago.

"The Cypresses Believe in God," however, is merely the first step in an ambitious undertaking. The period it covers is from 1931—after the fall of the Spanish monarchy and the establishing of the republic—to July 30, 1936, two weeks after the outbreak of civil war. The second part of the trilogy, according to Gironella's plan, will cover the civil-war years, 1936-39. The final section will be, like the first, in two volumes, one dealing with life in Spain since the civil war, and the other, parallel in time, with the life of the Spanish exiles abroad. The tone, Gironella stresses, is to be maintained in rigid impartiality throughout, "conceding to all those involved both their best and their worst motives." Certainly no literary project of comparable scope has come out of contemporary Spain.

The middle-class family of Mathias Alvear is the pivot which Gironella has chosen and around which turn an entire nation's daily existence, its religious ritual, and, eventually, its social revolution. The Alvear home is an apartment in Gerona, a Catalonian city where Alvear is employed as a telegraphist and where on Sundays and after work he fishes off the dining-room balcony into the river which runs behind their house. Mathias Alvear is a liberal, a Republican, a man with a warm heart and a sense of humor, whose high principles derive from instinct and not from discipline. These are profoundly Spanish qualities. His wife, Carmen Elgazu, is a devout Catholic and a devoted wife and mother who, with the irrationalism of the traditional Latin woman, leaves the province of politics to her husband but joins with the church in taking that of good and evil for her own. There are two sons in the family, Ignacio and Cesar, the elder, "romantic and impulsive, and influenced by the conflicting ideologies"; the younger, a seminarian who, like Dostoevsky's Aloysha, lives outside of his own time, belonging to eternity. There is a lively, pink-cheeked daughter, Pilar. Ignacio carries "the civil war within himself"; Cesar exemplifies the poetic, mystical legend of the Catholic church, and the simplicity of his devotion runs, pure and untarnished, through the social unrest which is the meat and matter of the book. ("Unemployment was gnawing like a cancer at the vitals of many families . . . many workers received a slip of paper: 'Until further notice.' . . . Portugal was dealing mortal blows to the cork industry of the province. . . . there were seven hundred thousand unemployed.") Pilar becomes an apprentice dressmaker and falls in love with Mateo, the local leader of the fascist organization, the Falange. With sixty-odd other characters from which to choose, it is unfortunate that she should have selected him, but since she was educated by nuns and intent on marriage, one accepts the inevitability of her choice.

Mateo is one of the less brutal, less bullying blue-shirted youths who have sworn allegiance to Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera—as the black-shirted youths swore allegiance to Mussolini in Italy, and the brown-shirted to Hitler in Germany—and his principles are presented as impartially by Gironella as are those of Cesar, the seminarian, and an equal fervor and exaltation accorded each. "This is what Falange wants," says Mateo. "To be faithful to the tradition of Spain, unite all Spaniards, and project its spiritual light upon the world. All other programs for Spain are petty, ignoble, borrowed from secret organizations that are our enemies and take the easy road of promise. The Anglo-Saxons first undermined our geographical empire—America, the Philippines, Gibraltar; now they seek to do the same with our spiritual heritage." Moved by these sentiments, Mateo and his comrades beat a German archaeologist into unconsciousness. (The Falange, it should be borne in mind, is no less active in Spain today. A recent interview with Franco published in the Falangist daily, *Arriba,* quotes the Caudillo: "Our thought is that there must not be any change.") And Cesar, the gentle seminarian, watches the disastrous forest fires which the Anarchists have ignited surreptitiously in a season of drought unable to grasp "the idea that anyone could set mountains on fire. . . . As for the trees—there were times when he even thought they had souls. During the nights he had spent in prayer, every now and then he had gone to the window, and if the moon was

---

KAY BOYLE is well known as novelist and short-story writer. Her latest book is "The Seagull on the Steps."

shining, or a light in the patio was burning, had watched the poplar leaves trembling as though greeting him, or at times as though weeping slow tears. No one was capable of setting fire to them deliberately! And least of all the cypresses, which seemed to him the trees that had the most reason to believe in God."

THE drama then, not only of a society divided in a half-dozen ways within itself but of families likewise divided, creates a restlessness, a passionate suspense, which is maintained throughout the whole of Gironella's first volume and through the greater part of the second. We are held by the human stories which unfold against the background of political events until, as the political events increase in violence, the human story is submerged for pages at a time. At that point the questions which were there from the beginning clamor for answers, and it is perhaps in the future volumes that Gironella will give them with less calculated concern for the effect.

The publication in Spain of "The Cypresses Believe in God," Gironella writes elsewhere, "produced an authentic searching of consciences." Obviously it is a book that offers Spaniards an opportunity of reliving their own complex history, and its appearance in translation now gives English-speaking readers an invaluable document—that is, a generous sample of a social fabric woven of the individual lives of Spanish fascists, socialists, Anarchists, Communists, Free Masons, Catholics in a moment of acute unrest. Gironella himself was born in Gerona and like Cesar attended an ecclesiastical seminary. Like Ignacio he left the seminary in distaste and became a clerk in the Banco Arnus. From 1936 to 1939 he fought at the front in the civil war. So the question arises as to whether history can be set down impartially by any man who played an active part in it. Would it be Spanish fascist or Republican, Free Mason or Catholic, who might be expected to develop the degree of detachment which would enable him to write of the Spanish civil war as an outsider would? But who, in our time, remained an outsider, and aloof from the drama of Spain's civil war? The honor of all men was implicated in that struggle, for the issue of man standing weaponless and alone before organized power had never been more heroically defined.

Gironella is a regular contributor to the organ of the Spanish monarchist party, *ABC*, and he states that his articles in that paper have "acquired a national importance, because in them, for the first time since the civil war, a writer has publicly denounced things that 'are not going as they ought to in this country.' " How guarded criticism of the present regime must be in order to appear in the pages of any Spanish newspaper is another question which requires an answer. But if Gironella, for the sake of finding a publisher for his book in totalitarian Spain, and for the sake of continuing as a contributor to the *ABC* has told the story of the five years preceding the outbreak of civil war with shrewdness, he has also told it artistically well. "Your crusade is wonderful," Ignacio says to his fellow-student, the Falangist leader, Mateo, "except that nobody knows where he's going or whom he's rescuing. You call for discipline, danger, and joy. In other words, to die singing. What for? For many years people here have died singing, and above all they've been sung after they were dead. What most of them want is to sing while they're still alive."

Science: Dawn and Triumph

THE SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTION, 1500-1800. By A. R. Hall. Longmans, Green and Company. $3.50.

AMERICAN SCIENCE AND INVENTION. By Mitchell Wilson. Simon and Schuster. $10.

By Benjamin Harrow

MR. HALL'S treatise is a scholarly contribution to the history of science. It emphasizes the development of scientific ideas and methods brought about by such giants as Galileo, Newton, Lavoisier, and others. At the close of the Middle Ages scientific knowledge was pathetically meager, but within three or four hundred years the roots of present-day astronomy, mechanics, and chemistry had been firmly planted.

The "scientific revolution" terminates, according to Mr. Hall, in 1800; and with this date the author's job is finished. The question might well be raised: has there not been a "scientific revolution" since 1800? Take, for example, the discovery of radium a hundred years later, with all its consequences—the electron, the nucleus, the atomic bomb? Not so, according to Hall, for "the processes, the tactics, and the forms" by which modern science evolves did not change during these hundred years. This is one point of view but not a common one.

Some topics are deliberately omitted. Mathematics, for example, is neglected "because it deals not with the phenomena of nature but with numbers"; so is medicine, "because it was at this time rather an art than a natural science."

Mr. Hall points out that even before the dawn of science there was considerable technological progress. The magnetic compass was described in Europe in the thirteenth century; in the following century gunpowder was used to propel projectiles; and in the fifteenth century printing had established itself.

Hall's account of pre-dawn and post-dawn activities is extremely lucid, and the book is meaty and suggestive throughout. But I do not agree with his statement that the "development of natural science is the most pregnant feature of Western civilization." While this is quite a popular view, there are other intellectual pursuits that may prove in the long run to be equally "pregnant." We are too near the "scientific revolution" of the twentieth century to get the proper perspective.

The book by Dr. Wilson is the finest pictorial history of technological progress in America that I have seen. To the thoughtful reader, I would recommend that he first read and digest Hall's work, which deals with methods and ideas of science, and then proceed to Dr.

BENJAMIN HARROW is professor emeritus of the Chemistry Department of the City College of New York.

Wilson's enormous tome, which is full of the applied science for which Americans have a special liking. And yet in fairness to the author it must be stated that he does not altogether neglect the scientist in favor of the inventor, for he tells us about Franklin, Thomson, Beaumont, and Henry, as well as about Pickering, Rowlands, Gibbs, Michelson, Langmuir, and Pauling, who represent the modern period. Fermi is somewhat out of place here, seeing that he got the Nobel prize before he came to this country from Italy. And in so worthy a piece of popular writing why attempt the impossible with Gibbs? Write about his life, yes; but don't confuse the nonscientific reader with attempted explanations of the phase rule and entropy.

A Poet's Progress

WILDERNESS STAIR. POEMS 1938-1954. By Ben Belitt. Grove Press. $3.

By May Swenson

READ consecutively, each of the four sections of Ben Belitt's second book of verse presents us with a new and higher platform of poetic development. The first part opens with Dance Piece, from which was taken the theme of Martha Graham's choreography, Errand into the Maze, and ends with Nightpiece; both are excellent formal lyrics out of the poet's soul-observatory. Between these we find a "travelogue" of poems with flashing impressions of places from Mexico to Manhattan; naked contrasts of sensations are employed; hard, sharp, torpid, often inorganic things are ranged alongside the tender and lively. The language supports the choice of symbols, and consistently in this group, as in the fine poem Tourist and Turtle, the intention is seen to "strike a strenuous sweetness out of brine." Most impressive is the evidence of control and equilibrium in the handling of polarities of beauty and horror in Bull-Ring: Plaza Mexico.

A steeper ascent, toward the transcendence of self-conflict, is announced in the next section by the first lines of the long poem Later Testament: "Contest, the habit of angels, Tempted the man from the wilderness stair." Here, as in Section III in the astonishing poem Karamazov, an evolutionary step is taken in technique: language is pared of excess and metaphors are sculptured; scrupulous detail is less sought after than an effective whole with apocalyptic and psychological reverberations.

> Crimes, contradictions, enigmas, anomalies, wars,
> Chance's inspired alternations at play with the possible,
> Perfidies, nightmares, vendettas—they haunted us. . . .

says Belitt in Karamazov, incidentally revealing some of the underlying excitations in his verse.

In his wrestling with opposite angels, one an exacting moral sense and the other a willingness to be overwhelmed by the sensual, Belitt occasionally sounds a too obvious echo of Gerard Manley Hopkins: for example, "The cold frond fell, looped to the leveler's foot" or "That bird broke blank to the eyebeam"; but such indulgences are found only in relatively minor poems, of which there are few in this ambitious second volume.

An unmistakable pinnacle is reached in the final section with four powerful war poems. Descent in a Parachute, constructed around the symbol of the birth trauma, is at once an intuitive self-dissection and an analysis of man's precarious condition. In The Spool, the poet plunges into a daring new form and masters it. Abandoning the seductions of the pentameter and ambiguity of images, he relies on neither rhyme nor color, makes use only of blunt tonalities, of movement and light. Black, white, and gray as the film of which it might be the script, the language of this poem is forthright and strict, perhaps projecting a fresh, dynamic tangent for Ben Belitt's future work. In Casualty, the closing poem, he confesses his aim—through "the unselving act,/ To force an unspeakable image from the maze"; and we feel that this aim has been memorably achieved.

MAY SWENSON is the author of a book of poems, "Another Animal."

Selected Verse

COLLECTED POEMS. By Edith Sitwell. Vanguard. $6.50. The reader with the patience to pick his way through a great deal of the quaint and querulous will find rewards in reading Miss Sitwell. The best of these must not be missed, but a selected volume might have made the best less expensively accessible.

WATER OUZEL AND OTHER POEMS. By William H. Matchett. Houghton Mifflin. $3. A grand first book. Matchett's successes leave no doubt. Visiting Poet, the only good poem to Dylan Thomas among the hundreds I have seen, is unmistakably a permanent poem. And Matchett unmistakably a poet.

BIRTHDAYS FROM THE OCEAN. By Isabella Gardner. Houghton Mifflin. $3. Isabella Gardner has some mannerisms and borrowings, to survive, but even over a sprinkle of sour notes, a poem as good as the first—and much the best—of this book, is promise enough and fact enough for anyone's reading.

THE MIDDLE VOICE. By Constance Carrier. Alan Swallow. $2. Miss Carrier, winner of the 1954 Lamont Poetry Selection, is a passionate formalist and earns her poems both humanly and aesthetically. If there is a weakness here it is that the rhythms never override the discipline to an overtaking fine excess. The strengths of her work remain, felt and securely made.

THE SYMBOLS. By John Holmes. Prairie Press. $1. A much-delayed gathering of poems from a few years back. A pamphlet, small but rich. Having recently been "discovered" by both William Carlos Williams and Auden, Holmes should begin to receive some of the recognition his poems have long since earned.

THE SEASON OF FLESH. By Byron Herbert Reece. Dutton. $2.75. No one today can write an imitation folk ballad so richly as Reece does. Some of these are wonders. When Reece tries to adapt the ballad to more personal and immediate uses, however, nothing seems to happen.

THE SCARECROW CHRIST. By Elder Olson. Noonday. $3. Olson is another of the good and honest workers at poetry about whom too little is heard. These poems should certainly take any reader.

A MANTELPIECE OF SHELLS. By Ruthven Todd. Grove in association with Bonacio and Saul. $3. With some admiration I find myself thinging of Todd as a sort of buckshot poet but I am not sure he does more generally manages to hit his bird, but I am not sure he does more than knock off the feathers. Counts for score, I guess, but makes a rather thin bag.

THE MORAL CIRCUS. By Edwin Honig. Contemporary Poetry. $3. A long overdue first book and a fine one. Honig has that rare purity of mind that teaches a man truths about himself. No "important" poems here, but real. A book for happy rereading.

JOHN CIARDI

World Politics

SEEDS OF DESTRUCTION. By Cedric Belfrage. Cameron and Kahn. $1.50. The talented editor of the National Guardian, victimized by Velde, McCarthy, and Brownell and threatened with deportation, here offers us "the truth about the United States occupation of Germany." In form this is a highly readable, fully documented, and slightly fictionalized account of personal experiences and observations from the liberation of Aachen in October, 1944, to the reappearance of Nazi-ism in 1947. In content, it is one of the most penetrating and dramatic analyses of what happened to typical Germans and Americans in Hitler's ruined Reich. In reception, it has been so systematically ignored as almost to suggest a boycott. To question United States policy in Germany is widely deemed "subversive." This is a pity. Such questioning is imperative. Belfrage's book deserves wide reading.

NUREMBERG: GERMAN VIEWS OF THE WAR TRIALS. Edited by Wilbourn E. Benton and Georg Grimm. Southern Methodist. $4. Following a thought-provoking introduction by Professor Benton of the University of Houston, eleven German jurists, including Jodl's defense counsel, Dr. Herman Jahrreiss and Dr. Hans Ehard, here offer their opinions of the memorable trial of Nazi war criminals. They are agreed that the penalties imposed for "crimes against peace" constituted victor's justice and ex post facto law, that it is better to win wars than lose them, and that peace is wonderful—for the moment.

THE LETTERS OF JACOB BURCKHARDT Selected, Edited and Translated by Alexander Dru. Pantheon. $3.75. The brilliant Swiss historian (1818-97) whose most famous works were "The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy" and "The Age of Constantine the Great" wrote many letters to many friends about travel, art, politics, things past, and things to come. These selections, with an admirable introduction by the editor, are at once delightful and intellectually exciting.

AMERICA'S RISE TO WORLD POWER, 1898-1954. By Foster Rhea Dulles. Harper. $5. The most recent addition to the "New American Nation Series," edited by Henry Steele Commager and Richard Brandon Morris, flows from the facile pen of the chairman of the History Department of Ohio State University—who is not to be confused with others of the same surname. This is a competent and suggestive narrative and interpretation, albeit somewhat narrowly limited to the familiar dichotomy of isolationism versus interventionism.

THE FATE OF THE FRENCH NON-COMMUNIST LEFT. By E. Drexel Godfrey, Jr. Doubleday. 95 cents. The "Doubleday Short Studies in Political Science," edited by Richard C. Snyder, is a valuable experiment in the publication of serious monographs in pamphlet format. Among the most valuable entries in the series is this penetrating diagnosis, by a gifted young political scientist of Williams College, of the strength of communism, the weakness of socialism, and the decay of proletarian liberalism in France. Dr. Godfrey throws new light on the sickness of French society as a whole.

FRANCE: THE TRAGIC YEARS, 1939-1947. By Sisley Huddleston. Devin-Adair. $5. The gracious British journalist who died a French citizen in 1954 succeeded in the difficult feat of being consistently wrong in all his political judgments. This "eyewitness account" is a lively, belated, and pathetic eulogy of the Vichy regime and Marshal Petain ("one of the noblest figures of a tragic epoch") and a bitter attack on the Resistance and on everything in the Fourth Republic which offers any hope of national regeneration.

DEMOCRACY AND MARXISM. By H. B. Mayo. Foreword by Walter Bedell Smith. Oxford. $5.50. Mountains of books, pro and con, have been writted about Marxism. This erudite and fascinating volume by a professor of political science at the University of Alberta is by a considerable margin the most incisive, critical, and illuminating evaluation of Marxism recently published. The author understands that a refutation of Marxist errors—and on this he does the best job to date—

A BORZOI BOOK

*"Our conservative heritage recaptured"**

CONSERVATISM IN AMERICA

by CLINTON ROSSITER

"A presentation of first importance. . . . Mr. Rossiter . . . is a man thoroughly imbued with the American tradition and thoroughly aware of American reality; a man well-informed, experienced, judicious, earnest, and responsible. These are among the chief conservative virtues, and they are certainly exemplified here. For this book, every thoughtful American will be grateful; it states the case for conservatism with a candor and understanding that raises the liberal-conservative debate to a new level of constructive discussion."
*—The New Leader**

Awarded the Charles Austin Beard Memorial Prize for 1954

$4.00 at your bookstore

ALFRED A. KNOPF, *Publisher*

25% Discount
ON ALL BOOKS
(10% on Texts and Technical Books)
*ANY BOOK YOU CHOOSE
1) Deduct 25% from list
2) Add 15c per book for postage.
3) Send check or money order
*Only obligation, you agree to buy at least 4 books during first year.
N.Y.C. residents add 3% tax.
THRIFTY BOOK CLUB
206 West 15th Street
Dept.N N.Y.C. 11, NY
Phone: CHelsea 3-6499
NO MEMBERSHIP FEE

Buy
United States
Savings Bonds

does not diminish the appeal of Marxism in a world in which anti-Marxists are still unable or unwilling to make an effective response to the Marxist challenge.

NATIONALISM: MYTH AND REALITY. By Boyd C. Shafer. Harcourt, Brace. $5. Genial Boyd Shafer—Ohioan, Iowan, Arkansan, War Department historian, and currently editor of the American Historical Review—here distils his thinking of twenty years about the nature and meaning of nationalism as the mass faith of modern mankind. The result is less striking than Toynbee and less learned than Hans Kohn. It is none the less a readable and stimulating reassessment, based on broad historical and literary knowledge.

DEVIL'S DIARY. The Record of Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression. Edited by John L. Stipp. Antioch Press. $3.75. Memory fades. "Revisionist" historians obscure the past. The "lessons of history," if any, are forgotten. Therefore it seemed useful to Associate Professor Stipp of Knox College to summarize in readable form, through excerpts and brief editorial explanations, the Nazi record of planned conquest, from the "Hossbach Notes" to "Case Barbarossa," set forth in the nine heavy volumes of captured German documents published in Washington and used at Nuremberg a decade ago. This is a scholarly service "lest we forget." Unhappily, an America dedicated to German rearmament is in duty bound to forget.

THE AMERICAN TRADITION IN FOREIGN POLICY. By Frank Tannenbaum. Oklahoma. $3.50. Columbia's distinguished Latin American specialist here adds his bit to the "great debate" on United States foreign policy, championing the "moralists" against the "realists." His contribution is vitiated by the fact that his postulate of "the coordinate State" is conceptually relevant only to a formula of international federation, a la Clarence K. Streit, and is an absurd illusion in foreign policy as conventionally conceived. Professor Tannebaum not only fails to discuss this issue but appears wholly unaware of its existence, apart from asserting, quite wrongly, that the fictitious "equality of states" is "the essence of federalism in international relations."

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN

CORRECTION:

The fiction list printed on May 28 was selected by Stanley Cooperman. His name was omitted by mistake.

Theater and Films

Robert Hatch

THERE is no reason to say much about "Once Upon a Tailor." It took a frightened look at the reviews and the box-office advance and fled after three or four performances. This was a Jewish pseudo-folk tale; by a shift of accents and the addition of pixies it could as well have been an Irish pseudo-folk tale. The dominant quality was the sense of manufacture. I had thought it might run a few weeks on the strength of Oscar Karlweis in the title role and perhaps by virtue of Boris Aronson's main set—a cottage interior downstage, with above and behind a steep cliff criss-crossed by paths. This type of set—Eugene Berman used one like it for "Amahl and the Night Visitors"—permits actors a delayed approach to the area of action, thus adding visual suspense to the dramatic content.

Karlweis should be seen more frequently and at greater length, as an example for native actors. He has considerable innate charm, a quality so highly regarded in the theater today that stage and screen are crowded with attractive amateurs who have never considered the difference between a valid performance and a personal success. They are like the mechanics who repair your car with negligible competence and a big smile. Karlweis, on the contrary, is an actor well schooled and long practiced, and the fact that he has a winning way about him is pleasantly incidental. His performance in this thin, apologetic comedy was alert and graceful, enriched with pertinent detail. He did all that could be done, and I am sorry that it was not enough.

AT THE time this is written, the proprietors of the musical version of "Seventh Heaven" (Anta Theater) have not publicly conceded defeat, but I cannot believe it will still be alive by publication date. "Seventh Heaven" has an enviable reputation for durability, but this time it has been pole-axed. The score of the musical is insipid, its book is an embarrassment, its spectacles are second-rate second-hand, its choreography is bumps without vigor. I mention no names, since no one was any drearier than anyone else, and I know that some of the performers have more talent than they demonstrate here. It is a puzzle how anything so large and so spiritless ever gets into town. I suppose it takes courage to cut your losses when they are bound to be considerable. It is easier to carry on and pray to God—the "Bon Dew," as he is referred to with quaint Latin familiarity at least fifty times in "Seventh Heaven."

TWICE in "The Great Adventure" the steady roar of high planes presses down on the staccato chirps and barks and crackles of the woods, and the camera looks up at the vapor plumes spiraling in the sky. It is the world outside, too distant to be really an intrusion, intensifying the sweet logic of the perpetual, intensely centered cycle of events that occupies the film. Arne Sucksdorff wrote, directed, and photographed "The Great Adventure"; the planes are but one easily extracted example of his extraordinary sensitivity to images and implications.

This gentle, clear-eyed picture rather stole up on New York, and the critics have been surprised into firing off some of their heaviest adjectives. If you go to it expecting to be stunned or swept off your feet, you may be disappointed. Its perfection is a small perfection; it makes no pretense of importance, does not even claim originality of subject or treatment. The instinctive fraternity of children and animals and their doomed gallantry in opposition to adult necessities have been photographed before. I am certain, though, that they have never been photographed better.

The place of Mr. Sucksdorff's film is a small lake and woodlands adjacent to a moderately prosperous Swedish farm. His narrative begins in the woods in the spring—a season full of delightful incidents—and it is some time before the camera moves on to the human premises. A vixen, stylish and seeming contemptuous of less elegant organisms, makes the contact. She needs food for her pups, and the farm fowl are less wary than the wild ones. She eventually pays with her life for having discovered this.

Later in the year a youthful otter is in jeopardy. He fishes through the winter ice, and human fishermen resent his superior skill. This time, however, the boys of the farm—aged perhaps fourteen and ten—are aware of the plot. They spirit him away from his den in the woods and make a secret pet of him. He in turn makes slaves of them, there being no end to an otter's appetite. But he is a fine cold-weather companion; his belly-flopping down the hills to the lake is a particularly satisfactory trait. In the next spring he leaves them and goes back to the woods and the water—it is sad, but it is not tragic.

That is the way with "The Great Adventure": it is sad or merry as chance determines, but it is never tragic or comic. The picture is ruled by the wild animals it records, the children having only a limited citizenship in that world. And animals do not crack jokes or bitterly rue the day except when their innocence has been Disneyed out of them.

There is nothing simple about Mr. Sucksdorff's film skill, but he has retained a wonderfully simple relish for nature. It delights him and does not dismay him; he is a man of good sense and good taste, and it would not occur to him to become coy or sentimental about the events of the woods or the ventures of children.

A film for all ages, everyone says, and I am sure this should be so. But the children I know have an almost exaggerated tenderness for animals, and I would expect some tearful protests. There is no trace of cruelty in the picture, but eat and be eaten is a fact, and Mr. Suckdorff does not evade it.

ANOTHER film of nature is "Green Magic," the report of a jeep trip across South America, the journey being made apparently for the purpose of reporting it. Count Leonardo Bonzi and his three colleagues are certainly undauntable travelers—there were times, in fact, when I felt a little daunting would be pleasant variety—and they stumbled upon some genuinely exotic situations. You will have heard, perhaps, of the one big snake swallowing alive another equally big snake; and of those hungry little river fish that gobble up a heifer—also alive—before your eyes. Then there is a black mass at the edge of the jungle, but this looked like tourist trade goods to me. The bongo beat is exhilarating and probably authentic, but the communicants seemed camera wise. I don't mean to put you off "Green Magic"; the camera crew really cut new trails, and one episode—the enacted autobiography of a rubber tapper in the dark malaria forest—is particularly fine narration. At times it is just a little too pat, a little too determined to knock your hat off.

Records

B. H. Haggin

RALPH KIRKPATRICK'S superb book on Scarlatti was followed by his edition of sixty of the harpsichord sonatas (G. Schirmer; two volumes; $2.50 each), in which he gave the correct texts that Longo had taken it on himself to "correct," and restored the original pairwise arrangement of many of the pieces that Longo had taken it on himself to destroy. In addition Kirkpatrick adopted the admirable procedure of keeping the text free of his ideas for performance and putting them into a long preface; but the special style of this music is one I can't imagine a student learning from printed directions alone—even directions as intelligent as Kirkpatrick's; and more effective instruction is provided now by his recorded performances of the sixty sonatas (Columbia SL-221, comprising ML-5205/6/7/8), which enable the student to hear how the notation is converted into the living sound. Not that these performances are to be taken as the only possible ones: Kirkpatrick himself warns against that; and his warning is reinforced by the actual performances of a few of the same pieces on older records by Malcolm, Valenti, and Haskil—performances which have an enlivening warmth, flexibility, grace, and beauty of sound that Kirkpatrick's lack. It is painful to have to say about a man who brings to the music dedication and love and knowledge like Kirkpatrick's that he plays much of it with dull plainness and some of it with stiffness and heavy stolidity—qualities which are made worse by his use of a Challis harpsichord instead of the lovely-sounding Chickering that he used for Bach's "Clavieruebung." But it is pleasant to be able to add that not all the performances are unattractive—that a number of the quiet pieces are played with delicacy and beauty of sound, and a number of the lively ones with buoyancy and brilliance.

As for the sonatas themselves, they include only a very few of the best-known ones performed by Malcolm, Valenti, Haskil, and Casadesus on the records I have. And though Kirkpatrick's selection of the sixty he felt he wanted most to play includes a few that I find uninteresting and a few others that are only moderately engaging, for the most part the series, arranged in chronological

Only 2 WEEKS
to take advantage of
NEW YORK'S
BIGGEST
MUSICAL BARGAIN

10
STADIUM
CONCERTS
TICKETS
FOR $10
Good for any night
of 6-week season

"Music Under the Stars" at Lewisohn Stadium
of the City College
5 nights a week, June 20th thru July 30th

Stadium Concerts
SUBSCRIPTION BOOKS
on sale thru June 25th only

★ [illegible] cash saving
★ transferable — may be shared
★ [illegible] standing on line
★ can be used for all performances — as many tickets as you wish for any night

BUY YOURS NOW
by mail or in person from Stadium Box-Office, Amsterdam Ave. & 138th St. (AD 4-5800) Monday thru Saturday 10 to 5; Stadium Concerts office, 50 West 57 St., (CI 7-7575), open Monday thru Saturday 9:30 to 6; or Steinway Hall Box Office, 113 W 57 St. (CI 7-5534). Also at Macy's Parkchester, Flatbush and Jamaica; Bloomingdale's; Lord & Taylor; 25 Loft's Candy Shops; and all Sachs Quality Stores.

FAMOUS SOLOISTS:
BAUM, ELMAN, FARRELL, GOLDOVSKY, LUBOSHUTZ & NEMENOFF
MENUHIN, MERRILL, MORINI, NOVOTNA, PEERCE, PETERS, RABIN, SERKIN, STERN, TUCKER
and others

GREAT CONDUCTORS
KOSTELANETZ, KURTZ, MONTEUX, MITROPOULOS, SCHERMAN, SMALLENS, others

SPECIAL EVENTS:
GERSHWIN, ITALIAN, VIENNESE NIGHTS
LATIN-AMERICAN, SYMPHONIC-JAZZ, RODGERS-HAMMERSTEIN NIGHTS
"NEW MOON"—"DESERT SONG"
"GYPSY BARON"
"LA TRAVIATA"
BALLET RUSSE
ROYAL DANISH BALLET

STADIUM SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA of 96

order, is amazing in its constantly fresh and fascinating invention, its increasing complexity and subtlety of texture, rhythm, and harmony. If you would like to acquire only one record I suggest either ML-5208, devoted to sonatas of the middle period, all superb, and two—K.215 and 260 (L.323 and 124)—especially outstanding; or ML-5207, with groups of fine early and late sonatas, including several that are especially good.

Oiseau-Lyre OL-50043, "Masters of the Harpsichord (17th and 18th Centuries)," offers pieces by the Italian composers Durante, Della Ciaia, Greco, and Marcello, of which I have enjoyed only the Marcello Sonata in C minor; and several more impressive ones by German com-

PUBLICATIONS

SOCIALIST BOOKS. Catalog, literature, Free. New York Labor News Company, Dept. M, 61 Cliff Street, New York 38, New York.

BRITISH BOOKS—All Subjects—direct from London to you. Bargain catalogues free. Transbooks, Box 22-N, Brooklyn 26, N. Y.

PERSONALS

20" WINDOW FAN—Changes air every minute in average 3 room apartment. List $94.75—SPECIAL $49.95. Standard Brand Dist., 143 Fourth Avenue (13th & 14th Sts.), N. Y. C. GR 3-7819. 1 hour free parking or 2 tokens.

MANUSCRIPTS wanted by Southern publisher. Columbia's Publishing Co., 300½ S. Beach St., Daytona Beach, Florida.

HOUSE FOR SALE

NORWALK, CONN. Two-year-old ranch house, on wooded acre in interracial community on Sound. Private beach, boating, ideal for children. Patio, 3-4 bedrooms, 2 bathrooms, modern equipment, perfect condition. $26,000. Box 403, c/o The Nation or Phone: (Norwalk) Temple 8-2046.

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE

Buy Your Books

through THE *Nation*

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular retail price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the retail price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

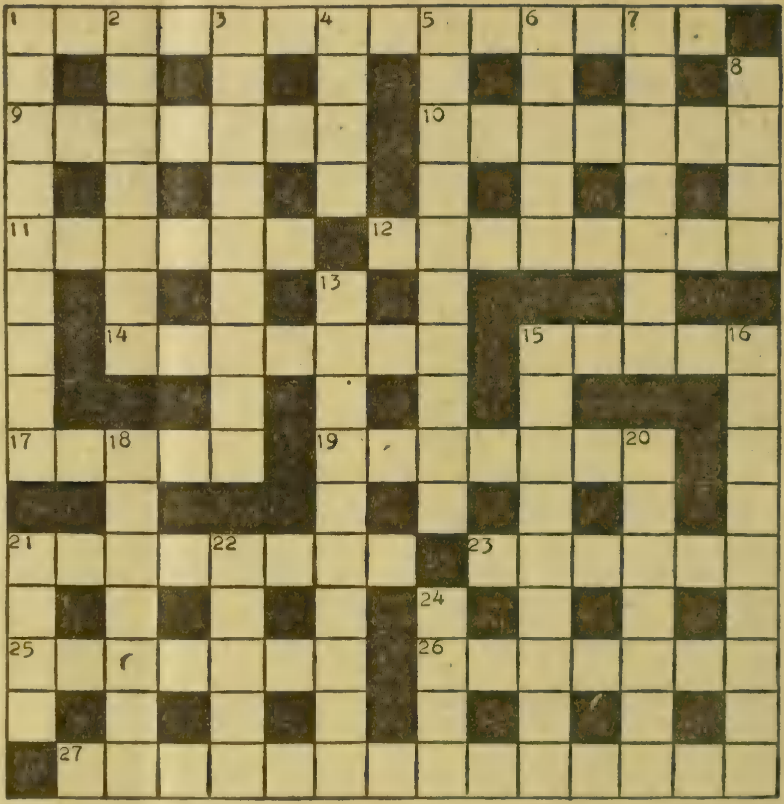
Please address your orders to

Miss O. LePach

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
333 Sixth Ave. New York 14, N. Y.

Crossword Puzzle No. 623

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Reputedly a hard worker. (Some say 27 is). (9, 5)

9 You might find the answer necessary. (7)

10 If I appeared in this slip, the back framework would show. (7)

11 The first major prophet. (6)

12 The written part ends with distorted falsehoods. (Made of the whole cloth, no doubt. (8)

14 Not most of the game on board, sometimes taken up before dinner. (7)

12 See 21 across

17 Cyrano was largely this. (5)

19 Electrical device about the player. (7)

21 and 15 Supposedly graceful. (8,5)

23 The way the voters worked? (6)

25 Attic letter, opposing Italian drink. (7)

26 No guest should be depressed in oral examinations. (7)

27 He has to travel a long distance. (Some say 1 across does!) (9,5)

DOWN

1 and 2 The "Water Music," appropriately? (7,2,3,4)

3 Broken up. (9)

4 Bind together. (4)

5 Strains to get the pitch, like 19 when it loses the second note. (6,4)

6 He has quite a bit for a slave. (5)

7 When sick, I and my friend bring up the subject of stony particles. (7)

8 Obviously such tumors are in the news. (4)

13 What they call a helicopter suggests the "Chicken Reel." (10)

15 Give Tom a pick-me-up if he's in such a trance! (9)

16 Finished wrinkled serges inside and wandered away. (9)

18 Jenny was such a nightingale. (7

20 The mainland portion of Spanish Guinea. (3,4)

21 Friar put in a retired position. (4)

22 Put on before or after. (5)

24 Prop stop. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. [illegible]

ACROSS: 9 LATERAL; 10 and 1 THE VIEW FROM POMPEY'S HEAD; 11 OBRIEN; 12 BANDITTI; 14 CROSS-CHECK; 15 EDIT; 17 EACH; 19 TRANSITIVE; 22 TORTURES; 23 UTOPIA; 25 RECEIPT; 26 HAIR OIL; 27 SHOOTING GALLERY. DOWN 1 FELLOW CREATURES; 2 ONTARIO; 3 PERVERSE; 4 MOLE; 5 ENTRANCING; [illegible] SPEEDY; 7 EXISTED; 8 DOWN IN THE VALLEY; 13 CHARLESTON; 16 MISTRIAL; 18 CURACAO; 20 IMPLODE; 21 JURIST; 24 WHIG.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept. The Nation 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York posers: a Toccata and a Sarabande by Richter; Froberger's Variations on the popular air "Auf die Mayerin," with one variation that is astonishing in its powerful chromatic writing; a Fantasia by Pachelbel; Kuhnau's "Gigue luthee"; and an unidentified Allemande, Capriccio, Minuet, and Aria by Handel. Gerlin's performances, much of the time, carry his distentions of tempo to the point where, for me, the music doesn't move freely.

Telefunken LGX-66029 has two of Schumann's finest works for piano, the Etudes Symphoniques and "Carnaval," played by Geza Anda. The anonymous writer of the accompanying notes seems not to have listened to the performance of the Etudes; and the reading listener will be confused by the failure to list the two additional unfamiliar and quite lovely etudes that Anda inserts in the series that is usually played. He plays the piano very beautifully, and the music with great clarity; and in the Etudes there is less that seems studied, mannered, and eccentric in phrasing and pacing than in the "Carnaval," where one comes to feel a longing for a little spontaneity.

Uninsky's insensitive playing of the piano and distortion of the music in the Chopin pieces on Epic LC-3122 are something to avoid.

Columbia ML-4974 offers a seldom-played but very lovely work by Dvorak, the Symphonic Variations Op. 78, and the agreeable surprise of a performance by Beecham with his Royal Philharmonic that has an easy flow—as against his ponderously static performances of recent years. The beautiful sound of the orchestra is reproduced with a heaviness of bass. Balakirev's "Tamar" is on the reverse side.

Bartok's Concerto for Orchestra treats, in his own words. "the single instrument groups in a concertant or soloistic manner"; it is, in addition, a work whose fast and light portions I find engaging; and so I listened to the performance on Columbia ML-4973 to hear how the Philadelphia Orchestra plays and sounds, and found that this continues to be something to marvel at; though the fat sound of the full orchestra is part of the vulgarity of the orchestra's conductor that one hears in the performance of the work.

RESORTS

ROUND POND LODGE
Walden, New York
Adults. 100 acres, secluded, landscaped, vast shade lawns, quality food. German-American, refined atmosphere. Solarium, spring fed pool, sports. Modern conveniences. Good beds. Capacity 30.
Pre-Season Rates, $40-$45; Weekends, $7.50-$9.00
Make Reservations Now. Telephone: Walden 2-4964

Stonegate LODGE
Informal Adult Resort in the Adirondacks
Charming Estate — Limited to 90 — Pollen Free
Concert Trio — Dance Band — Arts ■ Crafts
DAVID HAHN, Folk-Sq. Dance Leader
Golf ■ All Sports ● Fishing
BACHELOR CLUB RATE—FINE FOOD
N. Y. Office: 250 W. 57th ● Circle 6-6386
Red. Rates to July 10 Louis A. Roth, Dir.

The Ideal Resort For Child & Parent
CARAN LODGE
Sylvan Lake ● Hopewell Junction ■ New York
60 miles from New York on Taconic Parkway
Tennis, swimming, crafts, Folk and Square Dance instruction; golf and summer theatres nearby. Children's Dining Room. Complete Day Camp. Farm animals. Nite Patrol.
Accommodations limited to 10 families
RESERVE NOW
N. Y. HI 6-7506 Hopewell Junction 6-2632

Echo Lake Lodge
In the Green Mts. Brandon, Vermont
A delightful Vacation Resort for the Entire Family
● On lovely Echo Lake—all water sports
■ New canoes, boats, swim and fish
■ Tennis, ping-pong, shuffleboard
● Music, square dancing, camp-fires
● Summer theatres nearby
Diana ■ Abe Berman N. Y.-WA4-6056

WINDY HILL
ON ORANGE LAKE
A pleasantly informal vacation in friendly atmosphere. Swimming, Boating, Fishing on Natural Lake. Badminton, Volley Ball Ping-pong, other sports Movies, records, books Summer Theatre nearby Food of excellent quality in generous quantity
Pre-Season $45.00 Weekly; $7.00 Daily
Season and Holidays $50.00 Weekly; $7.50 Daily
65 Miles from New York City
Jane C. Arenz R. D. No. 1 Walden N. Y.
Phone Newburgh 1232

CRYSTAL LAKE LODGE
all deluxe accommodations at
LOW JUNE RATES
Folk & Squares with Cliff Bullard—Informal Fun
●9 championship clay tennis courts, handball, fishing, riding, all water sports on private Crystal Lake. 1500 Woodland acres.
FREE weekend to tennis tournament winners.
CHESTERTOWN 3 NEW YORK
Phone 3830 N. Y. Phone: OL 3-1884

RESORT CLASSIFIED DISPLAY
$7.42 per inch, one insertion
Generous discounts for multiple insertions
ADVERTISING DEPARTMENT
The NATION
333 SIXTH AVENUE
New York 14 N. Y.
CHelsea 2-8400

RESORTS

32nd SEASON
as a parent-child Resort
Chaits
ACCORD 2, N. Y.
An intimate resort with "BIG" hotel facilities
160 beautiful acres • Tennis • Swimming • Golf nearby • Arts & Crafts • Art Classes • Folk & Square Dancing
Complete Day Camp (8 AM to 8 PM)
Professional Direction • Kind'gar'ner
Nite Patrol
LOW, LOW June Rates
Full Program Starts July 1
Activities Dir.: ARDEN EAST
Adults $45 up • Children $32.50
NYC office OL 4-4070 or Kerhonksen 8316

THE PINES. Modern year-round retreat for adults in the Blue Mountains of Pennsylvania Dutch Country. Continental cuisine. Intimate group of congenial people, 95 miles from N. Y. C., 60 miles from Philadelphia. Write: Mrs. Ann Wunthal, Danielsville, R. D. 1. Tel: Bath Te 7-6501.

MODERN ADIRONDACK HOUSE, white birch motif, gas cooking, screens. $50.00 week. Other cabins. Vern Hutchins, Indian Lake, N. Y.

ENCHANTING LAKESIDE VACATION, rustic Lodge & Cabins in deep woods, ideal swimming & boating, tennis, badminton, shuffleboard, Hi-fi concerts, barbecues, ping-pong, etc. on grounds. Midway Tanglewood, Jacob's Pillow, Playhouse. Relaxing, congenial, moderate. CHANTERWOOD, LEE, MASS. Folder N.

50 Miles to FOREST HOUSE
Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality Two grand lakes. All sports.
FOREST HOUSE
Lake Mahopac, N. Y. ■ Tel. Mahopac 8-3449

WEST POINT FARMS
RELAX in quiet, lovely surroundings. Rooms with private bath. New large swimming pool, terrace. 40 miles from N. Y. Superb cuisine.
CENTRAL VALLEY, N. Y.
Highland Mills 7895

CONCORD ACRES
Co-Ed Ages 6-15 Hancock, New York
FOR AN EXCITING PROGRAM IN A RELAXING SETTING
The Tone: Non-regimented, friendly and understanding atmosphere where individual needs are met. Mature staff under top educator and camping leadership
The Program: Rich and varied program includes all land and water sports, camping and boating trips, nature, arts and crafts, music, dramatics, dancing, archery, photography, and many special features
Inspected and approved member of the American Camping Association.
Write or phone for brochure, interview, parent references
Moderate Fee
HAROLD ROSENTHAL
149-06 61 Road, Flushing, N. Y., FLushing 3-7750

Camp Alpine
45 MILES FROM PHILADELPHIA
Pennsylvania's Cooperative Camp
Social Program ● Swimming ■ Hiking ■ Folk Dancing
Dramatics ● Arts & Crafts ■ New Recreational Facilities
Cabins by the Week or Season.
Plenty of Fresh Air and Sunshine in this Pennsylvania Dutch location
Call Cheltenham 2774 Write box 5183, Philadelphia 41, Pennsylvania

Printed in the U. S. A. by Southern Farmer, Inc. P. O. Box 509, Montgomery, Ala.

You are cordially invited to attend a

Dinner Forum on

ATOMS FOR PEACE

on the occasion of the 90th Anniversary of **The Nation**

Sunday Evening, June 19, at 6:30

Ballroom, Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York

COMMITTEE

for the 90th Anniversary of The Nation

Co-Chairmen

Van Wyck Brooks
Grenville Clark
Frank P. Graham
Ernest Gruening
Eleanor Roosevelt

Treasurer

Max Doft

Members

Thurman Arnold
Emily Greene Balch
Roger N Baldwin
Arnold Bernhard
Charles F Brannan
C. C. Burlingham
Joseph E. Davies
Marshall Field
Dorothy Canfield Fisher
Abraham Flexner
Nahum Goldmann
John Gunther
Earl G. Harrison
Brig. Gen. Hugh B. Hester
Alvin Johnson
Louis Lipsky
Gifford Phillips
Jacob S Potofsky
Mrs. Samuel J. Rosensohn
Abba Hillel Silver
Rex Stout
Gerard Swope
Telford Taylor
James P Warburg
Meyer W. Weisgal

Consistent with its tradition of vigorous, crusading journalism, The Nation celebrates its 90th birthday by focusing the spotlight on the atom—at once the greatest threat and the greatest promise of our time. If you believe that it is within man's power to establish peace and to create for himself an era of plenty in a free and democratic world, you will want to be at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel on June 19 to hear some of the world's great experts chart the brilliant future which lies within our grasp.

Make your reservation now by filling in and mailing the coupon below.

SPEAKERS

Lord John Boyd-Orr

1949 Nobel Peace Laureate
Former Director General,
United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization

Dr. Harrison Scott Brown

Professor, Geo-Chemistry.
Graduate School
California Institute of Technology

Dr. Brock Chisholm

Former Director, World Health Organization of the United Nations

Gordon E. Dean

Former Chairman, United States Atomic Energy Commission

Freda Kirchwey

Editor and Publisher, The Nation

Thomas R. Phillips

Brigadier General, U. S A. Retired
Military Analyst,
The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt

Suite 600 **333 Sixth Avenue** **New York 14, N. Y.**

Please make ..... dinner reservations for Sunday evening, June 19, at 6:30 o'clock at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York. I enclose my check in the sum of $............ covering these reservations at $12.50 per person. (Please make checks payable to **Max Doft, Treasurer.**)

NAME .... ADDRESS ....

CITY .... STATE ....

JE 20 '55
PUBLIC LIBRARY
Burlingame Calif.

THE Nation

June 18, 1955
20c

BERTRAND RUSSELL
FARRINGTON DANIELS
J. BRONOWSKI
SIR JOHN COCKCROFT
M. L. OLIPHANT
AMOS de SHALIT
S. A. K. GHOSH
DAVID O. WOODBURY
JACOB SACKS
GUNNAR RANDERS
WALTER ISARD
VINCENT WHITNEY
JAMES G. BECKERLY
LELAND OLDS
KATHLEEN LONSDALE
DAVID F. CAVERS
ROBERT W. FRASE
KENNETH STEWART
VICTOR H. BERNSTEIN
FREDA KIRCHWEY

ATOMS

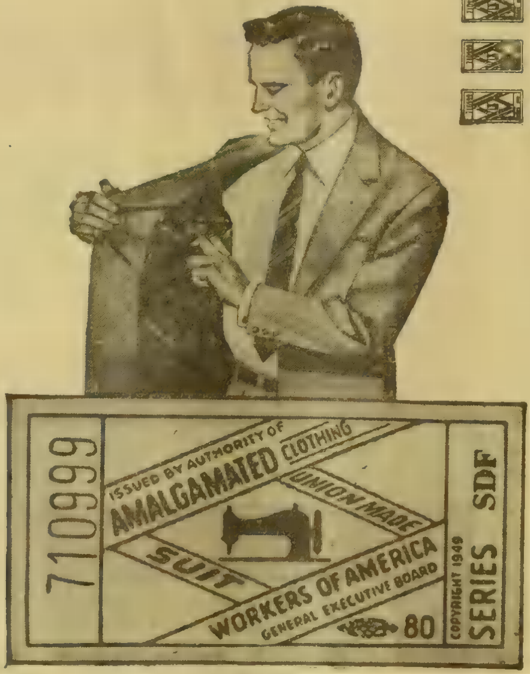
for PEACE

SPECIAL 90th ANNIVERSARY ISSUE

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America
Congratulate **THE NATION** on the occasion of their 90th Anniversary!

you especially know what this represents...

decent wages
decent working conditions
better values


710999
ISSUED BY AUTHORITY OF
AMALGAMATED CLOTHING
UNION MADE
SUIT
WORKERS OF AMERICA
GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD
80
COPYRIGHT 1949
SERIES SDF

when you buy.. *look for the* **AMALGAMATED** *label*

Fair pay and fair play for union labor . . . insurance, protection and job security . . . higher living standards for all Americans . . . these are the standards you support when you insist on the Amalgamated label in the men's and boy's apparel you buy. Skilled craftsmanship, more quality, more value for your money . . . these are the things you get in union-made clothing in every price range.

Forty Years of Progress

AMALGAMATED
CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

15 Union Square, New York 3, N. Y.

A Union of Master Craftsmen in

MEN'S AND BOYS' SUITS • OVERCOATS • OUTERWEAR • SPORTSWEAR • TIES
WORK CLOTHES • UNIFORMS • LEISURE WEAR • SHIRTS • PAJAMAS • GLOVES

VOLUME 180, NUMBER 25
NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JUNE 18, 1955

THE *Nation*

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

1865 — 1955 . . by Freda Kirchwey

NINETY years ago *The Nation* was born in the backwash of the most terrible war this country had fought—a war that Charles A. Beard was to label the Second American Revolution. It was precisely that. It had freed four million black slaves—a change of revolutionary dimensions itself—and in the process had crystallized a much greater change already under way: the rise of financial-industrial interests which in a generation would remake the culture, politics, social life, and even the face of America.

Today *The Nation* celebrates its anniversary in the backwash of a much more terrible war, probably the last that civilization will succeed in surviving. Future historians may conclude that World War II was an extension, on a global scale, of the revolution ushered in by the War Between the States. but its magnitude is of a different order, and the process of radical change it has set in motion will remake not a nation but a world.

This birthday issue is going to deal with the threat and promise of that looming change. But before moving into the revolutionary future, it may be worth while taking a look at its modest nineteenth-century version. What did the editors of *The Nation* see as they sat down to put together Vol. I—No. 1? To judge by page 1, they saw little to worry them. The first editorial note began: "The week has been singularly barren of exciting events." The second referred briefly to the Negro's rise to prominence in the political arena. The third began, "The news from Europe is unimportant," and went on to deplore the impertinence of certain writers in England who presumed to tell us how to treat the defeated rebel leaders.

But the rest of the issue reflected clearly *The Nation's* chief concern as its life began: the complex problem of human rights created by the liberation of the slaves and the equally pressing one of restoring order and unity to the battered, still divided Republic. In spite of their passionate satisfaction over the outcome of the war, the editors obviously knew that victory had not brought peace or freedom but only the opportunity to try to establish them.

Turn of an Era

In any case Edwin L. Godkin and his associate editor, Wendell Phillips Garrison, could not have been expected to foresee the larger consequences of the war. No one could have imagined in advance the revolutionary impact on American life of machine power applied to a continent packed with natural wealth—much of it still undiscovered. Ahead lay the thrust of railways to the Pacific; the headlong exploitation of coal and iron, gold and copper, timber and—above all—oil in the not yet accessible Western lands. Ahead also was the growth of a new large-scale agriculture based on the homestead rather than the plantation. And still farther off, just out of range of the 1865 *Nation*, was the swift, ruthless consolidation of power by men, a mere handful actually, who employed a combination of brains and unmatched freedom from scruple to grab every possible strong point in the spreading empire of business. In the last thirty years of the century these men, the Robber Barons of Josephson's classic definition, ruled the government almost as despotically as they ruled their industrial domains. They were Capitalism, triumphant and hard, straight out of an old-fashioned Socialist cartoon; and while they developed a continent, they also raped it and corrupted its institutions. They owned the state legislatures. The press was largely theirs. They controlled most of the pulpits too. Business chicanery on a grand scale and the spoils system in government were their weapons; the Republican tariff was their stout barricade against competition.

Beside this Goliath *The Nation* was a very small David. Although primarily concerned with the issues of post-war reconstruction and civil rights, Godkin and his colleagues attacked strongly the corruption mounting throughout the Johnson and Grant administrations. The full significance of the rise of the business dynasties became evident more gradually, even though several of the great fortunes of the coming years had originated in army contracts and other Civil War sources of easy money. As big business gained power and wealth and numbers, and its methods were more openly displayed, *The Nation* stood with those other, not too numerous reformers who tried to confine the new explosive force within legal bounds. It fought particularly for an honest civil service and free trade as barriers to the flagrant use of privilege, and week by week exposed corrupt practices, in and out of government, with facts and plenty of moral courage.

But *The Nation* never challenged the "right" of business enterprise as such to apply freely all its energy to the opportunities offered by natural wealth and machine power. Godkin's devotion to the gospel of Manchester precluded any such challenge to the basic premise of the burgeoning American system. In fact, he used his best sardonic humor to demolish heretics like the New York *Tribune's* cantankerous correspondent Karl Marx, or William Demarest Lloyd, whom John Chamberlain called the "father of all the muckrakers," or Henry George and his Single Tax movement, or Edward Bellamy, whose fabulously popular "Looking Backward" anticipated the

In This Issue

EDITORIAL

1865-1955 by **Freda Kirchwey** 513

ARTICLES

Section I. Introduction

The Choice Is Ours:
Coexistence or No Existence
by **Bertrand Russell** 515

The Role of Energy:
Mainspring of Civilization
by **Farrington Daniels** 517

Section II. Where in the World?

South Africa's Needs:
The Race for [illegible] New Fuel
by **J. Bronowski** 520

The British Program:
1965 the Target Year
by **Sir John Cockroft** 527

Industrializing Australia:
Needed: Power and People
by **M. L. Oliphant** 529

Irrigating the Negev:
Potential Boon for Israel
by **Amos de Shalit** 531

The Atom in India:
Searching for Sources
by **S. A. K. Ghosh** 532

Section III. The Uses of the Atom

Surveying the Field:
The Limitless Potential
by **David O. Woodbury** 533

The Atom in Medicine:
Revolutionizing Research
by **Jacob Sachs** 536

Section IV. The Economics of the Atom

Pattern of Development:
Costs versus Needs
by **Gunnar Randers** 540

Pattern for America
by **Walter Isard** and
Vincent Whitney 542

Section V. The Problem of Controls

The Uranium Curtain:
Dangers in Secrecy
by **James G. Beckerly** 549

Struggle for Power:
Industry Wins a Battle
by **Leland Olds** 551

Section VI. War and Peace

The Need for Decision:
Morality Must Rule
by **Kathleen Lonsdale** 554

Weapons or Welfare?
Fission Can Go Two Ways
by **David F. Cavers** 556

An Atomic Chronology:
From Hiroshima to Now
by **Robert W. Fraze** 559

Section VII. Role of the United Nations

The Atom in the U. N.
Power or Power Politics?
by **Victor H. Bernstein** 564

BOOKS

Ninety Years of The Nation
by **Kenneth N. Stewart** 569

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 624
by **Frank W. Lewis** 572

The Nation, June 18, 1955, Volume 180, No. [illegible]

The Nation, published weekly by The Nation Company and copyright, 1955, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates ,Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14 N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879 at the Post Office of New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879. Reentered [illegible] second class matter at the Post Office, Montgomery, Alabama. Printing Office 1803 Reuben Street.

Subscription Prices Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17 Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

stern utopias which have since been put on paper. Regarding all attacks on the underpinnings of capitalism as basically uninformed and wrongheaded, *The Nation* firmly refused to recognize in the beginnings of popular resistance—the activities of Populists and Knights of Labor and the early Socialists, of Greenbackers and Grangers and Free Silverites—anything valid or promising. Rooted in the liberalism of Adam Smith, it relied on the application of moral standards to individual effort as the only remedy for economic sin and political unrest. And while some of the correctives *The Nation* prescribed, notably civil-service reform, made some headway during the reign of the Big-Business Republican oligarchy, corruption was not noticeably lessened or the rule of the Robber Barons curbed until popular unrest became a political threat. The force behind the new industrial revolution was too immense to be contained either by moral suasion or the weak and turbulent movements then coming into existence.

Tomorrow's World

So much for the last-century prototype of the greater postwar revolution that faces us today. The present editors of *The Nation*, planning this anniversary issue—Vol. 180, No. 25—should have a better notion of what lies ahead than their predecessors had ninety years ago. For one thing The Nation Associates pioneered in this field by holding two important conferences—in 1945 and 1950—dealing with the problems of nuclear power. Also, despite rigid government security controls, a good deal more is known about the new technology and new sources of power than was known in 1865 about the future uses of oil and steel, for example, or the transforming effect of electricity on production and transportation. The pages which follow give what seems to us a remarkable survey, in layman's language, of existing knowledge, plans, and facilities in the field of nuclear power, as well as the fabulous benefits the unlocked atom offers mankind—if total destruction is averted. At least, in 1955, we know enough to understand the choice that science has offered our society: either to end war or accept its own end, and very possibly that of the earth itself. This primary issue is stated by Bertrand Russell on pages 515-517 with his usual, almost frightening, clarity and logic. We know, too, some of the prospects for making desert lands flower and hunger-ridden peoples emerge into health and plenty. These are analyzed by other experts who reveal, along with the dramatic chances for human advancement, some of the physical dangers, [illegible] well as the enormous social and economic problems, that will accompany every new application of nuclear energy.

But granting this much prevision, the greater part of the territory ahead is still unsurveyed, and the surprises in store for the nuclear pioneers will be more numerous and alarming than those their forbears met in the Western wilderness. The rewards will no doubt be proportionately greater. Before me, as I set down these words, is an advertisement out of a recent New York *Times*. It begins with these words: "ENGINEERS! SCIENTISTS! Unlimited opportunities in Atomic Power at Westinghouse." Under them appears the potent symbol of the atom, and under that the following information: "At a new plant on the outskirts of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, atomic energy is being explored as a source of power for transportation and industry. Opportunities in this new field are unlimited for: . . ." And then follows a list of the sorts of highly specialized technicians required, with the final assurance that salaries are "open."

Although this is not the first such ad to appear in a newspaper of general circulation it must be among the earliest; and I think it is a significant landmark on the road we have taken. "Unlimited opportunities"—as in the days of the first electric power stations, the opening of the first big oil fields, the first vast land grants for railway enterprise. Can we even begin to picture the unfolding of the coming revolution in power or the political and social consequences it will explode? I was struck by a few lines in David O. Woodbury's imaginative projection on page 533. "America's development of the atomic weapon," he says, "broke every rule of scientific procedure. Thousands of men and women were commandeered into a research that many of them feared and mistrusted. They did this under extraordinary restraints of secrecy. . . . They telescoped into five short years a work that should have taken fifty or a hundred. But they won. . . ." And he suggests that had they not operated "in this headlong fashion, our present generation, the next, and perhaps the next after that would have gone without the benefits of this wondrous new power." No doubt true. But does not this very example raise questions for the future? Suppose the benefits are such that Big Business, backed by government, sees profit and national advantage of equal dimensions in applying similar methods to industry? What vistas of "military socialism" the Woodbury projection opens!

Or, as a more immediate challenge, we should ponder the possibilities Leland Olds describes on pages 551-553. No one can doubt that private business will, in this councountry, take over the major share in making and distributing nuclear power for industrial purposes. But no one doubts, either, that the government—which is to say the taxpayers—will absorb the losses and cover the risks in the early stages of atomic development; this is the historic tribute of free enterprise to socialism. The real question is whether even a reasonable check can be put on the race for profit and dominance once the heavy initial costs have been amortized. We can assume that a new army of Robber Barons is just over the atomic horizon—waiting. The safeguards Mr. Olds suggests are modest; yet if they are not established now, before things get out of hand, the result will be the Greatest Giveaway of all time.

The task of a liberal journal like *The Nation* is a double one: it must devote its energy and its limitless independence to the major task of helping to prevent war and so release the atom for a regenerating role in human society; and at the same time it must resist the capture of the new power by special interests—whether of business or of nationalism.

This is the important lesson we should have learned from the experience of the early *Nation* and its editors: the great forces of change can be harnessed and used for the enrichment of people's lives only if their revolutionary impact is understood and dealt with in its own terms.

I. INTRODUCTION

THE CHOICE IS OURS

Coexistence or No Existence . . *by Bertrand Russell*

THE recent changes in the technique of war have produced a situation which is wholly unprecedented. War has existed ever since there were organized states, that is to say for some six thousand years. This ancient institution is now about to end. There are two ways in which the end may come about: the first is the extinction of the human race; the second is an agreement not to fight. I do not know which of these will be chosen.

Neither the general public nor the majority of powerful statesmen have as yet realized that war with modern weapons cannot serve the purposes of any government in the world. It is of the first importance that this should be realized by those who control policy both in the East and in the West. It is generally conceded by those who are in a position to speak with authority that no complete defense against an H-bomb attack is possible. We must, I think, consider it the most likely hypothesis that if a great war broke out tomorrow each side would be successful in attack and unsuccessful in defense. This means that in the first days of such a war all the great centers of population on each side would be obliterated. Those who survived this first disaster would perish slowly or quickly as a result of the fall-out from radioactive cloud. Destruction of life from this cause would not be confined to the belligerent countries. The winds would gradually spread death throughout the world. This, at least, is what is to be feared. It cannot be said that the worst outcome is certain, but it is sufficiently probable to deter any sane man from incurring the risk.

Apart from the totality of destruction, there is another new element in the situation. In old days if you had a military advantage over your enemy, you might hope to win in time. But now, if each side has enough H-bombs to wipe out the other, there is no longer any advantage in having twice as many as your adversary.

Both in the United States and in Great Britain there has been much talk of civil defense. Russian military journals contain talk of the same kind. All such plans, I am convinced, show either ignorance or hypocrisy in those who advocate them. Deep shelters would enable a portion of the population to survive the first explosion, but sooner or later these people would have to emerge from their shelters into a radioactive world.

Although the H-bomb is the center of public attention at the moment, it is only one of the possibilities of destruction which science has put in the hands of irresponsible

---

BERTRAND RUSSELL is the distinguished English philosopher.

politicians. Chemical and bacteriological warfare are studied by all powerful states and may have consequences at least as horrifying as those of the H-bomb. There is no visible end to the methods of inflicting death that may be invented. Even if a portion of the human race were to survive a great war now, it cannot be doubted that the next war, if scientific technique survives, would complete what its predecessor had left unfinished.

There is therefore no escape from the choice that lies before us: Shall we renounce war, or shall we bring our species to an end?

Escape from Reality

If men realized that these are the only alternatives, no one can doubt that they would choose peace. But there are various ways in which people escape the realization of unpleasant facts. I have seen statements by Russians and Chinese that a thermonuclear war would of course destroy the rotten capitalistic civilization of the West but would not vitally injure the sturdy Communist nations of the East. I have also seen statements by American authorities claiming that the West would be victorious. Both seemed to me, if genuinely believed, to be mere fantasies of wish-fulfilment and, if not genuinely believed, to be part of the silly game of bluff which great nations have been allowing themselves. I hope that this is beginning to be understood. Recently there have been hopeful signs that neither side is willing to push issues to the point of war. And with every month that passes there is a better chance that statesmen both in the East and in the West will become aware of some of the important facts by which their policy ought to be guided.

Another widespread delusion is that perhaps in a great war H-bombs would not be employed. People point to the fact that gas was not employed in the Second World War. They forget that gas had not proved a decisive weapon even in the First World War and that in the meantime gas-masks had been provided which were a complete protection. Any analogy is therefore entirely misleading.

It is thought by many that the first step forward should be an international agreement not to use H-bombs in the event of war, and this is generally coupled with the suggestion that both sides should destroy their existing stock of these weapons. This suggestion has certain merits but also certain drawbacks. Its chief merit is that if the destruction of existing stocks were honestly carried out, the danger of a sudden attack in the style of Pearl Harbor would be lessened. Against this we must set the fact that no system of inspection can now make sure that bombs are not being manufactured. This is a new fact. At the time of the Baruch proposal it was still possible for an inspectorate to gain control of the raw materials, but this is so no longer. Each side would therefore suspect that the other side was manufacturing bombs surreptitiously, and this might make relations worse than if no agreement had been concluded. What is even more important is that, if war did break out, neither side would consider itself bound by the agreement, and after a certain number of months H-bomb warfare would be in full swing. Only by not making war can the danger be avoided. We must therefore turn our thoughts away from war to the methods by which peace can be made secure.

Peace by Stages

The transition from the cold war to a condition of secure peace cannot be made in a day. But it can be made, and it must be made. It will have to be made by stages. The first stage will consist in persuading all powerful governments of the world that their aims, whatever they may be, cannot be achieved by war. In this first stage, scientists—not only nuclear physicists but also physiologists, geneticists, and bacteriologists —have a very important part to play. Their discoveries have created the dangers, and it is their obvious duty to arouse the public and the governments to a sense of the risks they are running. They may, in performing this duty, be compelled to take action of which their governments disapprove, but loyalty to mankind should be for them the paramount consideration. I am convinced that it is within their power to persuade the governments both of the East and of the West to look to negotiation rather than war for a solution of their problems.

The next stage must be to create temporary machinery to negotiate settlements of all the questions at present causing conflict between East and West. It will be necessary to refer such questions to a body of negotiators in which East and West have equal representation and the balance of power is in the hands of the neutrals. I do not venture to suggest what solution should be be reached on any of the vexed questions of the present. I think that a body constituted as I have suggested would avoid gross unfairness to either side, and subject to this condition almost any settlement would be preferable to a continuation of the present state of tension. A very important part of any settlement should of course be a drastic reduction of armaments. It is hardly to be supposed that the very delicate negotiations which will be required can be conducted successfully in the atmosphere of strained hostility that has existed during recent years. Each side will have to abandon perpetual abuse of the other and learn to practice that degree of toleration which after centuries of warfare was at last achieved between Christians and Moslems and between Catholics and Protestants. We cannot now wait for the slow operation of reason through the discouragements of long indecisive wars. We must learn in advance a manner of thinking and feeling which in the past has been learned slowly and through bitter experience. I will not pretend that this is easy. But if men can be made to realize the dreadful alternative I do not think it will prove impossible.

The Third Step

If the immediate problems that now divide East and West were settled in some such way, we could reach the third stage of progress toward secure peace. The international problems of our day are not the last that will ever arise. There will be new problems, perhaps dividing the world quite differently from the way in which it is now divided between Communist and anti-Communist blocs. So long as there is not an established international authority capable of enforcing peace, the risk of war will remain, and with every advance in science the risk will become more terrible. The international anarchy resulting from a multitude of states with unrestricted sovereignty must be brought to an end. The international authority which is to end it will have to be federal and endowed with only such powers as are necessary for preserving the peace of the world. The most important of these powers, and also the most difficult to secure, will be an obvious preponderance of armed forces over those of any national state or alliance of states. The anarchic liberty at present enjoyed by sovereign states is dear to most people and will not be surrendered easily, but it will have to be surrendered if the human species is to survive. The process required is a continuation of that which occurred in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Before that time powerful barons in their castles could defy national governments, and there was the same sort of anarchy within a nation as now exists between nations. Gunpowder and artillery put an end to internal anarchy in France, Spain, and England. The hydrogen bomb has the same part to play in ending international anarchy. The loss of liberty, though it may be distasteful, is precisely of the same kind as that which private individuals suffer by being forbidden to commit murder, for after all it is the right to murder which hitherto sovereign states will be asked to surrender.

Legitimate Hopes

I have been speaking of dangers and how to avoid them, but there is another thing which it is just as important to emphasize, for while fears are at present unavoidable, hopes are equally legitimate. If we take the measures needed to end our fears, we shall thereby create a world capable of such well-being as has never been known and scarcely even imagined. Throughout the long ages since civilization began, the bulk of mankind have lived lives of misery and toil and bondage. All the long burden of misery that has darkened the slow progress of mankind has now become unnecessary. If we can learn to tolerate each other and to live in amity, poverty can be abolished everywhere more completely than it is now abolished in the most fortunate nations. Fear can be so much diminished that a new buoyancy and a new joy will brighten the daily lives of all. The work of science, which while war survives is largely evil, will become wholly beneficent. Nothing stands in the way but the darkness of atavistic evil passions. New technical possibilities of well-being exist, but the wisdom to make use of them has hitherto been lacking. Shall we collectively continue to turn our back upon the things that each one of us individually desires? We can make a world of light, or we can banish life from our planet. One or other we must do, and do soon. A great duty rests upon those who realize these alternatives, for it is they who must persuade mankind to make the better choice.

THE ROLE OF ENERGY

Mainspring of Civilization . . *by Farrington Daniels*

WHAT makes the difference between a primitive society living at a survival level and a rich, highly industrialized nation? Many things. National resources, such as water, good agricultural land, and minerals, are important. So are large economic units without trade barriers, and political security and peace. Perhaps more important are education, science and technology, and human initiative and team work among people working on a common project. However, the obvious material requirement for a high standard of living is cheap abundant energy.

In modern times engines run by coal, gas, or water power multiply enormously the energy available. Primitive man working with his arm muscles alone had to use all his energy to win a bare existence. As he lengthened his arm with tools and increased his strength with animals and carts he could accomplish more, and labor in the community could be diversified. But as late as the settlement of America men could wrest little more than a living from the land. The big advance started with the machine age. Abundant and cheap mechanical power made possible the increase in population and higher standards of living of the nineteenth century. Today the United States supports 160,000,000 people in comfort.

To see how an energy-rich civilization differs from an energy-poor civilization, we can try to imagine what life in a modern city would be like if the sources of fuel and electricity were suddenly cut off, or we can contrast industrialized and nonindustrialized countries at the present time. We have had small-scale illustrations of how cities are affected by a stoppage of normal power supplies through hurricanes, strikes, or bombing. Heating, lighting, refrigeration, transportation, and food deliveries are halted. Movement of the population to the country would not solve the problem in the United States because our farms are also dependent on mechanical power, for tractors, transportation, and so on. To go back to the "horse-and-buggy days" becomes more unthinkable every year as we become more and more dependent on the power-driven machine.

All our energy comes originally from the sun. Through the mar-

FARRINGTON DANIELS, chairman of the department of chemistry at the University of Wisconsin, is the author of many text books and has done extensive research in atomic energy.

velous process of photosynthesis, which we are just beginning to understand, the carbon dioxide in air and water combine in living plants through the agency of sunlight in the presence of green chlorophyll. The product is then available for food. In rural, non-industrialized areas this product is the only source of the work done in the community. The process is continual, and the people live on the current output of the sun. Wind and water power are other sources of energy which will continue indefinitely. But industrialized communities cannot begin to live off the current product of sunshine. For running their machines they depend almost entirely on the solar energy of bygone ages, accumulated by photosynthesis and preserved for us by geological accidents as fossil fuels. Buried trees give us coal, and the decomposition of small photosynthesizing organisms give us petroleum. Unfortunately, the fossil fuels can be exhausted. They are irreplaceable because their rate of production is so so very slow.

How much fuel do we need, and how long will our reserves last? The world's food requirements are about 2,500 kilocalories per person per day; the fuel requirements of its machines are about ten times as much. In the United States we feed ourselves about 3,000 kilocalories of food per person per day, but we feed our machines at the rate of 150,000 kilocalories. This energy runs our factories, our automobiles, and our trains and heats our buildings; it does almost all our work for us except what is done by hydroelectricity. The world's demands for energy are increasing rapidly not only because the population is increasing but also because each person is demanding more of the product. The industrialization of underdeveloped countries will increase greatly the total fuel requirements, and it is well to remember that countries already industrialized contain only a small fraction of the total population of the world.

How long can we continue to expand this energy-based civilization before our fuel reserves begin to give out? The answer is not clear. Past worries over the exhaustion of petroleum have not been borne out. Each decade we use more gasoline than was predicted, but through scientific searching we find additional supplies. This cannot go on indefinitely, however. According to one conservative guess we have used up about 5 per cent of the world's supply of fossil fuel, and most of this consumption has been in the past few decades; only negligible amounts of fuel were consumed before the machine age. Natural gas will give out first, petroleum next; coal will last longest. As long as we have coal the chemist can provide liquid and gaseous fuel—at higher prices. But eventually, perhaps in a few hundred or a thousand years, at our present rate of consumption fossil fuels will be pretty well used up. Already some industrialized areas are beginning to feel the effect of dwindling coal reserves: as the best deposits are consumed, inferior or more expensive seams must be mined. The future of our fossil fuels is discussed authoritatively in several recent books—"Energy Sources: the Wealth of the World," by Ayres and Scarlott; "Energy in the Future," by Palmer Putnam. If one holds, with Putnam, that the situation will become critical when dwindling fuel supplies double in price, the problem is one for our own generation and that of our children.

How can we conserve our fuel supply and leave some of this rich heritage to our descendants? We have learned to use fuel more efficiently, replacing fireplaces with furnaces and steam locomotives with Diesel engines. We could ration ourselves; it is indeed extravagant to use a 150-horse-power automobile to move a 150-pound man along the road at 60 miles an hour. A more effective solution would be to find a substitute for coal, oil, and gas.

Atomic energy and solar energy are hopeful possibilities. The total amount of atomic energy that can be produced by nuclear fission of known supplies of uranium (and

Prophecy and Fulfilment

To The Nation Associates goes the distinction of having been the first institution to focus public attention on the peace-time potential of nuclear energy In two forums, the first in December 1945, the second in April 1950, it projected a world of peace and abundance at a time when few scientists—let alone ordinary people—had the imagination to foresee an atomic revolution for the benefit, rather than the destruction of mankind.

The first forum, on The Challenge of the Atomic Bomb, took place on December 1-3, 1945, barely five months after the A-bomb was dropped on Hiroshima. The speakers included Harold C Urey, Nobel prize-winner; Herbert Evatt, former foreign minister of Australia; Henry deWolt Smyth, afterwards appointed a member of the Atomic Energy Commission, a post from which he resigned last year; Thomas K. Finletter, later Secretary of Air; Boris Pregel, president of the Canadium Radium and Uranium Corporation, and who collaborated on the Manhattan Project and is a member of various scientific societies; and many others of equal distinction.

In a world still shocked by Hiroshima, the forum's concentration on the possible peace-time future of the atom was itself impressive. Even more so was the clarity with which Boris Pregel predicted in his paper the shape of things to come. A few paragraphs from his prescient speech of 1945 follow:

"We think the first important application of atomic energy will be the production of cheap power by large plants, the location of which will not be dependent on natural resources. This is a tremendous advantage, especially for desert regions—for underdeveloped world areas—and for the development of countries with few natural resources. . . . Power is the basis of the cost of everything. Cheap power in unlimited quantity means an abundance of cheap products and, in connection with it, the reduction of working hours.

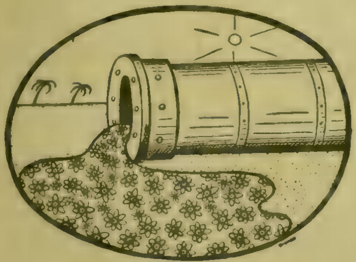
"Eventually we may convert any kind of matter into energy, not limiting ourselves to relatively rare materials like uranium. . . . We will be able to produce artificially all kinds of materials because we will have at our disposal the tremendous energies needed. . . ."

How accurate was the general trend of Mr. Pregel's predictions can be judged by the reports in this special issue of The Nation.

thorium) exceeds the total amount obtainable from all our fossil-fuel supplies. When the economic problem of extraction of uranium from very low-grade ore is solved, the atomic energy available can *greatly* exceed our potential fossil-fuel energy. But uranium and thorium are in limited supply just as coal and oil are. Nuclear fission of hydrogen remains a difficult and remote possibility for continuing our sources of energy into the distant future.

The sun will be with us, however, as long as there are people on the earth. We are just beginning to think about using solar energy. Several symposiums have been bringing experts together for discussion of the problem—at Wisconsin, sponsored by the National Science Foundation, in 1953, in India in 1954, and in Arizona in 1955. The Rockefeller Foundation has given a substantial grant for research into the utilization of solar energy, with particular emphasis on its application in non-industrialized areas.

Atomic energy and solar energy will supplement each other as new resources for doing some of the world's work. It is unlikely that either will render obsolete any of our power produced by the combustion of present-day fuels. They will merely help to meet the expanding demand for power. Atomic energy will be furnished by large expensive units, such as central power stations for generating electricity and engines for driving ships. Solar energy is more likely to be turned to practical use in small isolated units in non-industrialized areas. Small, low-priced atomic-power units are not feasible on account of the requirement of a certain minimum mass before any heat is generated and on account of the need for elaborate controls and safeguards. But there is no low technological limit to the size of solar units.



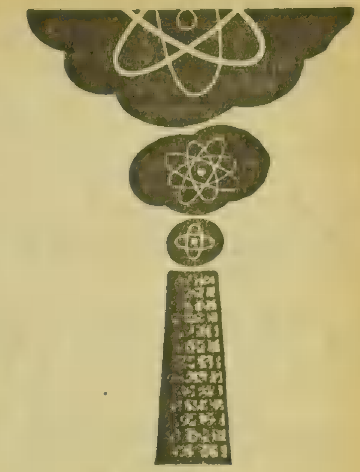
No new principle is involved in solar engines. The problems are economic. Sunlight is so low in intensity that the collecting apparatus has to cover a large area. Large areas of glass or metal are expensive. Thin plastics which can be produced for a few hundred dollars an acre offer possibilities which should be explored. Focusing mirrors are also expensive, particularly if they are turned by machinery to follow the movement of the sun. Another obstacle to the general use of solar energy is the difficulty of storing it for use at night.

Solar energy cannot compete now with coal or petroleum or water power, but possibly with further research it can compete with man-power and animal power in regions lacking all other sources of energy. In trying to develop solar energy for non-industrialized areas the emphasis should be placed not on efficiency but on low cost of investment and upkeep. The sun's rays falling on the roof of a house a thousand square feet in area provide nearly half a million kilocalories of heat a day. If used to operate a solar engine of 5 per cent efficiency, this could theoretically give about three kilowatts of power while the sun is shining. No practical, economical device is available as yet to convert the heat into power, but the incentive for research is present.

Solar Cooking

The long-range hope for utilizing solar energy lies not in engines which are subject to stringent thermodynamic limitations but in photochemistry and photoelectricity. The new solar battery announced by the Bell Telephone Laboratory is able now on a small scale to convert sunlight directly into electricity with 11 per cent efficiency. Further research is necessary to make such devices economical, and there is still the problem of storage.

Other applications of solar energy are easier—solar house-heating, solar refrigeration, solar cooking, and the solar distillation of sea water to give fresh water. All these operations are possible, but further research is necessary before they can be economical. They cannot compete now with electricity or gasoline, but perhaps they can find use in areas where these cheap sources of energy are not available.



Some important by-products might follow the utilization of solar energy in underdeveloped areas. Solar heat for cooking in India could save the camel and cow dung now burned for fuel, and valuable fertilizer could be returned to the soil. But the cookers would have to be much cheaper than the $14 they now cost in India. Pumping of water for irrigation would be one of the first uses for solar engines when they are developed. For this the intermittent nature of the sunlight would not be a serious handicap. Hours devoted to gathering wood and grass for heating and cooking could be spent more profitably if a solar heating device could be used. Solar refrigeration would help conserve the food supply, and fresh water from solar distillations might open up new areas for habitation and thus help to relieve population pressures. Village industries are among the benefits that could come from new sources of energy. For healthy economic conditions something must be produced to sell outside the community in return for things brought in from the outside.

The industrialized countries are eager to help provide this energy for non-industrialized countries. If they solve the problem for these areas the techniques developed may lead to reductions in costs that will bring solar and atomic energy into competition with fuels in the industrialized areas before our great-grandchildren's energy problems become acute.

II. WHERE IN THE WORLD?

Obviously atomic energy will ultimately be harnessed everywhere. But the rate and direction of initial development in each country depends on many varied factors. Dr. Bronowski's brilliant report on southern Africa provides a setting for the surveys, in this section, of other "sample" countries, each of which can be said to represent a type. Thus Great Britain has much in common with all the industrialized Western nations, as Israel has with its Arab neighbors in the under-developed Middle East region.

SOUTH AFRICA'S NEEDS

The Race for a New Fuel . . *by J. Bronowski*

London

All the countries of the world are now looking afresh at their resources of natural energy. In the past, when national balance sheets were redrawn in this way, the motive was fear; nations were alarmed at the rate at which they were using their irreplaceable stocks of energy. Today there is a new note in the scrutiny of these resources. Every country is asking how it will be affected by the coming of nuclear energy, which is now imminent. And every country hopes to find in this a store of riches which will dwarf the wealth that hitherto has grown from coal and from oil.

Consider briefly the energy resources of the world in fossil fuels and their rate of use. Take as a unit all the oil and natural gas that have been burned since petroleum was found in Pennsylvania a hundred years ago. The total of coal burned through the past is about four times as great, in energy content, as this total.

At first glance our reserves seem adequate to this rate of use. World reserves of oil and natural gas, proved and suspected, are about ten times as large as the amount of oil and gas already used. Coal reserves in reasonably good seams—say, those which can be mined at not more than twice current costs—are about fifteen times larger than the amount of coal already used. But this is too simple a calculation, because it ignores the growing rate of use. During the drive for production in World War II, the world consumption of coal reached 2,000,000,000 tons a year, which is nearly one ton per head of world population. Most of the coal and oil that has been burned in the whole history of the world has actually been used in our own lifetime. Half of all coal ever used has been used in the last twenty-five years; half of the oil used has been used in the last ten years. The nations have indeed had cause for alarm.

The discovery of nuclear fission in 1938 changed this balance sheet radically. Uranium and the other heavy elements have an altogether different history from the fossil fuels. They are, in fact, the only sources of energy on earth which have not been induced here by the sun and which therefore do not ultimately derive from fusion of hydrogen into helium nuclei in the sun. They date from the beginning of the earth and are present everywhere—in granite, in shales, in gold and silver mines.

How much nuclear fuel there is in the world depends on how much we can afford to pay for it. If we set as our limit the fairly high price of $100 a pound for metal, then there are at least 20,000,000 tons of uranium and a million tons of thorium to be recovered from low-grade ores. The theoretical energy content of this total is fifty times greater than that of all the world's coal and oil reserves. Even if the nuclear pile can extract only a part of this energy, the addition to the world's resources is spectacular.

There are, however, important differences between countries, which will be critical in determining the speed with which they can take advantage of the new dimension of energy which the nuclear fuels have opened. One outstanding difference, of course, is the actual occurrence of ores of uranium and thorium. Widespread as these are, the effort needed to mine and refine them covers a great range between, say, the rich deposits at Shinkolobwe in the Belgian Congo and the poor monazite sands of Southeast Asia. It may be that at any moment another great discovery about the structure of the nucleus may lead to a new way of tapping its energy, as the discovery of the neutron in 1932 led to the exploitation of nuclear fission. Or we may simply discover how to control the nuclear fusion of some light element and thereby reach in manageable form the source of energy which now makes the stars and the hydrogen bomb glow. Such a discovery may make uranium oxide once again a mineral of no importance except to color ceramics. But there is no sign of such discoveries, and we must assume that, certainly in this century, controlled nuclear energy will continue to depend on the fission in atomic piles of the very heavy elements. The presence of large deposits of uran-

---

J. BRONOWSKI became interested in atomic energy at the close of World War II and was sent by the British military to report on the effect of atom bombs on Japan in 1945. He is now Director of the Central Research Establishment of the British National Coal Board. This article appears with the permission of Optima, *a South African journal.*

ium is therefore an important advantage to any country.

A second difference between countries, equally important, is their state of industrialization. From the mining of crude uranium oxide, present perhaps only as one hundred parts in a million of the ore, to the final assembly of the aluminum-encased slugs in a graphite-moderated pile where all the metals must be free from impurities to one part in a million, there is a sequence of expensive and recondite industrial operations which no backward country can command. Indeed, no small country can afford to set aside for years all the industrial resources that are required to develop nuclear energy. On the other hand, the highly industrialized countries may hold back in another way. So much of their potential is already invested in more traditional forms of production that they may be reluctant to make nuclear energy their first concern. It may well be, then, that the outstanding role of nuclear energy in this century will be in those countries which are only partially industrialized, but in which industry is expanding rapidly and which offer a handsome field for investment.

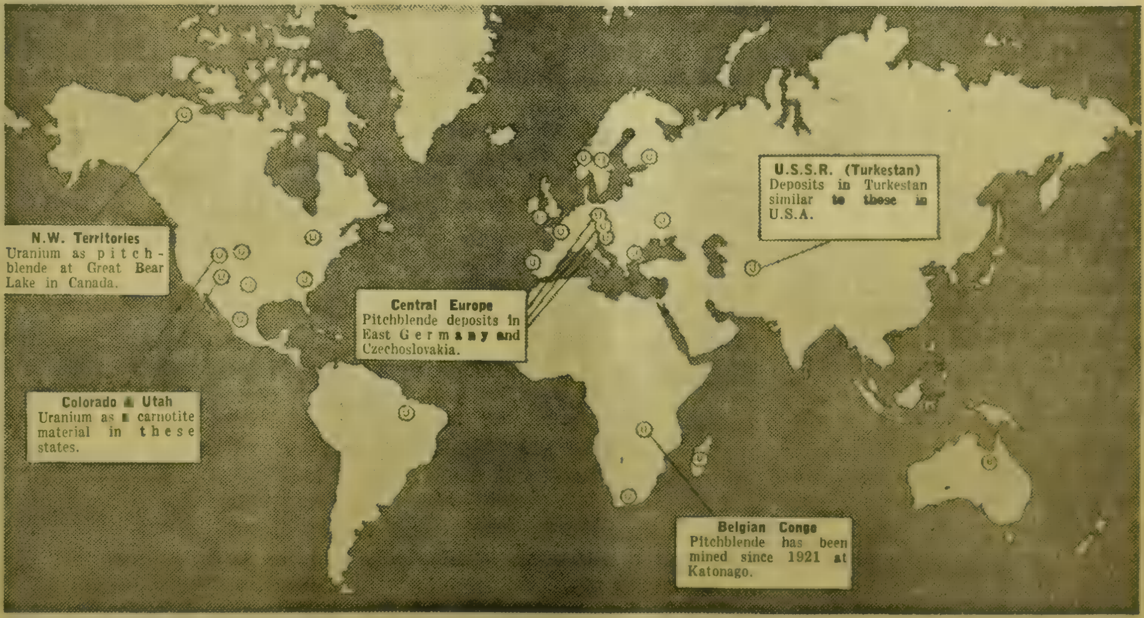
If we combine these and similar considerations, we can single out three or four areas in the world where nuclear energy can enter an expanding economy. One is in Australia, a second in Canada, a third in Brazil, and a fourth in southern Africa. A hundred years from now these may be the centers of the new industrial world.

Some measure of the industrial progress of southern Africa is given by its economic statistics. Just before the war, in 1939, the gross value of the industrial output of the Union of South Africa was about £175,000.000. During the 1950's the gross value each year has exceeded £700,000,000—an increase far greater than the mere inflation of money values. The same story is told by the high rate of capital investment in the Union and by the index of employment, which is now nearly twice as high for Europeans and nearly three times as high for non-Europeans as it was between the wars.

But the most striking, because the most fundamental, figure is again the use of energy, which means in this case the tonnage of coal mined. In 1934 the Union of South Africa mined 13,000,000 tons of coal. On the eve of the war, in 1938, it mined nearly 18,000,000 tons. Immediately after the war, in 1946, it mined nearly 26,000,000 tons, and this figure, a doubling in twelve years, was still rising year by year, and now exceeds 30,000,000. The amount of coal sold at the pithead in 1953 was well over 31,000,000 tons.

This rise speaks for the industrial progress of South Africa. And we see this in another way if we look at the pattern on which this coal is used. Of the 21,000,000 tons sold last year, power stations took, in round figures, 10,000,000, having doubled their consumption since 1938 and trebled it since 1931; the railways took 6,000,000, various industries (including gold mines) took 9,000,000, and households and the export trade 3,000,000 each. The main consumers, therefore, are the power stations, industry, and the railways. There is a marked contrast with the pattern of consumption in Great Britain, where the power stations run equal with households in using about 15 per cent of total production and the railways use less than half as much. The bias toward industry, and particularly toward electricity and transport, becomes more marked if we add to these figures for the Union of South Africa the remaining coal output in southern Africa, which is largely that of Wankie Colliery in Southern Rhodesia. The output of this colliery goes mainly to the copper mines, the power stations, the railways, and direct to industries. The output capacity of Wankie Colliery is at present some 3,750,000 tons, and it is expected to reach 5,000,000 tons at the beginning of 1956.

This has, indeed, been the history


U.S.S.R. (Turkestan)
Deposits in Turkestan similar to those in U.S.A.
N.W. Territories
Uranium as pitchblende at Great Bear Lake in Canada.
Central Europe
Pitchblende deposits in East Germany and Czechoslovakia.
Colorado & Utah
Uranium as a carnotite material in these states.
Belgian Congo
Pitchblende has been mined since 1921 at Katonago.

Uranium: World Sources of Supply

of southern Africa coal and minerals since coal was first mined toward the end of the last century. The wealth produced in diamonds, and in gold, copper, and other metals, would remain locked in the soil if there had been no coal. There is no oil to take the place of coal, as it has done in all forms of transport and heating in the United States. On the contrary, the Union of South Africa is now sinking some £30,000,000 of capital into a plant at Sasolburg to make 55,000,000 gallons of petrol and 16,000,000 gallons of other oil products a year from 2,000,000 tons of coal. This will meet only about one-sixth of the Union's present use of motor fuel.

Lack of Water Power

Nor has southern Africa any large sources of water power to draw on, within reasonable distances of its industrial centers. In this respect it is exceptional in the world. The Copperbelt, in Northern Rhodesia, is so short of power that, in addition to the swift expansion of Wankie Colliery, it has made plans to import water-generated electricity from the Lualuba River, in the Belgian Congo, early in 1957. Even so, there will be a power shortage in Rhodesia by 1960; it is hoped by then to get some water power from a tributary of the Zambezi, the Kafue River, and later perhaps from the Zambezi itself at Kariba Gorge.

In short, water power can add only a little to the central resource of power in southern Africa, which is its coal. These coal reserves, proved at more than 200,000,000,000 tons, exceed those of Great Britain, and there is therefore room still for great expansion in coal mining. South Africa still mines only as much coal each year as Britain did in 1850, which is one-seventh of production in British mines today. There would, indeed, already have been a more rapid expansion in southern Africa but for the limitation set by railway transport and particularly by the shortage of rolling stock. As it is, the main expansion has naturally gone into the power stations, which since the war have expanded at the prodigious rate of 100 per cent and more each year.

How may the discovery of uranium in southern Africa change this pattern? For the time being, of course, uranium is being mined simply as another of the valuable metals in which southern Africa has turned out to be rich. Uranium oxide was first discovered in the eighteenth century associated with silver in the mines of Joachimsthal in Czechoslovakia—the silver which, coined into thalers or dollars by Maria Theresa of Austria, is still current coin in Africa and the Middle East. Almost as accidentally, uranium oxide was discovered to be strongly associated with gold on the Rand in 1944. (Its presence had, in fact, been reported in 1923, but the significance of the concentration in the slimes was not then appreciated.) The geological reasons for these associations are still obscure, the more so as the nations possessing these remarkable uranium deposits are secretive about all quantitative information. Uranium is dispersed throughout the earth's crust, with an average concentration that lies somewhere between one part in a million and ten parts in a million. But in the formation of the rocks the uranium has moved preferentially to some strata. For example, many granites contain twenty-five parts of uranium and more in a million, and some contain as much as one hundred parts in a million. That is, there are granites that contain more energy in a ton of rock than is contained in a ton of coal. Here the enrichment may be the result of ionic migration (the movement of electrically charged particles) during the formation of these rocks.

A different process is probably responsible for the laying down of uranium in association with gold in such rocks as those of South Africa. The proportion of uranium present here is undisclosed, but is small. The Union of South Africa has designated as "prescribed material," in effect, that which contains more than fifty parts of uranium in a million. This is equivalent to one-and-one-half ounces of uranium per ton, and is six or seven times the average gold content of these ores. It is therefore clear that the uranium being extracted in the South African goldfields is measured, at any rate, in ounces per ton.

At this concentration it is unlikely that the mining of uranium alone would be economic at present world prices. Where rocks are being mined for uranium alone, for example in Canada, the minimum grade seems to be rather over two pounds per ton—that is, one thousand parts in a million. But the South African deposits enjoy the spectacular advantage of being associated with gold. The mining of the slimes and wastes that now lie on the surface has already been paid for by the extraction of their gold; and current mining operations are bringing up gold and uranium for processing at the same time. The prospects are therefore exceptional even when the separate concentrations of uranium and of gold are low. Surface wastes of ore are now being worked at six mines or more, and the contracts already concluded extend to at least twenty-three mines. Even before these numbers were reached, it was estimated that the annual output of uranium would eventually reach a gross value of £30,000,000. This compares with a yearly value of gold production now of £150,000,000. In addition, a deposit of monazite is being mined in the Cape Province for its thorium and other rare metals, and other deposits may be found and mined in the future.

Some authorities have guessed that the total value of the uranium will ultimately exceed that of the gold. This is perhaps an extravagant speculation. But at the most modest estimate we know that the uranium deposits, since they have been contracted for to the British and American governments for ten years, will earn at least £300,000,000; and it is not difficult from this minimum figure to conjecture a more likely total of £1,000,000,000. The evidence is that this is the largest accessible uranium deposit in the world.

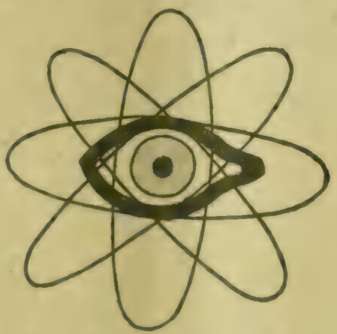
Shift from the Military

Until recently the preoccupation of the large powers with uranium and their anxiety to monopolize newly-found deposits were predominantly military. But in the last year the climate has changed, even within the governments of the nations that are already leaders of world industry. It is now plain that nuclear power, in spite of earlier pessimism, is indeed close. A generating station powered by a simple nuclear pile will be working in Great Britain in 1956. A second station is being built in Scotland, in which the nuclear pile will be several times more efficient, because it will breed fresh nuclear fuel for itself even while it generates energy. These two stations will generate at least fifty megawatts, and would therefore cater for the needs, in Great Britain, of an industrial town of fifty thousand inhabitants. Britain is perhaps ahead of America in these industrial plans, but the United States will not remain behind, and several large firms there are entering the field vigorously and on a broad front. Meanwhile, Russia has announced that it is using nuclear energy in industry. The details given, however, suggest only a small generator, comparable with the modest use of the waste heat from piles in adjoining buildings which is now familiar in Great Britain and America.

What are the economics of the production of electricity from a nuclear pile? There are two separate questions here, according to whether the pile makes mainly energy, or breeds, in addition, more fissionable material than it uses. The fraction of uranium that is fissionable of itself is present in natural uranium only as one part in 140; that is, when we have extracted a ton of natural uranium it contains only sixteen pounds of the fissionable variant or isotope of uranium. These sixteen pounds have an energy content of about 175,000,000 kilowatts, which is about one week's electricity output in the Union of South Africa. If the whole of the energy in the fissionable fraction of uranium could be tapped, and converted into electricity without loss, the yearly requirements of the Union would be met, in theory, by fifty tons of natural uranium.

Comparable Costs

This is, of course, an idealized figure. The fissionable material gives out its energy as heat, and this must be taken through the steam cycle to make electricity, exactly like the heat from coal. Even in the best modern power station, the efficiency of conversion from heat to electricity does not exceed 33 per cent, and more often it lies nearer 25 per cent. The fuel requirements are, therefore, increased three- or fourfold at once. And, in addition, the fissionable material itself may not be used to the full; if we are to make a circumspect appraisal, then we should take the most pessimistic view, which is that the pile might consume only five pounds of the sixteen pounds available in a ton of natural uranium. Overall, then, we should multiply the uranium requirement roughly by ten for caution. This means that the present electricity consumption in the Union of South Africa could be met by 500 tons of natural uranium a year. The cost of this quantity of uranium, fully processed in the form required for a nuclear pile, can be estimated at about £5,000,000. This is of the same order as the cost of the ten million tons of coal that, at present, are used to generate electricity in the Union of South Africa.



This simple calculation shows that the costs of generating electricity from an ordinary nuclear pile or from coal are at any rate comparable. It would be idle to try to make the calculation much more exact now, when nuclear power is at a stage of development as infantile as were the steam turbine and the motor car in 1900. All that is worth doing is to see how these essentially similar elements of cost are likely to move, if development in the future follows foreseeable lines.

On one side, there is now, and will continue to be, a capital factor in favor of coal. The power station which contains a pile is necessarily a more elaborate structure than the coal-fired station. It must contain massive protection and elaborate safety and handling devices. The capital charges incurred will probably remain at a level twice as high as in the conventional coal-fired station. Indeed, if the efficiency of the use of uranium is increased by using faster and self-breeding nuclear processes, the capital cost will rise and not fall.

Against this there are two factors of cost in favor of the nuclear-power station. First, it is likely that the price of coal will continue to rise, and the price of uranium processing will fall. And, secondly, the uranium furnace, unlike the coal-fired grate, produces a by-product of value which we ought to set against our costs. As the five pounds of fissionable uranium disintegrates, it releases enough neutrons into the mass of natural uranium to convert something between three pounds and four pounds of that into plutonium. When the uranium rods have finished their useful life, therefore, they can be processed to extract this new fissionable plutonium.

Self-Breeder

These considerations lead us naturally to the principle of the self-breeding pile, which was proved practicable last year. Every pile, I have said, as it splits its fissionable nuclei, also makes some fresh ones. And it is possible to arrange the material in such a way that the nuclei that split make not less but more than their own weight of fresh fissionable nuclei. To do this, we must minimize the loss of neutrons within the pile. We therefore dispense with any moderator, which slows down the neutrons and makes them more liable to casual capture. Instead, we have a central core rich in fissionable uranium or plutonium, and we surround this directly with a thick blanket of natural uranium or of thorium. The neutrons released by fissions in the core are now captured in the blanket, and there make a maximum of fresh fissionable nuclei, either of plutonium or—if the blanket is thorium—of a fissionable variant or isotope of uranium. Such a pile, then, in addition to producing energy, actually breeds more fissionable material—from natural uranium or from thorium—than it uses. The blanket is removed and processed after a time, and the fissionable material is extracted.

In this way, therefore, in the breeder pile, we can, over a number of cycles, use cumulatively more than the five pounds of fissionable uranium in a ton that I have allowed, and, indeed, more than the fissionable content of sixteen pounds. How much more is not yet known. But it is usually assumed that, in the end, two hundred pounds of uranium in every ton will be used up, and some authorities go as high as seven hundred pounds. At either figure, the cost of the nuclear fuel would become negligible, and energy could become as cheap as water is in Europe and America. The present electricity needs of the Union of South Africa would be met by ten tons or less of natural uranium a year.

The Role of Nuclear Power

I have presented the figures in this way, using as my unit the present output of electricity in the Union of South Africa, in order that the reader shall have a yardstick which is both graphic and practical. Such figures are sometimes used to suggest that, very soon, we shall be ripping out the grates under the boilers of power stations, and putting in nuclear piles instead. Nothing of the kind is likely to happen, either sooner or later. Nuclear piles will become important in expanding economies like those of southern Africa. But their importance is not that they will take the place of coal, but will complement it and make its use selective. This is a fundamental point which we must look at in detail.

We can go to the crux of the matter at once and say that there simply does not exist in the world the industrial capacity in high-accuracy chemical and metallurgical processes required to undertake the conversion of already existing power stations. We may make grand computations of uranium requirements. But to clothe these in the aluminum containers, the sodium and potassium heat exchangers, and the cadmium control rods that make a pile work, to enrich uranium and extract plutonium, and to dilute the less deadly and safely store the more deadly radioactive wastes—all this calls for a new industrial revolution which has barely begun. When James Watt, about 1760, wanted to build his more powerful steam engine, he had to demand a new standard of accuracy: the tolerance between the piston and the barrel must not exceed the thickness of a sixpence. He searched Britain for workmanship as good as this, and had to settle in Birmingham to find it. Within a few decades his first demand created a new engineering industry of high precision.

Today nuclear engineering is making demands in metallurgy and chemistry which are equally unheard of. In order to keep a high and steady flow of neutrons in the pile, it is necessary to cut down impurities such as boron, which happens to capture them, to less than one part in a million. Indeed, the German failure to develop an atomic bomb may be traced directly to their unwitting failure to achieve this purity in graphite, and to their consequent miscalculation of possible neutron chain reactions. Moreover, it becomes necessary to find chemical methods to separate elements as similar as uranium and plutonium, and physical methods to separate their isotopes. This is the heart of the new industrial revolution: to extend to the industrial scale the most refined methods of chemical and metallurgical purification, measured in parts in a million, which hitherto have been the painstaking monopoly of the best research laboratories. Great Britain began its plans for nuclear power with a laboratory stock of plutonium which weighed less than a thousandth of an ounce. It took six years to multiply the scale of the process to pounds. It will be as long again before we can plan the building of nuclear-power stations on a scale to keep pace with the yearly growth of demand for electricity. The task is many times more severe for countries whose industries are less highly developed.

The task of nuclear power, in fact, is not to displace existing sources, but to try to meet the growing demand with which coal and oil cannot keep pace. The British example, at which I have glanced, shows the pattern. Great Britain now uses 35,000,000 tons of coal a year in its power stations. If it is to maintain its relative position in the world order of productivity, below the United States of America but above the rest of the world, it must expect to double this by 1975. Improved coal output can find some of the necessary addition. Some may be found by oil. But there remains a

foreseeable gap which will reach 20,000,000 tons of coal a year; and this gap only nuclear energy can close. This is why Great Britain has laid stress on the industrial exploitation of the nucleus from the outset, and why the British Electricity Authority has been first in the field in creating a special department for the design of nuclear-power stations. It hopes to build in the 1960's, over three to five years, 5,000 megawatts of nuclear stations, which, running day and night, will make up the shortage of 20,000,000 tons of coal a year.

In southern Africa, the need for electric current is equally urgent. Manufacture is expanding to balance the mining and extracting industries, and all make a high demand for power. The demand has been met since 1945 by increased coal output going to new coal-fired stations. This expansion will go on. But, as in Great Britain, there will still be a shortage of power, and a constant search for any means to expand the total of available energy. For the next ten years, southern Africa is likely to be restricted to water power as the only additional source. But even if electricity output can be doubled in that time, it will not suffice, and a gap of some millions of tons of coal a year will wait to be closed, before 1970, by nuclear power.

The ten-year contracts for uranium ore with the British and American governments presumably imply that the Union of South Africa will not itself make nuclear power for that time. This delay is not necessarily a handicap. The resource needed for the scientific and technical development of the design of nuclear piles are, I have said, at present beyond the means of any but the major powers. For example, the United States of America has built, for different experimental researches, more than twenty small piles, and is exploring the commercial development of six different types. Another exploration of different alternatives is going on in Great Britain and, it can be inferred from known achievements there, in Russia. By contrast, the lesser effort that France has been able to devote to this work has resulted in development work on only one type of pile; this, however, is interesting because, in order to minimize industrial processing, it uses uranium oxide in place of the pure metal.

Southern Africa will, therefore, be in a position by 1965 to choose those pile designs that are best suited to its power needs and to its own resources of uranium. It will, presumably, begin to make plans for these well before then. It has the scientific knowledge to do so; for example, a South African, Brigadier Dr. B. F. J. Schonland, has recently been appointed to the senior position in the direction of Britain's Atomic Energy Establishment at Harwell. And within the ten years, South Africa can certainly develop the techniques and the industries that are required to build and operate its first piles. Its achievement in the last five years in building fourteen plants to extract uranium, seven plants to make sulphuric acid for these, and a manganese dioxide industry for the process, is evidence enough.

Power Where It's Needed

What special function should its future piles take over? I have said that they will not replace the grates of existing power stations; instead, they will add to present generating capacity, and try to keep pace with an expansion which by 1965 may be straining to double the output of electricity.

We can be even more specific in prophecy. No one in his senses wants to build a nuclear-power station at a pit-head or at the dam of a hydroelectric scheme. The place to put a pile is where electric current is needed and coal and water power are remote. We can contemplate something more than merely inserting a few nuclear stations into the power system of southern Africa. In a country where mining and processing make major demands for current in places hundreds of miles remote from either coal or water power, the nuclear pile will offer concentrated power precisely where it is wanted.

This is, without doubt, the most important application of nuclear energy in large and thinly populated regions, like southern Africa, which are rich in minerals. At present, for example, the Copperbelt brings its coal more than six hundred miles from Wankie Colliery, and this in a country where railways are tenuous and wagons are short. The Copperbelt proposes to bring water-generated electric current from the Lualaba River in the Belgian Congo, several hundred miles away. To carry current over this distance has already meant stepping up the voltage to 220,000 volts, and, even at this tension, power losses become excessive, and costs onerous, at distances of over three hundred or four hundred miles.

The present consumption of current in the Rhodesias is something under 2,000,000,000 kilowatts a year. The development of mining will expand it to 4,000,000,000 kilowatts a year long before 1965. Coal and water power, including the new power station on the Kafue River, can just meet this demand. But suppose that the following ten years, from 1965 to 1975, enlarge the demand by another 4,000,000,000 units a year. Here is the ideal place for taking up the expansion with nuclear power. On the computations which I sketched earlier, 4,000,000,000 kilowatts is likely to require, in a breeder pile, four tons or less of natural uranium a year. Even the crude ore to produce this uranium would amount only to some thousands of tons. Thus the transport of neither the ore nor the processed fuel raises any problems. The existing transport difficulties, both for coal and for current, are cancelled at one stroke. There are transport and industrial problems in the construction of a pile, of course, and there will be later problems in the elimination of radioactive wastes; but they are certainly smaller and more manageable.

It is the concentration of nuclear fuels that makes them so attractive for dispersed and remote mining operations. The nuclear fuels will, as it were, abolish the distances which have handicapped South African mining. In a sense, this is the essence of the nuclear fuel: precisely that it is packed on a different scale of distances. Coal and oil, the fossil fuels, and other chemical fuels release their energy by the breaking of chemical bonds—bonds, that is, whose length is measured in distance between atoms. Uranium releases its energy at the breaking of a bond within the nucleus—a bond whose length is some million times smaller. Since energy varies inversely with distance, the bond within the nucleus holds some million times more energy than the chemical bond between atoms. This is the scale of energy comparison between nuclear and chemical fuels, some millions to one; and this, as a result of the invisible distances within these structures, serves to abolish the distances of transport.

Changing Mining Techniques

From this may grow an important corollary: an application of nuclear energy more specific than in general mining. It will, of course, continue to be useful to extract and smelt some ores with coal, which can act as a fuel and a reducing agent at once. But there are minerals whose extraction will take new lines, if power is cheap and plentiful on the spot. Electrolytic and electro-thermal processes which are experimental now will then become practical. Consider, for example, the metals to which the Paley Report to the President of the United States assigns growing importance and scarcity. Copper, zinc, cadmium, lead, magnesium; with them, tin, nickel, manganese, chromium and even iron; a new metal such as titanium, and the new semi-conductor, silicon —all these are likely to be derived by electric processes as soon as current can be had freely on the spot. The importance of such changes in process in the Copperbelt, where many of these metals are mined, is very plain.

But it is worth exercising our foresight in this more deeply. The use of electric processes makes, in general, for a high purity in the metal obtained. And I have already underlined the importance of high purity and of precise chemistry in the new industries on which the effective running of nuclear devices depends. To take a simple example, aluminum of the purity required to encase the uranium slugs would be unobtainable in any other way. What is now done for aluminum may become common practice in the mining districts, then, for other metals. My own view is that this promises to be the most important application of locally generated current from nuclear fission in the world's mining areas.

There are, of course, more speculative possibilities that are opened up by the presence of nuclear piles in mining districts. For example, the Copperbelt now mines about two million pounds of cobalt a year. Natural cobalt, irradiated in a nuclear pile, becomes radioactive in a way that is particularly suitable for medical use. This radioactive variant or isotope of cobalt is now taking the place of radium for the treatment of cancer. The pile recently built in Canada has therefore been designed specially to make possible the irradiation of a maximum of natural cobalt. In the future, radioactive cobalt can well become a major product of the Copperbelt, made on the spot in the very piles that provide power.

Again, it has been suggested that some neutron irradiation may become a means of separating valuable ores, or of grading industrial diamonds. But speculations of this kind, which are by no means unpractical, are endless. They all point to the same central consideration; the important consequences that can flow from the presence of nuclear piles at the mining area itself.

Let me summarize these detailed considerations briefly. Coal and uranium are both sources of power, and in southern Africa they are likely to be the major sources of power. In the expanding economy of southern Africa, power is short and is likely to become shorter; any addition to power resources is a gain. At present, uranium is simply being exported as a metal. In ten years from now, it can become an addition to the power resources.

Neither in this nor in other respects is uranium a rival to coal. It can complement coal, and take up the expansion of power needs that is outstripping coal production—for example, in Rhodesia as in Great Britain. And the advantage of uranium is that it can be used to generate power precisely where both coal and water are handicapped by the great distances—for example, in the Copperbelt. The nuclear pile as the central unit in an electricity-generating station has its ideal place in such mining areas. Even there, it will not wholly replace coal, which is a chemical as well as a fuel. And elsewhere in southern Africa the chemical wealth of coal will, of course, be increasingly exploited in its conversion into oil.

The nuclear pile in a mining area has, I think, an outstanding function. It can generate current on a massive scale, and so make possible something of a metallurgical revolution. For cheap current at the minehead makes possible the production of materials of very high purity; and these materials will be the backbone of the new industries associated with the utilization of the nucleus.

This is foreseeable as a second industrial revolution: the application of the chemical standards of the laboratory to industrial processes. And southern Africa may well be in a position to take the lead in this, having resources of uranium close to its rich mining areas.

A 100-Year Program

I propose that there be initiated now a 100-year program for the financing, construction, and implantation of atomic reactors in the power-short, food-short, water-short areas of the world. . . . How could such a 100-year program be financed? So bold, broad, and unorthodox a program could not, of course, short of cartelization, be supported wholly by private capital. It is not merely a matter of money. Atomic energy cannot be equated or compared with any other previous manifestation of the physical world. We could no more see atomic energy monopolistically controlled than we could believe in the propriety—to say nothing of the possibility—of a monopoly controlling the moon or staking a claim to the sun. What we have at hand is a power so vastly benevolent—or so blackly malevolent—that decisions as to its use are the decisions not of persons but of peoples—or nations. . . . It is right, therefore, that such a program of sound economic investment should seek the participation of government funds. Let me point to some of the world markets available through the symbiotic—that is the mutually beneficial—Atomic Marshall Plan which I propose.

From July 1, 1951, to May 1, 1954, we sent to India and Pakistan a total of $78,828,000 in economic aid. Allocated and obligated but unspent funds total $91,188,000. I believe that these sums should . . . have been spent. Even in terms of American dollars and American construction costs at American wage and salary rates $170,000,000 today would buy for India between seventy-five and eighty portable atomic-power reactors, or three large stationary atomic reactors complete with reprocessing plants producing 300,000 kilowatts of electric power and incalcuable quantities of radioisotopes for industrial, agricultural, medical, and biological research. If, under the convention of counterpart funds, India and Pakistan should contribute equal amounts there might be built six large stationary atomic-power plants of 600,000 k. w. capacity or between 150 and 160 portable reactors.

The potentials for an already industrialized but power-short nation such as Japan are far more startling. Between 1945 and 1952 we gave Japan $2,276,000,000 in non-military economic aid and credits. If it had been possible to allocate an equivalent sum for the installation by American industry, but at Japanese assembly and construction cost, of industrial atomic reactors of the large stationary type, it is within the area of probability that Japan might have now in the neighborhood of a hundred stationary atomic-power plants with an installed kilowatt capacity of about ten million. Japan's total installed kilowatt capacity in 1952 was only twelve million.

Without considering the vast new industry which the manufacture of reactors and their power-plant components would create in the United States, the technological, scientific, and social benefits which would flow from an international atomic-aid program of this magnitude would be incalculable.

From an address by John Jay Hopkins, Chairman and President, General Dynamics Corporation, 59th Annual Conference of American Industry, December 1, 1954.

THE BRITISH PROGRAM

1965 the Target Year . . *by Sir John Cockcroft*

London

FOR some years the Department of Atomic Energy has been developing the production and exploitation of of atomic energy in order to create a new source of energy to supplement coal, oil, and gasoline. This is being done because it is likely that our energy needs will greatly increase during the next twenty years.

In the course of the last three years the British atomic program has achieved its first objective. We have built two largish research establishments at Harwell and Aldermaston, one dealing with the civil and the other with the military side of research and development of atomic energy—though there is naturally some cross-tie and the work on the production of fissile materials which is carried out at Harwell contributes to the military side of the United Kingdom effort. We have established at Harwell and Amersham a major source of the world's supply of radioactive isotopes, and we expect this year to see products to the value of more than £300,000 ($840,000).

Our atomic-energy factories have recently been described in an official publication, and I will do no more than to say that our production of plutonium is established and that our diffusion plant at Capenhurst has started to produce uranium enriched in the light isotope U-235.

The Power Program

We are now embarking on the second main phase of our civil program, the development of nuclear power. It was decided to build first two nuclear-power units which are essentially a development of our earlier graphite piles. The pile is used as a source of heat. The graphite-uranium reacting core is inclosed in a pressure vessel—a boiler drum, if you like—and the heat from the uranium metal is transferred to four steam generators situated symmetrically round the reactor. The steam then drives a conventional turboalternator set, and substantial amounts of electricity will be produced. Quantities of the order of 50,000 kilowatts have been mentioned in Parliament. The efficiency of conversion of heat into electricity in these units will be limited by our present inexperience in operating the uranium fuels and their containing sheaths at high temperature. If we are limited to 400°C. the efficiency of conversion will be about 25 per cent. This is about the average of all the British Electricity Authority power stations, but a modern station which operates at higher steam temperatures and pressures has an efficiency of about 33 per cent. Nevertheless, we think an efficiency of 25 per cent is not a bad start. If later an improved metal sheath for the uranium fuel can be developed and the temperature and working pressure increased, higher efficiencies should be achieved and a substantial reduction obtained in the capital cost per unit of power generated.

The working of these first reactors is made more economic by the fact that they will produce plutonium as a by-product. This has a substantial value not only for military purposes but in the long run for use as an initial fuel for advanced types of power units such as breeders. When worked in this dual-purpose role, the operating conditions are easier and the cost of power is economic because of by-product value.

The design study of an alternative type of nuclear-power unit, which uses ordinary water instead of graphite as the core material surrounding the uranium rods, is now in being. The reactor consists of a pressure shell containing the uranium rods with water flowing past them to transfer the heat. The operating pressure may be in the region of 1000 to 2000 pounds per inch and this pressure will limit the temperature of steam which can be generated. Once again, thermodynamic efficiencies are likely to be about 25 per cent but may be increased by external super-heating. Such reactors can probably be built in much larger units, and the capital cost per unit of output will be lower than with the first type. The penalty for the additional simplicity and cheapness of construction is paid by having to use slightly enriched uranium as fuel—uranium in which the proportion of the light isotope has been increased in a diffusion plant. The Americans have announced that they are building a unit of this general type which, they claim, will develop power of fifty megawatts and possibly much more. Their first submarine nuclear-power unit has been built on this principle.

Comparing the Costs

It seems likely that one or both of these types of nuclear-power station will be used to supplement power from coal stations. Still later models of nuclear-power stations will probably operate at higher temperatures, perhaps using liquid-metal heat transfer, and will, we hope, equal the thermodynamic efficiencies of the coal-fired station.

How does the cost of nuclear power compare with that from coal? The main difficulty in answering this question is the present large factor of uncertainty in the utilization of uranium fuel. These thermal power units burn the light uranium and by their alchemical properties produce, at an almost equal rate, a new fuel—plutonium—from the heavy uranium. This in turn is burned and replaced by more plutonium. Small differences in the conversion factor make a great difference in the overall utilization of uranium, so

---

SIR JOHN D. COCKCROFT is a Fellow of the Royal Society and a Nobel prize-winner. He serves today as director of Britain's atomic-energy research establishment at Harwell.

that until more experience has been gained we are uncertain by a factor between three and ten of the amount of uranium required to produce a given amount of power. Early estimates of costs have been based on the lower utilization figures.

Another source of uncertainty is the capital cost of the nuclear-power stations. It is too early in the development phase to be precise about this: the cost of the first unit is naturally high. The best estimates at present are that the second model of the current design might have twice the capital cost of a conventional coal-fired station, while the water-moderated type of unit built for large power output should be considerably cheaper. The overall result is that the capital costs will be somewhat higher than for conventional power stations and fuel costs somewhat lower. It should therefore be possible to produce power at a price between the present B. E. A. average generating cost of 0.7d. per unit and 1d. per unit.

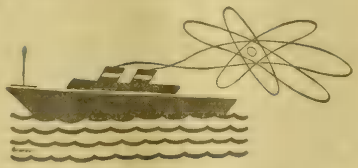
The time required for large-scale nuclear-power development depends a good deal on how urgent the need is. We will have to gain operating experience of our first graphite-moderated power unit and would then like to build an improved model of higher efficiency and lower capital cost. We would also like to build and operate the second type of power unit—the water-moderated reactor. This development period may easily cover eight years. After that, if results are satisfactory, it should be possible to devote some or all of our annual investment in new power stations to the nuclear types. Still farther along in the time scale are the breeder-reactor power stations, the object of which is to increase by a considerable amount the efficacy of utilization of uranium.

Location of Plants

The report of the Ridley Committee and B. E. A. reports have suggested that this country will be deficient in coal by about twenty million tons a year by 1965—though coal production could probably be increased by then—and power requirements seem likely to continue to expand. In order to do the work of twenty million tons of coal, nuclear-power stations developing 5,000 megawatts would have to be built. This amounts to about three years of constructional work at B. E. A. present levels and could be achieved by 1970, perhaps even by 1965.

The question naturally arises about the minimum and maximum practical sizes of power stations. They can be built for as small power outputs as we choose, though not with economy. At the other end of the scale, an output of 200 megawatts should be possible from a single unit.

In regard to the considerations that govern the choice of sites for nuclear-power stations, it may be said that the main consideration at the present stage of development is that of safety. A major accident to a nuclear-power station might release radioactive products into the atmosphere. There would then be a danger zone down-wind for a limited distance and short time. Reactors of the thermal type are inherently very safe, and means of making them even safer are continually being devised. Nevertheless, we would probably want to site such stations twenty miles or so from a largish city. They need, however, be no more remote than many existing B. E. A. stations, such as those at Coleshill or Little Barford. The cost of extra-high-tension transmission over a distance of even fifty miles would add only 8 per cent to the capital cost of the power unit.



Apart from nuclear energy as a source of power, there are possibilities of important applications of radiation to the chemical-engineering industries. The polymerization of ethylene to polyethylene is carried out in industry at high pressures and temperatures. The presence of radiation from radioactive materials or from other sources can under some circumstances double the output of polyethylene. Alternatively, high temperatures can be dispensed with in the presence of radiation. This is being actively studied at Harwell and in the United States.

Radiation can also change the properties of plastics such as polyethylene. In particular it can greatly increase the resistance of polyethylene to high temperatures. This could be important, for example, in valve holders for use at high temperatures. Recently we were asked by a sister establishment to irradiate 20,000 valve holders. Polyethylene bottles, after irradiation, will withstand temperatures required for steam sterilization. Irradiated polyethylene might also be used for high-temperature insulation of cables.

Sources of Radiation

Three possible sources of radiation exist: (1) the plastics may be placed in holes in the shields of the piles; (2) the radiation from waste fission products may be used; (3) the high-intensity linear accelerators, which have also been developed at Harwell, may be employed. We are not yet sure which will be the most economical. Arrangements are being made for fuel elements discharged from reactors which are highly radioactive to be used as sources of radiation for such purposes.

We are therefore at the beginning of possible important applications to chemical engineering. You might ask what part industry plays in all these developments. We have during the last five years done a great deal to interest industry in the new developments. An annual power conference is held at Harwell to which fifty to a hundred guests from industry and universities and other government establishments have been invited. We have at these conferences had free and frank discussions on the status of the power-development program so that industry could judge when the time was ripe to participate. Two years ago one industrial group elected to join Harwell in a design study of the first power unit now being built at Windscale. After the design study was completed, our industrial group at Risley followed up with design and construction, again in collaboration with the industrial group.

During this period we invited the British Electrical and Allied Manufacturers' Association to send engineers from any firm which might be interested in designing future power reactors, and as a result three more engineers joined Harwell. We have recently started a design study on the second type of reactor and are arranging the collaboration of a second industrial group.

We have also been approached by aircraft firms and the shipbuilding industry which wish to be allowed to study the possibilities of applying nuclear energy, and we are doing our best to meet their requirements, although we believe these applications to be much more remote. As part of this program of industrial participation we have organized a school of reactor engineering which have courses lasting about three months. For the present this school is at Harwell, since lectures will have to be given by our own staff, and they can do this with less diversion from their own work if the school is on the spot.

We have also established collaboration with a number of chemical organizations on the plastics work I mentioned. The irradiation of plastics is being carried out by industrial groups which send their products to be irradiated and tested. The polymerization work is being developed either by using Harwell sources or by providing sources of radio-cobalt for industry and universities to use. This has followed our earlier collaboration with industry on the application of radioactive isotopes.

If we look a little farther into the future, nuclear-power stations will be designed by industrial organizations, for the B. E. A., or for export, but with the advice and assistance of the Atomic Energy Authority, which will operate the expensive central facilities for tests of reactor components and for production and processing of nuclear fuel; it will also do some of the pioneering design work.

Finally reference may be made to ship propulsion. The accounts of the United States navy's Nautilus, the first nuclear-propelled submarine, will be familiar to many readers. The power unit for this submarine consists of a water-moderated reactor using almost pure U-235 as a fuel, and heat is transferred by water at high temperature to raise steam and drive steam turbines. The power unit must therefore be bulky quite apart from the shield, and the submarine is probably about 3,000 tons displacement. Much effort has been devoted to this project. The development costs for the prototype reactor amounted to twenty million dollars. It was the most difficult project ever undertaken by Westinghouse. An essential part of the work was the development of the technology of zirconium—a metal almost new to industry. There is no doubt that we could build similar propulsion units if it were thought worth while to devote the effort and money to such a project. We are at present assisting the Admiralty in a design study of this type of propulsion unit.

INDUSTRIALIZING AUSTRALIA

Needed: Power and People . . *by M. L. Oliphant*

Canberra

THE area of the island-continent of Australia is almost the same as that of the United States, but a much smaller fraction of the land surface is suitable for food production. Over the greater part of the country the average rainfall is extremely low and is distributed erratically both in time and in place. In these regions of central and northwestern Australia there are no permanent rivers, evaporation is high, and the only dependable sources of water are artesian bores which often yield brackish water of no help to vegetation. The tropical north contains areas which could be capable of development, but it is as unpleasant a place to live in as any tropical region in the world. The principal settled area of Australia, where equable climate, reasonable rainfall, and high soil fertility are combined, is adjacent to the southeastern coast. Here, too, are good deposits of easily mined coal and considerable water-power from streams originating in the mountain ranges that fringe the coast.

Increased population, large-scale capital investments, and the application of scientific knowledge could make Australia one of the great industrial nations of the world. Australians, moreover, are becoming acutely aware that they can justify their high standard of living, and occupation of so large a portion of the earth's surface, only if they develop their country to the fullest possible extent and enable it to provide living room for a larger part of the surplus population of Europe. Australia is not an underdeveloped area in the sense in which that term is applied to Asia or the Middle East. Relative to population Australia is highly industrialized. The problem before it is to develop its resources and increase its population at a rate which has never before been achieved. This implies a large degree of self-restraint on the part of the present population in order to provide the capital development so essential for the future. The people of Australia will respond to the challenge and will make rapid progress in taming their intractable land if only they can be assured of unlimited industrial power.

Against this background the problem of power supply in Australia is different in kind as well as in magnitude from what it is in other parts of the world. In the eastern part of the country the mining of sufficient coal for all needs is less a problem of technology than of sociology. Coal-mining, even when fully mechanized, is regarded as an unpleasant occupation subject to peculiar ha-

---

M. L. OLIPHANT is the director of the Research School of Physical Sciences, Australian National University.

zards. Where man-power is short and opportunities for other forms of work are unlimited, few men want to go into the mines. Increasingly high wages make coal more and more expensive, and this, together with frequent strikes and stoppages, forces industry to seek alternative sources of heat and power. In other parts of the country the additional problem of transport renders coal either prohibitive in cost or too uncertain in delivery.

We are therefore forced to the conclusion that another source of power, free from these defects, is essential to the development of Australia. The large-scale use of imported petroleum would provide only temporary and very expensive respite. But atomic energy, derived for the immediate future from the fission of uranium and thorium, of which Australia possesses reasonable supplies, and for the longer term from the fusion of deuterium and lithium, would almost certainly meet the need. Costs of transport would disappear, so that economic power stations could be built inland far from the coasts and the coal fields, and the skilled men who mine the high-grade ore from the earth could be well paid without increasing unduly the cost of the fuel.

The Need for Fresh Water

The rainfall in the eastern part of Australia is probably sufficient for most needs if proper schemes of water storage and conservation are undertaken. But such projects must be bold, on a large scale, and carried out in advance of, rather than in answer to, demand. In areas which are relatively undeveloped or where population is small it might be both practicable and economic to use atomic explosives in the building of dams and the diversion of rivers.

Australia's most intractable long-term problem is the provision of water in the arid central and north-western parts of the country. In certain areas where valuable minerals are obtained it may prove economic to use atomic energy to distil brackish or salt water in order to provide fresh water for household, technological, and vegetable-growing purposes. Fission reactors to supply the relatively low degree of heat required for distillation should be relatively cheap to build and operate. Such distillation plants might be located on the seacoast and the distilled water pumped inland by power from atomic reactors. The economics of such schemes require careful appraisal, since systems that would be unprofitable in America or Europe may have great value for the development of large areas of Australia.

An important point to bear in mind is that the distillation may be carried out in such a way as to enhance the content of deuterium in the residue. Many of us are now convinced that the fusion process may be more easily brought about in deuterium than has been generally recognized and that this element, together perhaps with the lithium derived from the salts recovered, may become a more important nuclear fuel than uranium or thorium. In that case the distillation plant and its associated power station might produce not only its own nuclear fuel but also fuel for many other nuclear-power installations in the country.

More than one-third of Australia lies in the tropics. Parts of the center and west suffer from intolerably high temperatures in the summer. Mining, grazing, and tropical agriculture languish because the necessary labor force cannot be recruited, is of low grade, or demands such high wages that projects become uneconomic. However, life in these areas becomes tolerable and even pleasant when houses and offices are air-conditioned. I am certain that the answer to life in the tropics for people of European descent is the adoption of air-conditioning on a scale hitherto undreamed of. It has been shown in India that even the native inhabitants can do more and better work in office and factory if the buildings are air-conditioned, and further advantages follow from undisturbed sleep in cooled rooms with reduced humidity.

Dependence on Petroleum

Air-conditioning is in its infancy. Costs must be reduced and equipment made more reliable before its universal use in the tropical and arid zones of Australia becomes practicable. But arguments against the ultimate solution of these difficulties are no more valid than those advanced a short time ago against the practicability of refrigeration or television for every home.

The large quantities of power required for widespread air-conditioning can be provided in these areas only by atomic-energy power plants. Indeed, careful thought about the development of these areas leads to the conclusion that most of the obstacles can be removed by the large-scale use of atomic energy and only by that means. Atomic energy is likely to prove economic in these parts of Australia long before it can compete with other forms of energy in Europe or America.

Australia possesses no proved deposits of petroleum of any importance. Yet its communications, its mechanized farming and grazing, and its industrial-development projects render it critically dependent upon petroleum products. At present crude petroleum is imported largely from the Middle East, and in the event of war the supply might well be cut off. For the present atomic energy cannot be used successfully for small mobile power units. Apart from problems of shielding, the hazards arising from accident or from unskilled handling may mean that such application must be prohibited. It seems likely, therefore, that fuels for internal-combustion engines will be required for a long time to come.

Synthetic liquid fuels, derived from coal or organic matter, are not at present competitive in cost with the natural product, but I am assured by experts that if petroleum supplies failed, these artificially produced fuels and oils could be made and used. The considerable amount of power required for the operation of synthetic-oil plants might have to be supplied by atomic energy. Nuclear radiations might also prove useful in bringing about some of the processes of synthesis. Thus any comprehensive review of the possible applications of atomic energy in Australia must take account of the country's critical dependence upon imported liquid fuels and the ultimate need to produce them synthetically.

Many strategic raw materials, such as copper, lead, and zinc, are not available in sufficient quantity to enable existing technologies to be applied in Australia as extensively as in the United States. Hence substitute materials become essential. Materials like aluminum, magnesium, titanium, and their alloys are potentially available in unlimited quantities. Electrochemical processes require large quantities of electric power and are usually associated with hydroelectric projects, but in Australia the limits of hydroelectric development will be reached long before the needs of the country for electrochemical products can be met. Nitrogen fertilizers are another prime need, and these can be manufactured out of the air if an ample supply of electric power is available. Thus Australia's peculiar physiographic conditions, its necessity to expand its population and to develop its resources at a rapid rate, and its desire to maintain a high standard of living combine to make it critically dependent on the introduction of a new source of power.

IRRIGATING THE NEGEV

Potential Boon for Israel . . *by Amos de Shalit*

Rehovoth, Israel

IN ISRAEL as in many other countries the increasing demand for industrial power may some day be met with atomic energy. Countries which have no natural power sources can benefit greatly from atomic power if the cost of releasing it from atomic fuel is greater than that of producing energy from coal or oil. Savings on the transportation of the fuel may overbalance the expense of atomic installations.

Shortage of power is undoubtedly one of Israel's gravest difficulties. Without any known deposits of coal or oil, it depends entirelv on imported fuels, and owing to present relations between the Arab states and Israel these imports have to be brought from as far awav as Venezuela. The long supply lines, besides being very vulnerable, so increase the cost of fuels, and hence of all finished products, that Israel finds it almost impossible to compete with other countries on the international market.

Even without this supply-line problem, which is essentially of a political nature and will be solved some day, the proposed development plans for Israel and its neighbors will create such an enormous demand for energy that it is doubtful whether they could be carried out by the use of conventional fuels alone. A great part of the Middle East is desert which could become productive if water were available. There is plenty of sea water near at hand, but sea water will not do for irrigation. It can be converted into sweet water, but with present power resources use of distilled water on the land would be prohibitively expensive. A supply of cheaper energy is required.

The possibility of piping water to the desert from regions of greater rainfall has been considered for some time and is actually being carried out in the southern part of Israel, the Negev. Water now wastefully flowing down the northern rivers to the sea will be diverted into reservoirs and used for irrigation. The supply, however, is limited and going farther north to tap other sources of water would mean a great expenditure of power to bring the water down to the south. Again cheaper power may provide the answer.

All forms of energy except atomic energy are ultimately derived from the sun. The energy expended by an ox drawing a plow comes to it from the grass it eats, and this grass acquires its energy-content from the chemical reactions induced by absorption of the sun's rays. The power of waterfalls originates in the action of the sun in evaporating water from the seas, which then feeds springs in the mountains. Coal and oil are the remains of organisms that owed their life to the sun.

The uranium from which atomic energy is extracted did not acquire its energy content from the sun; it possessed this energy from the moment of its creation. The process of releasing the energy from uranium resembles the process which takes place on the sun and causes the sun to give forth heat and light. Atomic reactors are like small suns themselves, whereas conventional power plants are gadgets invented to utilize a small fraction of the sun's enormous energy.

Atomic energy has the peculiar characteristic of being about a million times more concentrated in its carrier than ordinary energy in ordinary fuels. This high concentration means a tremendous saving in the transportation, handling, and storage of atomic fuel. In fact, transportation of the fuel may be safely omitted from any estimate of the cost of production of atomic energy. Thus if the cost of transportation makes the use of conventional fuels uneconomic, atomic energy may be a practical alternative.

The actual cost of atomic power is not yet known. Guesses vary

---

AMOS DE SHALIT is head of the nuclear-physics department of the Weizmann Institute of Science in Rehovoth, Israel.

widely. If it turns out to be at least as expensive as the average conventional power, it will still bring relief to countries discriminated against by nature in the matter of natural resources. With its aid Israel and the Arab states can undertake development; the area around the Dead Sea, which is rich in minerals that cannot be exploited because of the high cost of fuel, can be made to flourish with new industries and new communities. It is the combination of minerals, water, and power which enables people to lead a decent life, and in places where nature has been remiss atomic energy may repair the damage.

THE ATOM IN INDIA

Searching for Sources . . *by S. A. K. Ghosh*

Calcutta

THE quantity of power used per capita in a country is the index of its development and standard of living. The per capita consumption of electricity in India before the Five Year plan, has been only 14 kilowatt-hours, as compared to 1,100 in Great Britain and 2,207 in the United States.

Present sources of energy are coal, oil, and water-power. In proportion to its size, population, and supplies of raw materials India is poorly endowed with coal and oil—it is possible of course that some sources have not yet been explored. According to the Geological Survey of India, reserves of coal of all grades amount to sixty billion tons, of which twenty billion tons are workable and only five billion of good quality. Average production is about thirty million tons a year, with the Indian railways consuming 32 per cent of the total. India's good coal is confined to Bihar and West Bengal, except for small seams in Assam and Hyberabad, and because of the distance of the fields from industrial centers its use for the generation of power is very costly. Modern methods make it possible to utilize the low-grade coal found in some districts of southern India for steam generation, but its use would be economic only in nearby areas.

As to oil, the Assam oil field produces 5 per cent of India's requirements, the rest has to be imported.

Potential hydroelectric resources are vast. They have been surveyed and may amount to as much as forty million kilowatts, but they have been tapped so far for only a half-million kilowatts.

At the present low rate of consumption of coal in India it is estimated that the supply will last about six hundred years. But if the rate of consumption should be increased to something comparable to Great Britain's, Indian reserves would be exhausted in two hundred years. Thus to achieve the industrial development that would appreciably raise the standard of living some other source of power must be harnessed.

In 1948 the government of India appointed an Atomic Energy Commission, one of whose tasks was to discover whether the country possessed the raw materials for the production of atomic energy. The commonest source of uranium, pitchblende, in not found in India, but monazite, which contains some uranium and is extremely rich in thorium, exists in considerable quantity in the black sands of Travancore-Cochin. The government has therefore set up a plant at Alwaye in Travancore to process some 1,500 tons of monazite a year. The decomposition of monazite is carried out with caustic soda. In 1951 India was producing 1,400 tons of caustic soda annually; the goal set in the first five-year plan was 33,000 tons. Since hydroelectric power is available, annual production may be raised to 87,000 tons. The thorium produced will be adequate for the needs of atomic research.

India possesses an abundant supply of graphite, which is used as moderator in an atomic-power reactor. Several factories have been started by the government to free the raw graphite of boron and make it suitable for use in a reactor.

The greatest obstacle to the utilization of atomic power in India is the lack of technical training. With steel and aluminum practically the only metallurgical industries, the knowledge and skill necessary to extract thorium from monazite, purify graphite, and build a reactor have been developed in very few persons. Here is where more advanced countries can give essential aid.

SHRI AJIT KUMAR GHOSH is a member of the Department of Pure Chemistry at the University of Calcutta.

The Revolution Against Starvation

It is indeed a heathen hope that invests $1,500,000 in the food and agricultural work of the United Nations; 1,000 times this in arms to Europe; and 16,000 times this in military "defense" It is indeed a heathen hope that welcomes the illusory advantages of the Fusion Bomb and asks only to know that it is a bigger and better bomb.

No war, cold or hot, can be won unless the hearts of men are mobilized by enduring human ideals. Disturbing as it may be to our pleasant status quo, a revolution is aflame through all the backward and populous areas of the world—a revolution against starvation, poverty, exploitation without representation. We can help to lead this revolution (as we too were once revolutionaries); or we can oppose it; but we cannot long prevent it.

David Bradley at The Nation's forum on The Atomic Era, April 29-30, 1950.

III. THE USES OF THE ATOM

The "mass attack" on the secrets of the atom—David O. Woodbury's excellent phrase—is constantly opening new paths for the scientist and resulting in an ever-broadening field for the application of atomic energy and of the processes connected with its manufacture. Mr. Woodbury sketches the general picture with emphasis on chemistry and engineering. Dr. Jacob Sacks details the progress made in medicine, biology, and biochemistry. Atomic science promises that we can live longer in a better world.

SURVEYING THE FIELD

The Limitless Potential . . *by David O. Woodbury*

THE great hurdle that the atom must leap in order to win public confidence as a force for peace is the evil it has done. Ten years ago atomic energy clutched the world with the gigantic hand of destruction. Millions everywhere watched, fascinated, as the first atomic bomb became "conventional," then ordinary, then outmoded by the overwhelming might of the hydrogen bomb. Splitting the atom spelled the final unanswerable threat to civilization.

What a start for a discovery that may end mankind's ten-thousand-year struggle upward out of darkness! Did any comparable advance ever first destroy and then beg for trustful acceptance? Horrible as the bomb was in use, terrifying as it may still be in prospect, its flames consumed a thousand little candles of progress that might have glimmered for years with pale results and, in so doing, lighted up the vast area for achievement that lies ahead.

America's development of the atomic weapon broke every rule of scientific procedure. Thousands of men and women were commandeered into a research that many of them feared and mistrusted. They did this under extraordinary restraints of secrecy. They demanded billion-dollar factories for making substances not mentioned in the most advanced textbooks, backing their decisions with evidence often too tenuous to be susceptible of thorough test. They telescoped into five short years a work that should have taken fifty or a hundred.

But they won. It is fair to say that if atomic energy had not been revealed and reduced to practice in this headlong fashion, our present generation, the next, and perhaps the next after that would have gone without the benefits of this wondrous new power. Many of those benefits are matters of fact today; many more crowd upon the scene so fast that there is not newsprint enough to report them.

The New Mass Attack

These great benefits will not be confined to the uses of the atom itself. The method by which nuclear forces were discovered has had a profound effect on all science. It has taught us the virtue of a mass attack upon nature's problems. We are emerging into a wholly new climate of discovery and application. I have no doubt that the magnificent achievement of Salk was hastened by the new "task-force" philosophy of research.

Formerly we edged into the solution of new problems in the quiet sanctity of laboratories staffed with dedicated people who recognized no urgency. Now we march upon these problems in organized ranks, bringing every possible combination of talent, money, and public support to the battle line. Today we can put pressure upon areas of scientific doubt and obscurity that nature cannot withstand. Scientist and engineer are the same, but they move with new confidence, new will to accomplish. It is in the light of this philosophical new day that I want to interpret some of the advances already made and look ahead to others still only on the horizon. Let us start with a small isolated case—the story of the obscure element known as thulium.

In the course of a systematic search for basic facts concerning little-known substances, a research worker at the Argonne National Laboratory found that one artificial form of thulium, the radioactive isotope 170, gave off X-rays instead of the usual alphas, betas, and gammas familiar to uranium hunters. A useless bit of knowledge suitable for the technical journals, perhaps? No. Within two years there emerged from it a small package hardly bigger than a lady's handbag capable of producing X-rays of 100,000-volt energy *anywhere.* Portable, inexpensive, independent of outside power source, this little device can be taken by a doctor on his rounds for quick X-ray examinations in the home. It can jump to the battle front to help locate the steel in wounds and show up broken bones. It can spot tuberculosis in people in remote areas where no heavy X-ray unit can go.

Take another small example that may loom large very soon. A team of plant geneticists at the Brookhaven National Laboratory has been working for some time on the new science

---

DAVID O. WOODBURY, author of the just published "Atoms for Peace," has interpreted scientific progress for the layman in many books and articles. Another of his books, "Total War or Total Peace," written with Tom Slick, will appear this year.

of atomic mutations. Seeds are carefully exposed to radioactive cobalt, then planted and grown. In this strange new garden the plants come up monsters—stunted, weak, sterile, malformed. But once in a while a mutation is produced that is not abortive. The tiny genes within the seed, disarranged by the atomic blows, realign themselves into strong healthy bits of hereditary substance. The resulting plant may be a wonderful improvement upon anything that has gone before. Then the thousands of failures are thrown away and the bright new discovery is nurtured to become the ancestor of a new plant family.

Normally mutations occur over a long passage of time. The atomic method can produce such an enormous number of mutations that the frequency of good results is greatly increased. The Brookhaven Laboratory, using the seeds of the oat plant, produced in little over a year a brand-new species, resistant to the oat's greatest fungus enemy, rust. Potatoes cannot be stored over the winter, unrefrigerated, without sprouting or rotting. At the University of Michigan, in a government-sponsored research project, a simple atomic answer is being made ready. Treating new potatoes with a small dose of radiation from specially prepared cesium, a rare metal, prevents them from rotting or sprouting for years. These are random examples taken from the agricultural atomic front, which is expanding every day.

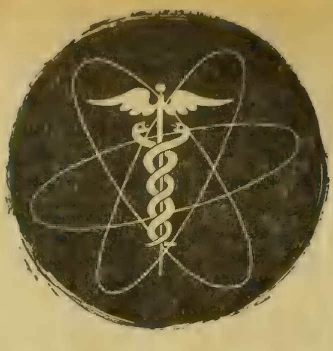
The Refrigeration Field

Spearheaded by the army's quartermaster corps, researches which may ultimately make most refrigeration unnecessary are driving forward in many laboratories. The new idea is complete sterilization by irradiation with atomic particles. If the treatment is carried out after the food has been hermetically packed, all bacteria will be killed and no more can get in. This suggests that meats, vegetables, and staples can be stored on pantry shelves, that fruits can be kept smooth and fresh for months, that loaves of bread will not mildew, even that wines and liquors may be aged in a few hours into high-grade products. These things have not happened yet. There are serious problems of impaired taste and color and of cost. The point is that the task-force method can be expected to overcome the difficulties.

Great things also are doing in the new field of "hot" chemistry. Here we can only peer over the shoulder of the experts, hard at work on the problems of building and rebuilding molecules they can never see. Atomic radiation introduced into a chemical reaction may give as startling results as the cry of "Fire!" in a theater. The atoms may begin plunging about in panic, entirely forgetting their ordinary behavior. Complete strangers among them may cling together; old friends may split up and abandon each other. New compounds can be made; old ones can be built in seconds where once it took weeks or months.

At the present moment chemists don't yet know what they can do with these strange new "souped-up" reactions. It seems to have great potentialities in the refining of petroleum. At the present rate of consumption the world's known supply of petroleum and gas is not expected to last more than a few decades. But now comes the possibility that gasolines and oils may be built artificially out of plentiful oxygen, hydrogen, and carbon in an atomic environment. And along with them a host of organic compounds—plastics, dyes, textiles, drugs, perhaps the foodstuffs on which we live.

In a quieter branch of the field—plain radio-chemistry—incredibly delicate radioactive materials known as "tracers" are being used in every laboratory to penetrate into the ultimate mysteries of the structure of the material world. The tracer is an atomic tool, a tiny group of common atoms made active in special government reactors at Argonne, Oak Ridge, and Brookhaven. The most delicate weighing device in the world can measure down to a hundred-billionth of a gram. By "doctoring" a sample to be weighed with a minute but known quantity of the common and inexpensive tracer, radiocarbon, a simple radiation detector can measure as little as one-trillionth of a gram with high accuracy. Some of the new detergent oils for cars came from research dependent on these tracer studies. The latest ideas about friction and wear and how to stop them in the millions of rubbing surfaces found in our machinery depend on the measurement of micro-quantities that only atomic sleuths can make.



Solving Medical Problems

Or take medical research. What is the hope of arresting cancer at its source by preventing the conditions that favor its growth? Why do hearts fail, arteries stiffen in old age, livers and kidneys and the hidden body glands suddenly stop their orderly functioning? Until now, with the best tools the laboratory could buy, the scientist has been able to get no closer view of intimate bodily activity than a baseball fan could get of a game played on the moon. But out of the furious interiors of the machines that made the bomb come thousands of little radioisotope tracers that enable scientists to carry on their experiments at close hand.

Already some small part of the knowledge gained in the ten years since Hiroshima has been utilized in curing, treating, and diagnosing ailments that have remained obdurate for centuries. So rapidly is this new knowledge paying off that anyone with at least ten years of normal life expectancy left can hope that some of the ills he dreads will be eradicated before he succumbs to them.

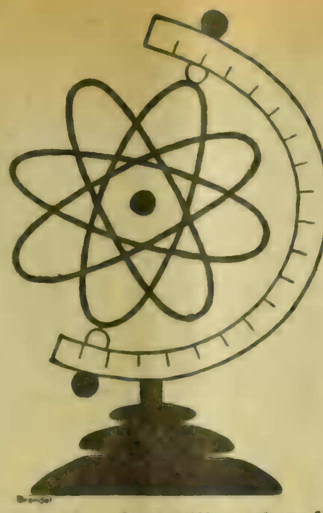
Atoms made radioactive in the atomic pile still behave in all essential (chemical) ways like normal atoms. Thus they can be mixed with their own kind and used as "tags" to reveal how common substances migrate and interact, even though such activity is far below the threshold of the best microscope or weighing balance. In a Canadian project, for example, fish food has been tagged with radiocarbon and dumped into lakes to see how thoroughly it will spread. So detectible is the material that if a single teaspoonful of the radiocarbon were dumped into Lake Ontario and allowed to disseminate completely, traces of it could still be discovered in any teaspoonful of the lake water months later.

Dr. Willard F. Libby of the University of Chicago, now of the Atomic Energy Commission, has used the radioactive carbon isotope to determine the approximate age of any object containing carbon, back as far as 20,000 years. All growing things, he has found, contain a minute but predictable quantity of radioactive carbon absorbed from the atmosphere during growth. By a detection system thousands of times more sensitive than the best Geiger counter he can measure the faint radioactivity remaining, say, in a bone or wooden arrow found in an Indian digging and tell within a few decades how long it has been lifeless material. Thus we have a new and independent method of checking man's earliest history.

Concentration of Power

Exploding atoms not only perform the world's most delicate measuring jobs but produce the greatest known concentration of power. One pound of uranium-235 has the energy of three million pounds of coal. This was one of the first discoveries made by atomic research but has been the slowest to be developed for peaceful purposes. The delay is due to the extreme difficulty of control and the enormous expenditure in time and money required to perfect the apparatus. Since most of our common structural materials cannot stand the intensity of the atomic-fission reaction, progress had to wait till a whole new family of metals, fluids, and ceramics could be prepared and put into production. There was also the prime necessity of protecting human beings from radiations millions of times as strong as anything ever released before.

Ten years ago many experts predicted that atomic power would not be known in our lifetime, perhaps not in our century. The difficulties then seemed insurmountable. Today atomic reactors are springing up in many parts of the country. Pittsburgh will have the first in the public-utility field—a small giant of 60,000 kilowatts—New England soon after. After that a veritable Gargantua of a plant will produce hundreds of thousands of kilowatts for New York City. Fortunately, the early steps toward peace-time uses of atomic energy could be taken parallel with the weapons effort, without much diversion of talent or extra cost. The atomic reactor which produces plutonium fuel for bombs can also turn out power. It is a relatively simple matter to design a similar one that will furnish heat and hence be capable of driving turbines and generators. In fact, both functions can be performed by a single machine, as will be done in the great power reactors of the future.



The technical problems of peaceful power have been studied and mastered by group effort—an extension of the magnificant teamwork that achieved the first enormous release of atomic energy. The original teams have been constantly reaching out and inviting more and more qualified people to join with them in the work. A few years ago a small, secretive inner circle possessed all the knowledge and was severely restricted by federal law—the old Atomic Energy Act—from divulging it to anyone. Today increasing numbers of engineers, scientists, chemists, metallurgists, and experts in a hundred fields are beginning to share in the basic findings and are eager to contribute their own new ideas. The principle of mass attack upon the problem of atomic power has been put into effect. The stated aim of the Atomic Energy Commission, under the act of 1954, is to bring to bear on atomic energy the greatest concentration of American initiative ever lined up on a problem.

A spectacular achievement is the famous atomic submarine, the Nautilus. Through the dogged persistence and courage of Admiral Rickover and his little band of assistants, the navy was induced to make the experiment which sent the small ship to sea. Today it is a success beyond anyone's fondest hopes. Other types of naval vessels are now planned, and the merchant marines of the United States, England, and Norway are considering the possibilities. The President has called for the building of a good-will atomic vessel to travel around the world, without refueling, so that all may see how it is done.

The Question of Cost

An atomic locomotive has been designed, a group of carriers having obtained A. E. C. approval for a study of how the new motive force can be applied to railroading. Meanwhile, the first portable atomic-power plant is being built, and the first plane to fly with nuclear power is in the mock-up stage.

Industries of every kind have embraced the atom, both as a means of delicate control and as an unmatched source of energy for massive manufacturing requirements. In the chemical industry, for instance, huge quantities of heat are needed. Plans are under way to build atomic machines which can meet the industry's needs. Cities, institutions, isolated mining ventures are all beginning to look to the atom to supply their power needs. One very interesting avenue of experimental application will be the transformation of sea water into fresh.

Spurred on by the gathering enthusiasm, a revolution within a revolution has started at the Knolls Atomic Laboratory in Schenectady, New York. The goal is a new design for an atomic reactor which will cut in half the weight of the machines now considered the most advanced. Here is independent initiative at its best.

But in all this imaginative rush we must not lose sight of the basic fact that no new form of energy will win acceptance until it is at least as economical as the fuels now in use. It is here that the value of a central development agency like the Atomic Energy Commission is most apparent. The great lag between the invention of an important new device and its widespread use has often been due to its uneconomic position in infancy. Somebody has to stand the strain of development—the painful years of testing and improvement. For relatively small things like the telephone, the automobile, or the airplane small groups can manage. But for a gigantic advance like atomic energy no one can support the pioneer work but the people themselves. The A.E.C., as the people's representative, has performed this function and has brought atomic power to the point where it can begin to compete with older forms of energy.

We are not quite there yet. The huge plant now going up at Pittsburgh cannot generate electricity at anything like the low cost of Pittsburgh's conventional plants. Nor will the great station to go into service in New York some years hence. Both will be gambles by their owners—not the public—taken in the belief that real advance can only come through practical trial. Economic operation will be the hardest nut to crack of all.

In some places, however, atomic power has a clear economic advantage even now. These are the out-of-the-way places where ordinary fuel is prohibitively expensive. In Greenland, for example, where half the freight load to supply the weather and military stations must be fuel, the atomic reactor will go into service immediately. One plane can fly in enough uranium to keep a small plant going for a year. Similarly, in underdeveloped countries with no power at all, where men do everything by their own muscles, agencies of our government and of the United Nations plan to establish portable atomic stations to help raise the living standards of the people. There are even areas in this country whose remoteness rules out the full use of electric power. Atomic stations bringing heat and light and motors will make life much easier there.

Man's Labor

The promise of atomic energy is tremendous, but it will not create a utopia in which fingers need be lifted only to push buttons. Nor should we want it to. If ever we find an agency that will take all burdens off humanity, civilization will disappear. In atomic energy lies the hope that man can work more effectively, with greater inspiration, and in greater peace. With this new tool, and the sharpening of the wits and the imagination which its use will stimulate, he can go on into a rapidly widening circle of discovery. He has only begun to find out how to live with himself and his environment. The atom has more to give humanity by its inspiration than by its direct gift of emancipation from work.

The most foolish denial of man's purpose on this earth is to say that he can do no more, can learn no more, can imagine no more. Twenty years ago the world's most skilful scientists said that the power of the atom appeared to be beyond realization. They could set down figures to prove it. Today atoms are at work in every hospital; atoms are driving turbines to make light and propel ships. In schools and colleges all over the world these achievements are being explained to youth, inspiring them to a new kind of thinking, generating in them a new daring. Never was there a time of greater vision and greater hope than the present, the dawn of the Atomic Age.

THE ATOM IN MEDICINE

Revolutionizing Research . . *by Jacob Sacks*

THE WORDS "isotope" and "radioactivity" became a part of the vocabulary of the average intelligent person only in the aftermath of Hiroshima. But ten years earlier biochemists and other biologists had already began to use radioactive isotopes as tools in their investigations of the chemical processes constantly taking place in living matter. By the time that nuclear fission was discovered and a small group of physicists, all refugees from the totalitarianisms of the Right, had seen dimly in this phenomenon the possibility of the atomic bomb, medical researchers were laying the groundwork for the use of radioisotopes in the diagnosis and treatment of disease. The radioisotopes they used came mostly from the operation of the cyclotron, the atom-smashing machine invented by Dr E. O. Lawrence of the University of California. These pioneer workers had only very small amounts of isotopes, produced at a cost so great that the whole operation would have been impossible in a budget-minded setting. The instruments used for measuring radioactivity were mostly home-made, barely adequate for the task.

Today the research worker or physician who has demonstrated his competence in the use of radioisotopes—frequently by having taken a training course at the Oak Ridge Institute of Nuclear Studies—need only send a routine purchase order to the Isotopes Division at Oak Ridge to obtain in highly concentrated and chemically pure form any quantity of the radioisotopes he needs. The Oak Ridge nuclear reactor—once only a pilot plant for the giant reactors at Hanford which today make our atomic bombs —can produce practically all the radioisotopes needed for research

---

JACOB SACKS professor of chemistry at the University of Arkansas, is the author of "The Atom at Work" (1951) and "Isotopic Tracers in Biochemistry and Physiology" (1953).

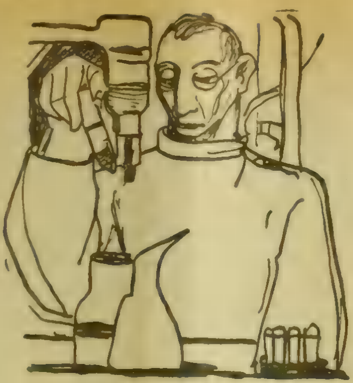
in the United States with enough left over for some export. The price is fantastically low. As for measuring instruments, the scientist can make his choice among the products of a number of manufacturers operating assembly lines.

The primary object of the biochemist who uses radioisotopes is to uncover the processes by which body cells build their structures, the mechanisms by which they convert food materials into these structures, and the manner in which they utilize the food materials both as building blocks and as sources of energy. Isotopes are useful as tracers because their radioactivity enables them to be followed through all their complex chemical transformations in the body. The chemical properties are completely independent of whether the isotope is radioactive or stable.

Schoenheimer's Experiments

The first important use of isotopes as tracers was made by the late Rudolf Schoenheimer at Calumbia University three years before the first radioactive isotope was produced in the laboratory. Schoenheimer used the heavy stable isotopes of hydrogen and nitrogen which his colleague, Harold C. Urey, had succeeded in separating from their higher stable counterparts. Using heavy hydrogen, called deuterium, as a tracer Schoenheimer was able to show that the "depot fats" of the body, which had been considered to be in inert storage, were used as sources of energy, being partially replaced daily by fats taken in as food. Using heavy nitrogen as a tracer, he was also able to show that the proteins of the body are in the same dynamic state; part of the proteins of the liver, muscles, and other body tissues is burnt up every day for energy and replaced by an equivalent amount of diet protein. The principles underlying the use of the heavy stable isotopes as tracers are the same as those later put to such broad use with radioisotopes; the techniques for measurement are different.

Schoenheimer's findings revolutionized biochemistry. Previously it had been considered that the body structures were relatively fixed, that there was no mixing of food with structural materials. During growth, of course, food had to be drawn upon to build body cells, but apart from that and the replacement of worn cells by new ones, there was supposed to be this sharp line of separation. The change in the biochemist's viewpoint is so complete that he now takes it for granted that everything in the body is in flux. When experiments with radioactive phosphorus showed that the bones themselves are constantly changing, that every half-hour about half the phosphorus atoms circulating in the blood plasma change place with phosphorus atoms in the bones, the results were accepted as a matter of course. Only one significant exception has been found to this dynamic state—the molecules of the hemoglobin in the red blood corpuscles which carry oxygen to the body cells and take carbon dioxide away from them. The corpuscles, produced in the bone marrow, have a life span of four months. Tests show that the same atoms of carbon, hydrogen, nitrogen, oxygen, and iron that make up the hemoglobin molecule when the red blood corpuscle starts out are still there when it dies.



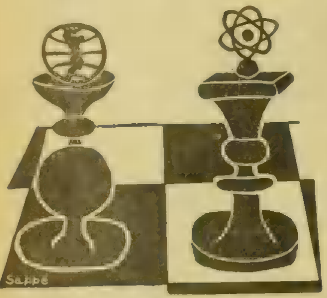
All these studies on the body's chemical dynamics are interesting to the scientist, but in this pragmatic world the plea is always for the practical application of knowledge. Well, the pragmatist has been served, and frequently with very little time lag. In 1939, a group at the University of Rochester, under G. H. Whipple, published the results of a study of the utilization of iron for the formation of hemoglobin. With the help of a radioactive isotope of iron, they were able to demonstrate that the body absorbs and utilizes the iron in the food only as needed when body stores have been depleted. Shortly after, the government's Office of Scientific Research and Development was confronted with the problem of "banking" blood so that instantaneous transfusion on the battlefield would be possible. The great danger was that the red cells in the preserved blood, although they might appear normal under the microscope even after a considerable time lapse, would not survive the transfusion. Disintegrating in the blood stream of the recipient, the red cells would liberate hemoglobin, blocking the kidneys and possibly causing death.

The O. S. R. D. commissioned two groups to study the problem with the help of radioactive iron. Medical students were injected with the isotope. After several days, the radioiron was present in their newly formed red blood corpuscles. The blood was then drawn, different parts treated with various preservatives under a variety of conditions, and stored for different lengths of time. Now small amounts of the samples of stored blood were injected into the veins of other volunteers, samples of their blood drawn at frequent intervals for the next few days, and the radioactivity measured. The use of the radioactive isotope made it possible to use such small quantities of blood for the tests that even where the transfused cells did not survive, no harm was done. In each case the radioactivity measurements revealed what fraction of the transfused blood corpuscles had survived and were carrying out their function. The result: methods for preserving blood were worked out which made possible the tremendous blood-bank operation of World War II. Since the war the "blood bank" is standard equipment in modern hospitals.

Studying the Thyroid

Another example of turning the results of "pure science" investigations with radioisotopes to practical utility is in connection with the workings of the thyroid gland. This gland, located just below and to the sides of the Adam's apple, regulates the metabolic level of the body by means of compounds which contain nearly all the body supply of iodine. In 1938, two medical-research groups started to use radioactive iodine to study various aspects of the gland's functioning. Today most large clinical groups and many of the larger hospitals use radioiodine constantly for the diagnosis of thyroid disorders. Oak Ridge makes more shipments of radioiodine than of any other radioisotope. Most is used for diagnosis, the rest for treatment of thyroid disease.

Agricultural experiment stations use radiophosphorus extensively in studies that are on the borderline between science and technology. A vast program of research, made feasible by the radioisotopes, has demonstrated how best to use phosphate fertilizer for corn, potatoes, sugar beets, tobacco, and a wide variety of other crops. And this program is continuing, adding to the sum total of information that makes for efficient farming and the better utilization of natural resources. Such studies help postpone the day when growing populations will overtake the potential food supply.



Special Therapeutic Uses

We live today in the shadow of annihilation by the H-bomb; some qualified observers have expressed fear of the possible long-term genetic effects of the radiation liberated in the testing of nuclear weapons. These fears are based on the known biological effects of radiation from radioisotopes. These are the radiations which make isotopes valuable as tracers in the type of experimentation we have been discussing. The *controlled* use of such radiations, using X-ray and radium as sources, has been a valuable aid in medical diagnosis for almost sixty years, and in the treatment of cancer and certain other diseases for about half that time. For the most part, the substitution of man-made radioisotopes for high-cost X-ray machines and radium represents nothing new in principle. It is just a matter of making the radiation tool much cheaper and, for that reason, more widely available.

There are two good examples of the use of radioisotopes in special cases of disease. One is the condition known as *polycythemia rubra vera,* characterized by an excess of red blood corpuscles which choke the capillaries and thus impede circulation. When the patient is given water containing the correct dose of radiophosphorus, a fair share of the isotope is picked up by the marrow cells which produce the corpuscles. The radiation reduces production to normal and the symptoms of the disease soon disappear.

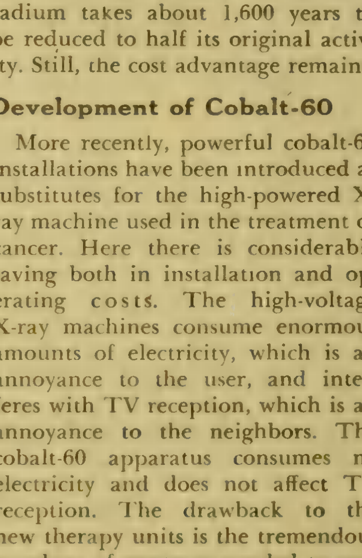
The other special case deals with disturbances of the thyroid gland. Over-activity of this organ is encountered fairly frequently; tracer doses of radioiodine are commonly used in the diagnosis of the condition. In most instances satisfactory treatment can be provided by drugs, surgery, or both. However, there are cases in which the drug cannot be tolerated, or is ineffective, and in which surgery cannot be carried out without great risk to life. These patients can be treated with fairly large doses of radioiodine, the radiations of which destroy the thyroid cells. By proper dosage the destruction of the gland can be carried to the point where its function is restored to normal. The process takes place gradually, without severe strain on the patient.

Even more dramatic is the use of radioiodine in the treatment of cancer of the thyroid. Like cancer of any other organ, thyroid cancer spreads to other parts of the body. In a certain percentage of the cases, it has been found that when the primary thyroid cancer is removed surgically the secondary cancers, which pathologists call metastases, will collect iodine in the same way as normal thyroid cells. A tracer dose of radioiodine is given, and the Geiger counter is used to see if the metastases have collected the iodine. If so, then a large dose of radioiodine is given and the radiations destroy the cancer cells that have collected the radioiodine. Unfortunately, only a minority of cases can be treated this way; more commonly the metastases have strayed so far from normal thyroid function that they have lost the ability to collect iodine. And it must be emphasized that cancer of organs other than the thyroid cannot be treated in this way at all.

Cobalt-60, the radioactive isotope of cobalt, came into use a few years ago as a substitute for radium. A gram of radium costs about $25,000; the equivalent amount of cobalt-60, in terms of radiation, costs $100, with a substantial discount for larger quantities. This is not quite as great a price advantage as it seems, since the equipment for storing and handling the radioisotope is just as elaborate and expensive as that needed for radium. Moreover, cobalt-60 activity is reduced by half in a little over five years, whereas radium takes about 1,600 years to be reduced to half its original activity. Still, the cost advantage remains.

Development of Cobalt-60

More recently, powerful cobalt-60 installations have been introduced as substitutes for the high-powered X-ray machine used in the treatment of cancer. Here there is considerable saving both in installation and operating costs. The high-voltage X-ray machines consume enormous amounts of electricity, which is an annoyance to the user, and interferes with TV reception, which is an annoyance to the neighbors. The cobalt-60 apparatus consumes no electricity and does not affect TV reception. The drawback to the new therapy units is the tremendous numbers of neutrons needed to pro-



Herblock in the Washington Post

"If you could just control your inventions, huh?"

duce the cobalt-60. Production methods are such that if Oak Ridge attempted to satisfy the demand for cobalt-60 there would be a decided reduction in the number of neutrons available for the manufacture of other radioisotopes. If it were done at Hanford, there would be a corresponding reduction in the amount of plutonium produced for our stockpile of atomic bombs. So the cooperation of the Canadian reactor at Chalk River, Ontario, has been obtained. This reactor, which uses heavy water instead of graphite to slow down the neutrons, makes available about ten times as many neutrons per second to convert the same sized wafer of ordinary cobalt-59 into cobalt-60 as does Oak Ridge. Again, the operation reduces the number of neutrons available for other purposes. A study is now being made of the use of another isotope, caesium-137, as a substitute for cobalt-60 for therapy units. But this isotope, a waste product of nuclear fission, presents a serious problem in disposal on account of the large amounts formed and the relatively long radioactive half-life of 37 years.

Another promising development is the recent invention of a portable machine using the radioisotope thulium-170 as the radiation source. This isotope must be made in the reactor by using up neutrons, as does cobalt-60. It needs no electricity, and can function in the open field. At the moment the primary interest is in the possibilities for use by the military, but there is a potential field of usefulness in times of peace.

Future Patterns

What of the future of atoms-for-peace in biology and medicine? Investigations of the mechanisms of the processes that take place in living matter will continue. Two possibilities deserve special mention. The daily press has made us aware that radiation can produce mutations, most of which are undesirable. This is what has aroused the geneticists to protest again the continued testing of nuclear weapons. But mutations are not always for the worse; a very small percentage have some desirable properties. For example, the commercial production of penicillin was made possible by the use of radiation-produced mutants. A

fair amount of work has been done, and much more remains to be done, in the direction of obtaining desirable radiation-induced mutants of many crops of economic importance. The road will be long, there will be hundreds of failures to one success, but the quest will be worth while.

The other possibility involves the effort to conquer cancer. Nutritionists have found that folic acid, one of the B vitamins, is essential for the normal production of blood cells. The part played by this vitamin was elucidated by tracer experiments with radioisotopes. Then the medical-research workers took over. It is known that a chemical compound closely resembling a vitamin in structure is frequently capable of playing dog-in-the-manger and preventing the vitamin from performing its function. The search began for such a blocking agent for folic acid. One was found, again by the use of radioisotopes. This substance, named aminopterin, was tried out on mice suffering from leukemia, a cancer-like condition of the bone marrow in which enormous numbers of white blood cells are produced. The experiments proved promising, so trial was made on some children suffering from the same fatal disease. The drug seemed to hold the disease in check for some weeks, but ultimately the malignant process found a way to by-pass the aminopterin and the inevitable outcome followed.

Meantime a research team at the Sloan-Kettering Institute in New York City was carrying out extensive radioisotope-tracer experiments on the mechanism by which all living cells form the substance known as desoxyribose nucleic acid, usually abbreviated to DNA. DNA is the fundamental constituent of the chromosomes, the carriers of hereditary characteristics. The institute's findings formed the basis for the synthesis of some structural analogs of one compound which is an essential building-block of DNA. Again, the use of radioactive-tracer isotopes showed that one of these, the chemical name of which is 6-mercaptopurine, was able to block the formation of DNA and thus stop the growth of tumor cells. The effect could be achieved in some types of tumor with doses that did not interfere seriously with the normal body functions. One type of tumor was caused to disappear; others were slowed down in their growth.

So far these experiments have been carried out on animals and the results obtained have given hope rather than promise. If the goal is achieved, and a chemical means of controlling cancer does come about, no small share of the credit will go to fundamental scientific research with radioisotopes. If the hope is fulfilled, there will be many more lives saved by this means than were snuffed out at Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Cost of Atomic Power

In view of the considerable interest aroused by the announcement of Britain's ten-year plan for atomic-power stations, we repeat that the estimated cost of electricity per kilowatt hour from Britain's first commercial nuclear stations will come to six-tenths of an English penny (7 cents). This is about the same as the probable future cost of electricity generated by the new coal-fired stations being built in Britain.

Both the above estimates are based on a number of assumptions set out in the British Government's White Paper, including an estimated value for the plutonium which will be produced as a by-product at the nuclear power stations.

Bulletin, British Information Service, February 1, 1955.

IV. THE ECONOMICS OF THE ATOM

The atom, for all its limitless potential, is essentially a fuel in competition with other fuels—water power, coal, and oil. How well can the atom compete? How soon, and under what conditions, will a major industry be created out of nuclear science? Gunnar Randers here discusses the problem in world-wide terms, while Isard and Whitney focus on the United States. Both articles were written with a realistic eye to the profit motif underlying Western society and to the fact that use of the atom needs high skill.

PATTERN OF DEVELOPMENT

Costs versus Needs . . *by Gunnar Randers*

OUR whole civilization today is built upon energy consumption. We no longer have to spend all our time in getting food and shelter. Every man can now get those things very easily and can devote most of his time to other purposes. That is because we have energy to produce aluminum and steel, to propel our aircraft and our ships, to heat our houses, to mine new minerals, to pump water for irrigation, and to do a thousand other things that formerly broke men's backs.

The relationship between energy consumption and living standards is very close. In the United States the total energy consumed is about 8 tons of coal per year per head; in the United Kingdom, about 4.5. (In "tons of coal" I include all kinds of power, converting them into one unit for purposes of comparison.) Norway also consumes about 4.5 tons per year per head, but Denmark only 2 tons, though the living standards of the two countries are almost identical. The explanation is that Denmark lives to a larger extent on agricultural production. Australia, with a mixture of agricultural and industrial production, uses 3.5 tons of coal per head; Japan, less than 1 ton, India only about 0.1 of a ton.

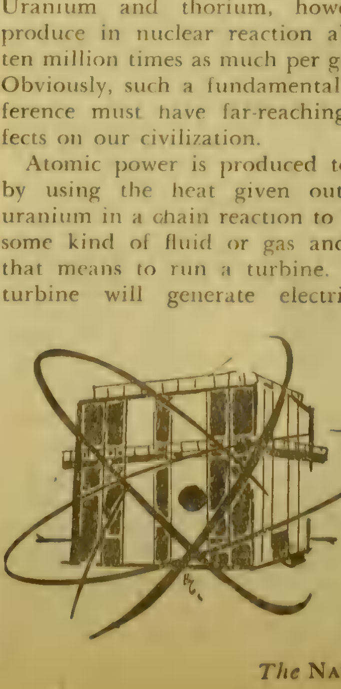
To indicate the standards of living in the countries mentioned, I will use the national income per head as a measure. (Giving it for all countries in dollars means I am not using a perfect measure, since prices vary, but it will do.) In the United States the annual income per head is about $2,000. In the United Kingdom, where the figure for the consumption of energy is 4.5 as against 8 in the United States, the income per head goes down from $2,000 to $1,000. In the light of the difference in prices that is a close correlation. Norway's national income is also roughly $1,000 per head, just as the figure for power consumption was the same as for the United Kingdom. The income figure for Australia is the same, though its power consumption is slightly lower owing to the emphasis on agriculture. Denmark is in the same class. In Japan, where power consumption compares with that in the United States roughly as one to ten, the national income goes down proportionately, from $2,000 to $200. In India the national income per head is around $50, which again corresponds pretty well to the consumption of energy.

Today for the first time in history an intensive effort is being made to raise standards of living all over the world. But raising standards of living is dependent on technical development, and technical development is dependent on the consumption of coal. We ask, then, how long coal will be able to sustain the necessary expansion? And we discover that if we really go in for a program to give the whole world an income of $2,000 per head, available coal deposits will not last twenty years.

Atomic energy, therefore, seems to be our only alternative to a declining standard of living for the world. In known supplies of uranium we have between twenty-five and fifty times as much available energy as in coal.

Atomic-power production, it should be understood, is not to be considered a new technical development, a new invention of any kind; it is a new type of fuel. Its use is a revolutionary development, for the concentration of energy in this fuel is from one million to ten million times the concentration of energy in any of the conventional fuels. All these—coal, oil, dynamite, wood, or anything else—yield roughly the same amount of energy per atom involved and have for thousands of years. Some burn faster than others, but the energy per gram is the same. Uranium and thorium, however, produce in nuclear reaction about ten million times as much per gram. Obviously, such a fundamental difference must have far-reaching effects on our civilization.

Atomic power is produced today by using the heat given out by uranium in a chain reaction to heat some kind of fluid or gas and by that means to run a turbine. The turbine will generate electricity.



GUNNAR RANDERS is Special Consultant to the U. N. Secretary General on Atomic Energy Matters.

Thus the novelty is in the fuel and furnace which provide the heat. The electricity-generating equipment remains the same.

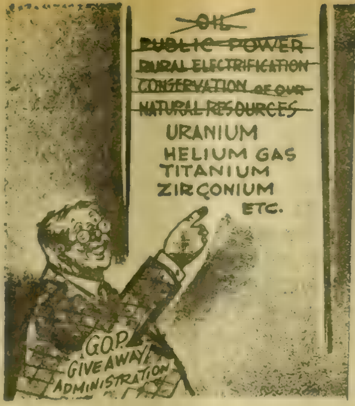
As everyone knows, it is technically feasible today to build reactors that can be used to produce electricity. The great question is: can we expect the price to be competitive with other energy sources? During the past year lots of calculations have been made to find out how the price of atomic power is affected by the price of uranium, moderating cost, the size of the reactor, its location, and so on. The conclusion has been that the price of atomic energy per kilowatt hour in any country will be exactly the same as the price of other sources of energy in that country. It may be that the calculators are not completely unbiased: they probably want that answer, and quite often one can see where the little adjusting factor comes in. But it is usually impossible to protest against the factor because the uncertainties are so large.

I think that the question of price will not be very decisive in the future of atomic energy. The price will be low enough to make it feasible to use it, and it will not be significantly lower than that of other forms of energy—until, of course, other sources of energy are really running out.

High Cost of Energy

In many areas in the world today the cost of energy is high. It is in England, which has a very courageous atomic-energy program. Most industry in England pays about one cent per kilowatt hour for electricity, and the British believe that atomic energy might lower the price. Consequently, in the next five years they intend to build plants with an installed capacity of something like 400,000 kilowatts for electricity production. This is not very much, but it represents a serious effort. In the United States four industrial firms have suggested building plants for the Atomic Energy Commission to produce roughly the same amount of electricity in the next three, four or five years—that is, 400,000 to 450,000 installed kilowatts.

To say that the British program is courageous is true in a way. But even if it were to fail utterly, it would not have cost more than twelve shillings per person per year. This would obviously not ruin the United Kingdom. Of course a program of the same size in this country would be even less risky. I am now excluding military applications, which are immensely more costly but which pose an altogether different question.


~~OIL~~
~~PUBLIC POWER~~
~~RURAL ELECTRIFICATION~~
~~CONSERVATION OF OUR NATURAL RESOURCES~~
URANIUM
HELIUM GAS
TITANIUM
ZIRCONIUM
ETC.
G.O.P. GIVEAWAY ADMINISTRATION

York Gazette and Daily

Hurry—While They Last

That atomic energy can be used for propulsion purposes has already been proved by an American submarine. It can obviously be used in merchant ships but will probably be considered practical only for certain types. The over-all cost of atomic power depends upon the cost of operating the reactor and the size of the investment. Since the investment required is very high and the operating cost very small, the propulsive power costs roughly the same whether the reactor is running or is idle. That means that you cannot afford to have an atomic-powered ship lying around in port for a long period. It would not pay to install reactors in ships unless they are running nearly continuously and at a high rate of speed. In the case of an ordinary ship there is a theoretical limit to its speed. If a cargo ship has a speed of twenty knots, it will consume 6 per cent more fuel to increase its speed by 1 per cent. If it must carry so much more fuel, it must be built larger, and then it will need even more fuel to push it through the water at a given speed. So you have a vicious circle, and it really does not pay to increase the speed past a certain point. The use of atomic energy, however, gets around this difficulty. The construction of the hull offers a problem, but that can be solved.

At the international conference on peaceful uses of atomic energy one question that is certain to arise is this: Where on the earth is atomic energy most likely to be used, and where will it pay to go ahead? Many persons would probably say: in those areas where there is a shortage of electricity. But let us look at the figures on the supply of electricity in different countries. Norway, which is the highest consumer of electricity per head in the world, has 1.2 kilowatts per head installed. The United States, which comes next, has about half as much—0.6 of a kilowatt per head. The United Kingdom, Denmark, and Australia have roughly the same—0.4, 0.3, and 0.4, respectively. Thus the standard of living that prevails in these countries today seems to require about 0.5 of a kilowatt per head. Otherwise, it would be a coincidence that countries as far away from each other and as different as Australia, Denmark, the United States, and the United Kingdom have roughly the same amount. If it seems anomalous that Norway should have twice as much per head as the United States, the reason is that Norway has practically no power except hydroelectric power, and therefore uses electricity for lots of things—heating houses, for example—for which oil is used in this country. In Japan the figure is about 0.13, in India 0.01.

It is not at all certain, however, that we should rush to the countries of lowest electricity production and start building atomic-energy plants there. Surprisingly enough, some of those countries believe they have surplus power for the moment, their development being too low to need a larger amount. They use power only for small machines.

The Pattern of Use

The point I want to make is that the matter is not so simple as it may seem. If we are going to double the use of electricity in any country, we must also double its national income. That is why I personally think that atomic energy will first be used in countries which already have fairly high power production and would like to increase it. Ultimately, of course, countries with little or no electricity will want larger amounts.

But for the next ten years it is technically highly developed countries with a lack of power, especially those whose energy resources are running out, which will be most in need of atomic power. A long-term program, for twenty-five years or more, would include countries in which technical development must be accelerated.

Certain places might prove exceptions to this rule. There might be a desert area where 500,000 kilowatts could be used for irrigation. The standard of living of the inhabitants would thus be raised while they continued to do the work they were accustomed to. An outside state would probably have to build the reactor and send in people to run it.

Even the smaller European countries have their atomic-energy commissions and their plans for development in this field. Their aim at present is to develop the technological background which they need in order to utilize atomic energy. If they find out later that they are able to build their own power reactors, they may want to do so. It is not likely, however, that many small countries will consider it practical to start a complete power-reactor industry. They will probably content themselves with producing specialized equipment and parts for atomic-power plants. The electronics industry in Europe can compete in both size and quality with any in the world. The small powers also have their metallurgical industries, which would be able to take up the production of special metals. European industry has lately shown an increasing interest in getting a foothold in the government-sponsored atomic-energy programs. It is possible that competition from firms in the smaller European countries may in time reduce the market for the big firms of the larger countries, but if any industrial application of atomic power is undertaken in Europe within the next five or ten years, it will be done by employing the technological and production capacities of the larger countries.

Atomic-energy installations in the underdeveloped areas of the earth will have to be part of some long-term plan for the whole economy of the region. Such a plan would doubtless include the setting up of industries which would be interested not only in using atomic energy but in taking part in its production. Their progress, however, would hardly be fast enough to enable them to compete with the older atomic industries in other parts of the world.

The importance of starting at a highly industrialized level makes it probable that atomic-energy production as an industry will become of economic importance in the United States as early as in any other country, in spite of the general belief that its development will be held back by the abundance and low price of available energy here.

PATTERN FOR AMERICA

. . by Walter Isard and Vincent Whitney

ATOMIC development is by now a thoroughgoing commitment of the principal industrialized nations of the world. While many details of this current program of nuclear research and development are obscured by considerations of secrecy, the continuing activity and the mounting progress are clear enough. Any conscientious reader of the reports of the Atomic Energy Commission and of the hearings of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy of the United States Congress can follow their general outline. Appropriation requests to the Congress furnish another clue. And the daily press, though sometimes excitable or visionary, mirrors the cumulative atomic ferment.

One of the most significant changes in the nuclear activities of the United States government during the past year has been the emergence of a limited but real emphasis upon atoms for peace. This new and important emphasis derives in part from the growing awareness of the Administration in Washington that atomic development can be made a potent political weapon in international affairs. Hunger, disease, poverty, and oppression are widespread in the world today. Peaceful uses of nuclear energy suggest a dramatic approach to an attack on these conditions, which, so long as they exist, remain a threat to economic and political stability. The compelling appeal of such a use of nuclear energy may have led to over-optimistic expectations. But what is important is that the United States has at last begun to allocate some share of its funds and interest to research designed to employ nuclear energy for constructive purposes. The consequences will inevitably be meaningful for our own economy regardless of their effect upon international relations.

Until the last year the government of the United States had not demonstrated any effective interest in atoms for peace. The principal exception had been the production and distribution of radioisotopes for medical, industrial, agricultural, and other scientific purposes. It is also true that by-product power in inconsequential amounts was derived from various nuclear-energy installations such as those at Arco, Idaho, and at the Argonne National Laboratory outside Chicago. And atomic power in amounts ranging up

---

WALTER ISARD, associate professor of regional economics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and VINCENT WHITNEY, chairman of the Department of Sociology of Brown University, are the co-authors of "Atomic Power: An Economic and Social Analysis."

to 10,000 kilowatts has now been offered for sale, beginning July, 1955, at the West Milton, New York, facility, where such power is produced as an incidental function of the operation of a research reactor. It should also be pointed out that at the level of basic research, findings can of course be applied to peacetime as well as to military purposes.

The A. E. C.'s Five-Year Plan

A strong stimulus to new peacetime applications is the five-year program of reactor development which the Atomic Energy Commission is currently pushing. This again has grown in part out of the military need for mobile reactors, but it is serving simultaneously to test the suitability of five basic nuclear systems for power production. By late last fall sixty-five companies were investing private funds in atomic-power research and development. The Dow Chemical-Detroit Edison and Associates group reported expenditures and commitments for atomic research and development in 1954 totaling $1,900,000. The Duquesne Light Company of Pittsburgh is under contract with the Atomic Energy Commission to build and operate a new turbo-generator plant at Shippingport, Pennsylvania, twenty-five miles from Pittsburgh on the Ohio River. When completed, the company will operate the reactor portion of the plant. Up to $5,000,000 of the development and construction costs for the reactor portion of the facility are being borne by Duquesne, although the government has allowed a 75 per cent tax write-off on the company's investment. This is an experimental but commercially usable atomic-power plant based on a pressurized water reactor. It is intended to furnish a minimum of 100,000 kilowatts of electricity to Pittsburgh by 1957.

These illustrations are cited to indicate the kind and extent of involvement of private industry in the atomic-energy program which is resulting from changes made in the Atomic Energy Act of 1954. Yet sizable as such private investments are in themselves, they remain small in comparison with the outlays of the federal government. Alfonso Tammaro, assistant general manager for research and development of the Atomic Energy Commission, referred last July to federal expenditures of several hundred million dollars in the next five years and of nearly a billion dollars more for prototype plants and pilot models in the next decade. The development of atomic power both in the United States and abroad has so far depended overwhelmingly on government subsidy, both direct and indirect. This is not likely to change in the next decade.

The economic justification for such a prediction can be found in the staggering cost of the essential continuing research and of the experimental operation of nuclear reactors. These factors are reinforced by the unfavorable cost position of power based on nuclear fuels compared to that based on such conventional fuels as coal and oil. In what period of time and under what conditions atomic power can be made competitive is a matter of argument which can only be resolved ultimately by actual operating experience with nuclear stations. There is general agreement that under present conditions unsubsidized atomic power is not competitive. The majority of current studies—and these are largely dependent on calculations made on paper—agree that an atomic-power plant will require a greater investment of capital than a steam station of comparable output based on coal or oil at present prices. A nuclear station must have a turbine-generator similar to that of a conventional steam station and, in addition, a reactor or a combination of reactor and heat exchanger. Special chemical and metallurgical facilities may also be needed. These require a total investment considerably greater than for the usual boiler in which coal or oil is burned. Even if the successful development of the experimental boiling-water reactor ultimately eliminates the necessity for a heat exchanger, the requisite capital investment is still expected to be greater.

General Electric Estimate

Francis K. McCune, general manager of the Atomic Products Division of the General Electric Company, has given one of the most optimistic estimates of such investment cost. Addressing the Atomic Industrial Forum in 1954, Mr. McCune presented data for a nuclear plant of 300,000 kilowatt capacity utilizing a light-water-moderated boiling reactor. He estimated that an investment of $243 will be required for each kilowatt of output. This figure includes the nuclear-fuel inventory. The investment for a coal station of comparable capacity would amount to $160 per kilowatt. Reckoning all costs the power from the nuclear station, operating at a plant-utilization factor of 80 per cent, would cost an estimated 6.7 mills a kilowatt hour as compared with a kilowatt-hour cost of 6.9 mills for the comparable coal station.

A second estimate presented by Mr. McCune is for a graphite-moderated, water-cooled reactor. This would have a capacity of 700,000 kilowatts, which is unusually large, and would operate at a plant-utili-

FUEL PRICES AT A RANDOM SAMPLE OF CENTRAL STEAM STATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1945

State	Number of stations	Price of fuel in cents per million B. t. u.*	
		Range	Median
LOW COST			
Arkansas	2	3-9	6
Texas	16	4-24	8
Louisiana	4	6-15	9
Oklahoma	1	-----	9
Kansas	8	10-15	12
Kentucky	4	10-17	12
HIGHEST COST			
Rhode Island	1	-----	26
Connecticut	4	24-34	28
Florida	5	26-31	28
Massachusetts	14	24-33	28
New Hampshire	2	28-31	30
Vermont	1	-----	41

Source: Estimated from reports drawn in a random sample from the files of the Federal Power Commission by John B. Lansing. For complete table see Isard and Whitney "Atomic Power," New York, (The Blakiston Company, 1952), p. 42.

*British Thermal Units, the standard measurement of heat.

zation factor of 85 per cent, which is high. Very favorable assumptions are also necessary about the cost of fuel, reprocessing, and depreciation and about interest rates on the capital utilized. If all these factors are allowed, the per kilowatt-hour cost of atomic electricity is a competitive 6.8 mills.

These figures are cited because they represent the most optimistic specific estimates of the cost of atomic power to come from a responsible spokesman for a large American industry actively connected with the atomic-development program. The large size of plant and the high plant-utilization factor may be realistic for a limited number of nuclear-based stations in heavily industrialized regions such as the American deep-water rim or the Midlands of England. Such stations would presumably be integral parts of major electric systems or groups of systems with extensive and relatively far-flung distribution facilities.

Numerically, such "giants" constitute only a small fraction of the American electric plants, although they produce a substantial proportion of the electric power used in the United States. The most recent published American data show 450 privately owned electric companies, about 2,300 electric systems owned by municipalities and other public bodies, and approximately 1,000 rural electric cooperatives either producing or distributing electric energy or doing both. Testifying before the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy of the Eighty-fourth Congress in February, 1955, Alex Radin, general manager of the American Public Power Association, reported that only about 1 per cent of the nation's electric utilities—39 out of over 3,750—would be eligible to participate in the current power-reactor demonstration program of the Atomic Energy Commission. Mr. Radin's testimony reflects indirectly the limited capacity of the great majority of the publicly owned systems, including the rural electric cooperatives. Only a few of these are large enough to suggest the use of even 200,000- to 300,000-kilowatt generators in the foreseeable future. For the majority, at their present size, reactors with capacities of from 5,000 to 30,000 kilowatts are most appropriate.

"Proletariazation" of Power

The advantage of this process [the use of breeder reactors], as regards the underdeveloped areas of the world, are incalculable. The 600 tons of uranium which I previously envisaged would correspond to a doubling of today's consumption of fuel, equivalent to the consumption of 5,000 million tons of coal. With an extraction rate of 1 per cent of metal, the 600 tons of uranium would require 60,000 tons of ore, which is a tonnage 80,000 times less than that of the coal that would be required to produce the same energy.

The transition from the thermal era to the atomic era would thus take the form of a reduction, by a ratio of 80,000 to 1, of the weight of the materials or ores to be extracted, and a reduction of 100 times larger would make the ratio 8 million to 1 in the weight of the fuel to be transported from the mine to the furnace. Atomic power thus appears to be easily dispersable and transferable into regions lacking in other rsourcs.

This sort of dissemination doubtless would spell immense social progress in making available large power resources to all peoples. In the same manner, the portable reactors now being built in America —which are known by the striking and expressive name of "power package"—constitute a happy augury for the international proletariazation, if I may so call it, of power to be placed at the disposal of mankind.

Jules Mook, French representative on the U. N. Disarmanent Commission, before the Political Committee on November 8, 1954.

These statements, of course, imply a static condition. They are based on the assumption that the development of relatively cheap atomic power from reactors of large capacity would not alter the operating and ownership structure of American utility companies. Such an assumption is hardly consistent with past trends in American economy and society. On both historical and logical grounds it seems probable that major changes in the structure of the utility services in the direction of increased concentration would follow any demonstration that atomic power can be cheap power only when produced on a large scale. The fact that atomic-energy study teams have been organized by both private- and public-utility groups suggests the probable ultimate necessity for higher concentration of both management and operations.

Small Stations Suffer

Mr. McCune's estimates of atomic electricity at a cost slightly below 7 mills a kilowatt hour are not applicable to the stations of small capacity referred to by Mr. Radin. Neither are they likely to prove realistic for economically underdeveloped regions. In both instances limited capital and limited markets for power are restricting factors which will tend to prevent the achievement of the assumptions underlying Mr. McCune's estimates.

An initial investment of $73,000,000 is required for a boiling reactor and one of $194,000,000 for a graphite reactor of the size posited. Such amounts are far from negligible in themselves. Particularly in underdeveloped regions capital for nuclear facilities would have to compete with the host of other needs for capital investment—for transportation, for basic industry, for education and welfare services, and so on. And since interest rates in underdeveloped regions are inevitably well in excess of those paid in the United States, such areas will labor under an additional serious disadvantage. For an assumed situation similar to that presented by Mr. McCune, a difference of 3 per cent in the interest rate on borrowed capital between regions can result in a cost increase of 2.5 mills for each kilowatt hour of electricity.

Even if the necessary capital can be made available, it will make no economic sense to build a nuclear plant with a capacity of 700,000 kilowatts, or for that matter, of 300,000 kilowatts, unless there is a market for its output. Among other things, this implies the necessity of a substantial supply of power-using equipment and facilities. These in turn require a sizable investment in power-operated industrial and household equipment. Outside the major industrial nations there are few areas where such equipment exists in amounts adequate to furnish economic justification for the construction and operation of nuclear reactors of large capacity.

In such regions, as well as in areas of the United States served by small electric plants, reactors of 5,000 to 50,000 kilowatts capacity are more rational. But the price the consumer would pay for power from such stations would be relatively high because large investment costs would have to be allocated to the relatively few kilowatt hours produced. Moreover, a plant-utilization factor of 80 per cent or more is rarely achieved, especially where part of the power is for household consumption. The irregularity of household periods of demand means that peak capacity must exceed average kilowatt-hour use. If for Mr. McCune's higher figure we substitute a plant factor of 50 per cent, the typical operating level for steam stations in the United States, his estimated kilowatt-hour costs are raised from 6.7 mills and 6.8 mills to about 11 and 12 mills. Reducing the high capacity assumed would raise costs further.

This is clearly shown for existing stations in the United States. According to figures for 1950 compiled by the Federal Power Commission, generating costs for electric utilities with gross annual electric revenues between $25,000 and $250,000 a year approximated 11.2 mills for each kilowatt hour. In the same year utilities with gross annual electric revenues in excess of $250,000 a year showed a comparable cost of approximately 4 mills per kilowatt hour produced. The great majority of the publicly owned systems fall in the first group. Their average installed capacity was only 19,500 kilowatts as compared with an average of 223,450 kilowatts for the larger utilities, which are mainly privately owned systems. Similarly, net plant investment averaged $7,675,000 for the first group and $71,957,000 for the second.

If nuclear power is to be cheap power, apparently it must come in big blocks. As Norbert Weiner of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology told *The Nation's* Conference on Atomic Energy in 1950, "It must be production on a large scale indeed to be able to amortize the enormous preliminary expenses." It is understandable why Mr. McCune talks in terms of reactors with a capacity of 700,000 kilowatts, which, as we have indicated, is an unusually large output even for plants in industralized countries.

Sooner Than We Think

Atomic fuel offers the only chance to meet the soaring demand for electric power while reducing its cost. This is the message utility heads have been bringing to stockholders in recent months. Although initial costs of building atomic-powered plants run as much as $90 a kilowatt higher than conventional steam plants, the two types are expected to meet on equal competitive footing as early as 1962. H. R. Searing, president of Consolidated Edison Co. Inc., told shareholders at the annual meeting last week that reductions in the cost of producing electricity could come about "only with atomic power." He offered two major points to support this argument:

1. Modern technology has just about squeezed the maximum efficiency from conventional fuels. A pound of coal cannot be made to produce much more heat for the production of electricity.
2. Costs of coal, oil, and gas will rise as resources are exhausted and as the country's demand for electric power expands to meet increased industrial production. Power requirements are expected to more than double by 1970, so, even with more efficiency, savings in power generation will not keep pace with spiraling fuel costs.

Mr. Searing pointed out that this reduction in the cost of nuclear fuel has been achieved to the point where Consolidated's proposed plant at Indian Point, Buchanan, New York, will turn out electricity at a cost of 0.9 cent a kilowatt hour. This figure compares with a cost of 0.75 cent for a kilowatt hour of electricity from the company's newest conventional plant in Astoria. . . .

New York Herald Tribune,
May 21, 1955.

Extensive use of atomic power in the next quarter of a century is dependent then upon one or both of two factors. The first is extensive subsidization by a nation or by an international authority. The second is finding ways to make atomic power really economically competitive with existing sources. Actually, a combination of these two approaches can be expected.

The Need for Subsidies

It seems inevitable that subsidization will play a major role in the present experimental and developmental period. Appearing before the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy in February, 1955, one of the leading advocates of private enterprise in the atomic-energy program, Walker L. Cisler, president of the Detroit Edison Company, testified:

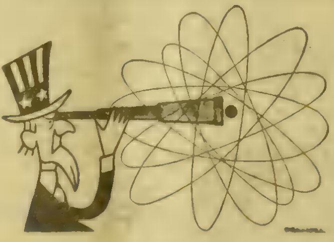
> . . . the work carried out by the [Atomic Energy] Commission as a part of its regular program was very helpful to us. Certainly we could not have reached the point that we have without the benefit of that.
>
> My understanding was that the commission would help in any actual research work but not in any actual building of a facility where that facility was going to be owned privately.

A little later in the same hearing Representative Holifield of California concluded a question by stating: "But in addition to the work you are doing, the A. E. C.'s five-year program is really doing the major part of the research and development work in the field at the present time." Mr. Cisler replied: "I believe that is true." It is hardly conceivable that any private company or group of companies could expend funds on the scale necessary to initiate and carry through the basic research and development which are essential to any ultimate widespread use of atomic power.

With or without subsidization the cost of atomic power remains a matter of conjecture. We have no operating experience with a nuclear station designed to produce atomic power in constant, commercially usable quantities. Furthermore, we cannot be sure in what ways subsidization will be employed, directly or indirectly, to lower the cost of such power to the producer and to the consumer. Other variables are increasing demand and possible changes in the cost of competing fuel sources as these become less plentiful or more costly to produce under conditions of decreasing accessibility. Informed guesses, based on present annual rates of consumption, call for the exhaustion of the coal reserves of the United States in a thousand years. It is possible that America's oil fields will be depleted in a few decades, although much depends on whether important ground pools will continue to be discovered. If the progressive exhaustion of sources of fossil fuels becomes pressing, this will necessarily improve the competitive position of nuclear fuels. There is every indication that increasing demands for electric power in the next two decades, in the United States and elsewhere, will require substantial additional amounts of solid fuels. Such rising demand will create a condition in which nuclear fuels can more readily supplement existing solid fuels than would be the case if power requirements were finite. Existing installations and the tremendous investment they represent need not be scrapped. Coexistence of conventional and nuclear stations can be expected. Under such conditions a climate favorable to atomic development is created.

The emphasis on relative cost suggests that atomic-power stations are likely to appear first in regions of the United States where existing power costs are relatively high. The table on page 543 shows the fuel prices at steam stations in the United States in 1945 for the six highest and lowest-cost states from a random sample of forty states. The six lowest-cost states are all part of or immediately adjacent to areas of oil and gas production. Their median fuel costs range from 6 to 12 cents per million b. t. u. (British thermal units, the standard measurement of heat). The six highest-cost states, with median fuel costs above 25 cents, consist of Florida and five of the six New England states—Maine was not in the sample. These are areas which produce no fuel and which are at a distance from the principal centers of fuel production. The situation is similar in Puerto Rico to the extent that power costs are also high.

Both because of these high costs and because the higher revenues which would likely result would lower correspondingly the amount of government subsidy needed by an atomic station, it would seem at first glance that the earliest plants would be located in areas like New England or Puerto Rico. Actually, much more detailed economic analysis is needed to test the plausibility of such an assumption. Has the area accessible low-cost hydro sites which are not in use? Can the area absorb the output of an additional power plant, especially if the charges for power are not decreased? It is entirely possible that an area where the current cost of power is lower may still be in a better position to absorb an increased amount of power without a reduction in price. Is the demand for power increasing at a rapid enough rate—as it is in Puerto Rico? If the demand is relatively stationary, would the introduction of an atomic-power plant which produced power to be sold at less than the going rate induce industrial development which would ultimately absorb the increased power? Under such conditions the introduction of a subsidized plant in such a region might be justified as a means of combating unemployment and lowering welfare costs and services. New Englanders might also contend that building a plant in that area would serve to correct in part the existent imbalance between the federal collection of moneys there and federal expenditures. The point is that the location of atomic stations, in the near future at least, is likely to involve many issues other than those of simple economic cost. Such policy decisions cannot be avoided. Nor can they safely be predicted in advance.

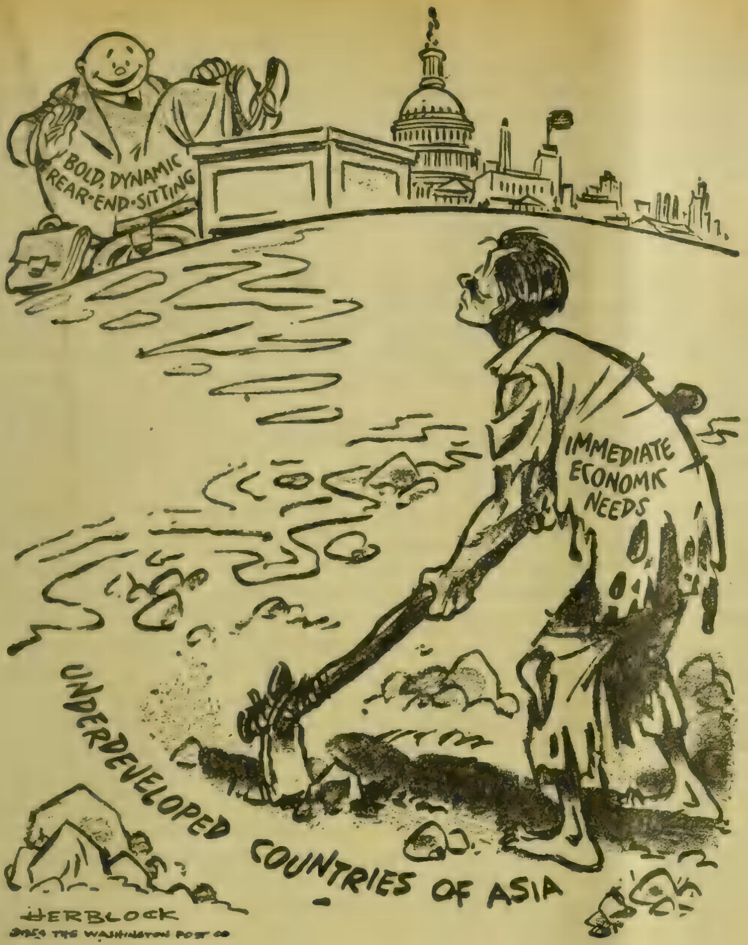


Perhaps a more concrete approach to the problem of developing economically competitive power lies in the continuing attempt to find methods of reducing costs through technological improvements. One important current development which could prove of merit in making atomic electricity available at competitive prices, especially in industrialized areas, is the multiple-purpose reactor. Its special distinction is its possible ability to produce several products or to perform several functions simultaneously. The manufacture and sale of plutonium, presumably to the federal government, could be a cost-reducing item allied with the production of power. It is even conceivable that a single reactor could produce power, radioisotopes for industrial and scientific purposes, and perhaps both new chemical products and considerable radiation for industrial use. Or a reactor designed primarily to produce power might also be used for land-development projects such as irrigation or the desalting of brackish water. Unit costs would then be reduced, perhaps substantially, by spreading the high fixed costs on the large initial investment over many units of output. Several large chemical companies in the United States, including Dow and Monsanto, have already spent considerable amounts of money in exploring the area of new chemical processes and products related to nuclear development. Important findings seem likely to emerge from such explorations.

A New Industry: Irradiation

Actually, the development of entirely new products and processes made possible by the application of radiation energy may well represent one of the ways in which nuclear research will have a profound impact on the economy. The effects of radiation have been observed by biologists and chemists for several decades. Studies have been carried on based on such radiation sources as radium preparations which have natural properties of radiation, X-ray machines, and, more recently, particle accelerators. Nuclear research has understandably intensified radiation studies and, specifically, has stepped up the available supplies and intensity of radiation and opened largely unexplored areas of industrial processing in many fields.

In the latter field some persons expect radiation applications to produce really revolutionary changes.


BOLD, DYNAMIC REAR-END-SITTING
IMMEDIATE ECONOMIC NEEDS
UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES OF ASIA
HERBLOCK
©1955 THE WASHINGTON POST CO

"Some day that'll all be done by atomic power"

For instance, it is reported that soft plastic sheets can be changed into sheets of the same thickness stronger than structural steel and so highly resistant to heat that the need for fireproofing in building construction is eliminated. The change is attributed to massive doses of gamma radiation. Much more certain is the report that irradiated polyethylene pipe will have an enormous advantage over ordinary polyethylene pipe in that it can be used not only for cold-water but also for hot-water systems. Irradiation obviously increases the potentialities of plastic as a substitute for copper and metals in a wide variety of household and industrial uses. Irradiated materials may prove serviceable for structural purposes and help to alleviate part of the critical shortage of building materials in some countries. Such plastics could stimulate a whole economy in a region which is a suitable location for manufacturing plants.

Late in January the Atomic Energy Commission announced that gamma-ray irradiation had been successfully employed in vulcanizing rubber. Exciting possibilities for the use of radiation also lie in the sterilization of pharmaceutical and surgical products. As we steadily increase our knowledge of the way in which radiation acts on flavor and odor, it is increasingly probable that it may be used in preserving foods for indefinite periods.

By leading to new products and new processes of this sort irradiation may speed the actual erection of multiple-purpose reactors and improve the chances of getting atomic power down to cost levels that are attractive to power users. It may also produce cost savings in quite a different way. If the spent reactor wastes, which now create a serious disposal problem, can be used for irradiation purposes, as has been suggested, part of the money now charged to disposal can be saved. More than that, the wastes, now a nuisance and a hazard, can be made to yield revenues if they are sold to industry for radiation jobs. As an alternative, an irradiation plant might be located near a nuclear station. Various products would be shipped to the plant to be irradiated. The price which industry could pay for such service might well exceed the cost of operating the irradiation plant—and also of processing the wastes if this were necessary to make them effective for particular radiation purposes. The cost of atomic power could thus be reduced.

Admittedly, the economic feasibility of such irradiation uses is still highly speculative. Particle accelerators—popularly called "atom smashers"—can already produce radiation at lower cost than that expected from reactor wastes or from nuclear energy directly. Furthermore, a relatively large number of reactors will be needed to meet the radiation demand for any large industrial process. Much may depend on whether, for various political and military reasons, government funds are used to subsidize the radiation phase of nuclear development. If they are not, nuclear-based radiation processes will have to meet stiff competition from the use of less costly particle accelerators.

Effect on Urbanization

A less hazardous area of prediction is found in the consequences of nuclear development on industrial location and population aggregation. Our assumption is that atomic power will become an important supplementary source of power in the United States in the next few decades. We also assume that competitive cost levels will finally be achieved.

At first glance it might appear that cheap, ubiquitous atomic power would result in a radical shift in the distribution of both industry and population. Actually, such a possibility is remote and probably nonexistent. Few major industrial groupings are so dependent on power, to the exclusion of other location factors such as nearness to market, adequate labor supply, good transportation, and so on, that a new power source will in itself suggest plant relocation or even the development of a new location for additional plants. In very few American industries do the kilowatt hours of electric energy consumed per dollar value of product exceed ten. And for all industries combined, at no time in the past fifty years has the ratio of fuel and purchased energy to value added by manufacture exceeded 7 per cent, the 1909 figure. Actually the ratio had fallen to 4.5 per cent by 1947.

Industries such as tobacco, leather, and various steel-fabricating activities are minor power users. Atomic power will have no important direct effect on their location. Some industries which are fairly large consumers of power find other factors determining so far as location goes. Pulp and paper mills, for instance, will seek sites near the source of their raw material in order to reduce weight and bulk and keep shipping costs reasonable. Atomic power will not change their situation. Nor will cement plants be induced to move from areas close to both markets and raw materials, where their transport costs are minimized.

Studies which we have presented in detail elsewhere suggest that even in the power-conscious electro-process industries, such as aluminum production, both existing and future capacity is likely to remain at or to seek new cheap hydro-electric power sites so long as these are available. Even if atomic power could be sold at 4 mills a kilowatt hour, a highly optimistic figure, the aluminum industry would still find it more economical to retain its present split location pattern in order to make use of hydro power at 2 to 2.5 mills a kilowatt hour.

Industrial Sites Have Edge

There is no indication that any extensive decentralization of industry is likely to occur as a result of the use of atomic power. Nor are there any new industrial processes made possible by nuclear applications which might alter this conclusion. While military or political decisions could conceivably lead to some uneconomic industrial concentrations in remote areas such as the Rocky Mountain states, it is far more likely that a continuation of existing trends will tend to perpetuate present concentrations of industry. Because they are the principal areas of demand for power in this country, the industrial areas of the Northeast and along the Great Lakes rim are also the most appropriate sites for atomic plants from an economic viewpoint. Atomic power could stimulate the industrial expansion of such an area as Southern California if it became competitive in cost with existing power sources. But on balance it does not seem likely to disturb current concentrations of industry and population in the areas of present greatest density. Major metropolitan districts are likely to continue their expansion, presumably with a further spur to the diffusion of plants and population within their borders.

Many technical problems remain. In fact, we have only begun to work on many of them. In their solution may be found an answer to the basic economic question: How can atomic power be made competitive in cost with existing fuel sources? It is a matter of faith—but probably one which is justified—that ultimately ways will be found. We can then expect that atomic power will prove a useful adjunct to other sources of energy. There is no evidence that it will work miracles and radically reshape our economy or society.

But we shall have to wait a while longer to discover the new products and processes which will undoubtedly evolve from today's research. We shall have to wait to find out whether the cost of atomic power can be kept low through the use of reactors with joint products and functions. We shall ultimately know too whether steam can be produced directly in a nuclear reactor to drive electricity-producing turbines without contamination danger. We shall discover whether "package" reactors, portable units, can be dynamic factors in stimulating economic activity in remote and undeveloped locations.

The future of the atom seems assured. But perhaps there is a parallel with our children. We have no lack of confidence in their success, but we are not wholly sure what they will turn out to be when they reach maturity.

The Promise Of Plastics Strong As Steel

Perhaps the most dramatic of the radiation developments is the manner in which it can affect the process of molecular polymerization—taking simple chemical building blocks and forming them into strong and elastic materials. There are indications that common plastics can be formed into desired shapes and subjected to radiation that rearrages the molecules and produces a new substance as strong as steel The promise of lightweight, fire-resistant steel-strong plastics has led some members of the construction industry to a seemingly fantastic view of the industry's future. The tons of fireproofing that represents four-fifths of the weight of the average building could be dispensed with, as could the even higher proportion of time, labor, and investment. Floors would weigh only a fraction of what they weigh today, as would the columns and partitions that carry them. Visions of vastly larger spans, building material that will support itself and insulate itself, simple structural materials that can be transported by air and locked together on the site—all these and more are the accomplishments that irradiated plastics may be expected to produce. Much remains to be done, of course—years of trial and error will be necessary to find the materials that are capable of transmutation into new and useful forms. But it has been demonstrated that gamma radiation can alter the molecular structure of many different materials, to give them greater strength, greater elasticity, and greater heat resistance. This is potentially the greatest and most promising field for the development of atomic energy.

Eugene M. Zuckert, former
United States Atomic Energy Commissioner.

V. THE PROBLEM OF CONTROLS

So long as fissionable materials can be used for either peace or war, their control by some governmental or supra-governmental authority is obviously needed. In this section James G. Beckerly poses the question: Has the United States hindered progress by an excess of "know-how" controls? But there is another aspect to the problem: Who will control the atoms-for-peace industry in the United States and for whose benefit? Leland Olds discusses this vital issue in terms of practical politics.

THE URANIUM CURTAIN

Dangers in Secrecy . . *by James G. Beckerly*

AN ACT OF CONGRESS in 1946 gave unprecedented authority to a commission to control all phases of atomic work, including that fragile but essential item, information. A new law was passed last year reducing some of the abnormalities. But the congenital defect remains—information on the peaceful uses of atomic energy is still controlled along with purely weapons data. The peaceable atom is free to go out of doors but it is still in purdah.

In retrospect, the tendency to excessive secrecy is understandable. Many men of good intent subconsciously or consciously felt the knowledge of how to make fissionable material, key ingredient of bombs and fuel for nuclear-power plants, was an awful secret to be kept within a select circle. On one occasion several years ago I recall a Nobel laureate in deadly earnest suggesting the formation of just such a privileged group among American physicists. The secrets of the atom were not to be intrusted to fallible men.

The Baruch Plan contained variations on this theme. An international elite body was to possess all the know-how and experience in the manufacture and use of fissionable material. The operators of the international trust would be drawn from the best and most reliable scientific talents of all nations. Congress in 1946 reflected the prevailing spirit. It could hold secret "all data concerning" the manufacture of nuclear fuels and their use in the development of power, in addition to those data concerning the manufacture and use of atomic weapons.

So the "uranium curtain" was created. Essentially, all public knowledge of the atom was sandwiched between the covers of the Smyth report. All atomic information was controlled. Only a select few could work on the many and difficult tasks required to harness the atom for peaceful power. But no one wanted to work on nuclear power without full knowledge of the "prior art." In fact, there was even a question whether such work could be permitted under the Atomic Energy Act. The censorship authority of the act was never an issue in any court action, so that the reality of the uranium curtain was never probed.

The Turning Point

Two events altered the whole outlook on atomic secrecy—the detonation of an atomic bomb by the Russians in September, 1949, and the jailing of Klaus Fuchs in January, 1950. I remember the first with some vividness since it occurred only a few weeks after I had come to Washington to take up the newly created job of "Director of Classification," the job of implementing and interpreting the A. E. C.'s secrecy policies on technical matters. It was obvious that the whole existing philosophy of atomic secrecy had to be scrapped.

Fuchs's effect on atomic security was complex.Some argued that the Fuchs espionage proved that the U. S. S. R. depended on stolen data and that information and people should be controlled even more stringently. Others argued that while Fuchs's data may have helped the U. S. S. R. in narrowing the scope of its technical program, still the fact that it had made fissionable material and tested it in a nuclear explosion showed very substantial capability. More than that, the timetable of the Soviet program showed a considerable determination backed up by great investments of men and materials. It seemed clear that if, for example, the Soviet atomic group wanted to know about the design, manufacture, and performance of explosive lenses for detonating A-bombs, they would not wait for a Greenglass to send over sketches. They would find out for themselves.

I recall days and weeks of wrestling with the implications of the Fuchs case, studying all the data obtainable, discussing all aspects with many experts. The consensus was that the Fuchs case did not indicate a need for increased secrecy; if anything, it indicated the opposite.

Thus in 1950 information on the peaceful atom began to emerge. Although before then much valuable basic-research information had been released, no complete body of data on nuclear reactors, the basic devices for atomic-power generation, had been published. Beginning late in 1950 accurate and complete information on nuclear reactors was issued. Initially it was a slow process, but within a few years there were tangible results—public tours of reactor

---

JAMES G. BECKERLY was Director of Classification of the United States Atomic Energy Commission, 1949-54.

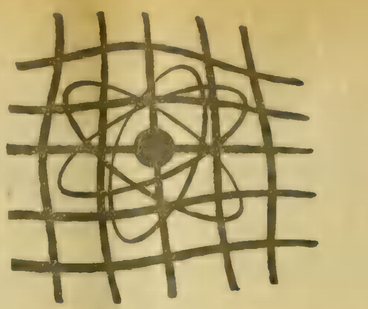
facilities, textbooks on the basic technology, an open-to-the-public reactor in one university, many others on the drawing boards.

The gradual emergence of information on the peaceable atom from the confining quarters of guarded classified filing cabinets was slowed somewhat by the appointment of a new chairman to the commission. His arbitrary refusal—on security grounds—to release in August, 1953, an innocuous status report on nuclear reactors was somewhat of a shock to many of us on the A. E. C. staff. The effect of this decision, plus many others of a similar but less significant nature, was to generate a definite anti-information attitude in the commission staff. In the atomic-power field this attitude seems now to have been dissipated; at least this is the implication of the preparations for next August's conference in Geneva.

The Atomic Energy Act of 1954 continues the information-control provisions of the original act. However, it embodies some significant changes in "attitude," if that term can be applied to legislation. In place of the strong language of the 1946 statute, under which the commission had to determine that publication of information would not "adversely effect the common defense and security," the act of 1954 refers to a determination that publication will not entail "undue risk" to the common defense and security. This is a real change.

Perils of Secrecy

But it is not enough. Information control by the executive branch of the federal government in a free society is a dangerous practice and should be limited to just these activities of overriding significance to our military defense. Why should the government conceal information on nuclear-power plants for production of electricity to supply our cities and countryside? Why should the A. E. C. conceal almost all the technical data developed by duPont in producing, at taxpayers' expense, heavy water? Why should the A. E. C. conceal all the know-how and experience gained by Westinghouse in building and operating pressurized-water power-reactor systems? What about General Electric's considerable information on producing the nuclear fuel, plutonium? (This is not a criticism of duPont, Westinghouse, or General Electric, for the situation is not of their making but stems from the Atomic Energy Act.)



The present Atomic Energy Act should be amended to limit control of information to data on atomic weapons and other purely military matters. There is no need to continue to control information on the production of nuclear fuels or on the use of these fuels in the production of power. Nothing is gained. Much is lost. Domestic industrial efforts are handicapped; monopolistic arrangements are encouraged; our future scientists and engineers grow up without complete data in their texts; we lose good-will in our relations with other free nations.

Perhaps worst of all, however, is the subversion of democratic institutions by unchecked information control. Small groups, appointed not elected, possess tremendous power with only tenuous public responsibility and no mechanism for review. The A. E. C. under present law can define, within very broad limits, just what it has a right to withhold from public view. Realistically, only the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy of the Congress has continuing access to the Atomic Energy Commission's activities—and the present chairman of the A. E. C. has been criticized by the Joint Committee for restricting that access. This group of elected Representatives is essentially the only body which can assure that information control, as permitted under the Atomic Energy Act, is practiced with wisdom and statesmanship. Considering that each individual member of the committee has many other Congressional duties, this means that the Atomic Energy Commission is not exposed to continuous and detailed critical scrutiny. Perhaps this is why it was possible for the A. E. C. to withhold from the American public for more than ten months information on the hazards from thermonuclear bomb fall-out, information essential to adequate civil-defense planning. Information control protects an agency from kibitzing and criticism but may jeopardize our existence as a nation.

In concluding I should like to cite as specific examples two issues which are being acted on by the A. E. C. without benefit of public discussion. Both have long-range national and international significance and should not, in my opinion, be decided in closed meetings by unidentified individuals, subject to little if any independent scrutiny.

"Hidden" Policies

The first is whether information on peace-time uses of atomic energy should be classified so that the information may be used in international bargaining. For example, at public expense this country has learned much about the technology of manufacturing nuclear fuels. Should that information be published or should it be withheld from publication and offered to some other country in exchange for materials or services from that country? Here is a basic problem. It appears doubtful to me that the present act permits bargaining with atomic information, but I can see where it could be argued that such quid pro quo arrangements may enhance the national defense and security. Regardless of the legal question, it does appear that some measure of the democratic process is lost when such an issue never even reaches public view. In fact, I doubt whether there has been any public indication by the A. E. C. whether it is or isn't pursuing, or has or hasn't pursued, such a policy in specific instances. There seems to be no doubt, however, that the practice of secrecy in some phases of the atomic-energy programs of other countries—excluding those we have agreements with—is based on "national-interest" rather than "national-security" considerations. The nation without some "secrets" in the bag may have nothing to exchange.

The second issue I should like to cite concerns the peaceful hydrogen atom, that is, useful energy derived from the fusion of light elements. Apparently, the A. E. C. has decided that information on the controlled release of fusion energy should be kept classified. There has been no public debate on the issue, no debate in Congress, unless in a closed meeting of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. Now if the subject at hand were a new weapon, control of information might be justifiable. But the value of withholding all information on a potential source of nuclear energy is extremely debatable. Concealment of even the fact and circumstances of a decision on concealment is quite unjustified and bypasses basic and essential processes in our form of government. What assurance is there that adequate work is being done by the commission in this field? What is being done to assume a continuing supply of trained men for the project? Many questions can be raised without even assurance that someone, somewhere is considering them and making an adequate effort to answer. Information control in this instance is, I believe, leading into dangerous waters. "Papa knows best" is not in any article of our Constitution.

STRUGGLE FOR POWER

Industry Wins a Battle . . *by Leland Olds*

THE Atomic Energy Act of 1954 was approved by Congress only after what was probably the greatest legislative battle over the power issue in twenty years. A valiant block of progressive Representatives led by Chet Holifield of California proposed and fought for a series of amendments to the Cole-Hickenlooper bill which would have halted the "giveaway" of the people's great new power resource to private monopoly. But they were beaten down by a majority responding to Representative Cole's whip, as he condemned principle after principle of established federal power policy with such slogans as "designed to put the federal government into the business of generating electricity through the use of atomic energy," "totally foreign to the purposes of the bill as presently written," "designed to put the Atomic Energy Commission into the power business," and so on.

In the Senate Wayne Morse of Oregon led the fight for full extension of federal power policy to the atomic field. This fight appeared won when the Senate passed amendments establishing the basis for the people's control of atomic power, but the Republican steam-roller went to work and the bill came out of conference stripped of the most important provisions. Among those struck out by the conference committee was the Johnson-Metcalf proposal for a new Section 45 which would have authorized the Atomic Energy Commission, in cooperation with the established federal power agencies, to develop a program of federally constructed atomic-power plants, with the power marketed in accordance with existing policy governing sale of hydroelectric power—that is, with preference to both public and cooperative electric systems.

LELAND OLDS, former chairman of the Federal Power Commission, is one of the country's outstanding authorities on public power.

The Amendments

In the course of the debate Senator Everett Dirksen (R., Illinois) revealed the motivation of those supporting the Administration bill. Speaking on an amendment which would have done no more than place companies licensed to produce atomic power under the same kind of regulation by the Federal Power Commission as those licensed to develop water power, Senator Dirksen said: "Mr. President, in my humble judgment the amendment that is before us will come as close to socializing the power industry as anything I have seen in all the days I have been here." Senator Hickenlooper had already misrepresented the amendment as extending federal regulation to intra-state electric rates and had asserted: "It is the old fight as to how far the Federal Power Commission shall move into the sovereignty of the states and local regulatory bodies." Federal regulation of licensees for water-power development has been in effect since the enactment of the Water Power Act of 1920, irrespective of whether the company was engaged in interstate transmission or in wholesaling of electricity. But the amendment in question was beaten in the House and watered down in the Senate before passage until it lost meaning.

The effort to prevent a serious breach in federal power policy, however, was not entirely wasted, for a few vital amendments were passed. These provided (1) that the Atomic Energy Commission should have authority to build large atomic-power stations, after further authorization by Congress, to demonstrate their economic feasibility; (2) that public and cooperative electric systems should be given preference in obtaining power from such stations; (3) that federal power agencies, when authorized by Congress, should have the right to obtain A. E. C. licenses for atomic-power stations; and (4) that preference should be given to public and cooperative electric systems applying for atomic-power-development licenses in case of conflicting applications for limited opportunities.

In its initial acts under the new law, however, the Atomic Energy Commission has entirely ignored the possibility of federal construction of large demonstration stations. Instead, it has moved to afford private power companies an easy opportunity to preempt the field with as little risk of private capital as possible. This was the substance of the commission's request, made public on January 10, 1955, for proposals to undertake federally assisted demonstration projects under Section 31 of the act, which authorizes the commission to arrange with others for research and development. Meanwhile, the commission has completely ignored Section 32, which authorizes and directs it to undertake the same activities through its own facilities.

With the public and private aspects of the atomic-power business not clearly separated, this cooperation between government and industry threatens to become an instrument for strengthening private monopoly. Large sections of public opinion are under the influence of the false propaganda emanating from the twenty-billion-dollar private-power industry, which is fostering acceptance of the myth that federal responsibility for developing a portion of the country's power supply jeopardizes private enterprise in those other broad fields to which it is adapted. As a result, instead of going straight down the road and risking the people's money in the construction of atomic-power plants, while contracting with private chemical and electric-equipment companies for the necessary equipment, the Republican Administration is offering to private-power consortiums anxious to avoid entrance of the government into the atomic-power business almost any kind of partnership arrangement they ask.

The Public's Capital

Under the policy of the Atomic Energy Commission, embodied in its request for offers to undertake demonstration atomic-power projects, the public will apparently furnish most of the risk capital without hope of getting the full benefits of the resulting low-cost power. Ultimately benefits are expected to trickle down to consumers of electricity from a greatly strengthened private-power monopoly dominating the new atomic age. In its call for these proposals the commission set forth the various ways in which it would furnish taxpayers' money to aid the demonstration projects. But there has been no official public announcement of two other channels through which the private consortiums are finding access to public funds.

The first of these ways of subsidizing private atomic-power development came to light when the Duquesne Light Company, partner of the Atomic Energy Commission in the construction of the much-publicized 60,000-kilowatt pressurized-water-reactor power plant at Shippingport was granted a quick-amortization tax certificate covering 75 per cent of its costs. In addition to furnishing this interest-free capital, the Atomic Energy Commission will finance and build the reactor, taking all the risk while the company gets the power. The second channel for subsidy was discovered when Walker L. Cisler, president of the Detroit Edison Company, told the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy that the Michigan Public Service Commission was allowing them to charge investment in this field to operating expenses, which means to the ratepayers.

Since the Joint Committee ended its hearings early in March, it has given no indication of intending to do more this year than set up an eight-man panel to inquire into the impact of peaceful uses of atomic energy "on our way of life, our economy, our industry, our natural resources, and including the effect on employment." The panel is to submit a report not later than January 31, 1956, recommending "any legislative or policy actions needed to speed the proper development under both government and private auspices of peaceful uses of atomic energy." Except for one member, Samuel B. Morris, general manager of the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power, the committee's advisory panel is stacked in favor of the government-private monopoly partnership, with private monopoly dominating. The Democrats have taken over control of Congress since Republican majorities struck from the atomic-energy bill the amendments that would have provided for full extension of federal power policy to this new power resource, but they have sidestepped any move to restore those provisions during the present session.

Four New Bids

The Atomic Energy Commission has announced that in response to its request for proposals to undertake demonstration projects it has received four offers to construct atomic-power plants with a combined capacity of 445,000 kilowatts of capacity at an estimated total cost of about $150,000,000. The four bidders will bear from 80 to 90 per cent of this cost. It is interesting that except for the Consumers' Public Power District of Nebraska, the bidders are private-power consortiums; they are the Nuclear Power group, the Yankee Atomic Electric Company group, and the Atomic Power Development Associates group. Together they represent twenty-six major companies with combined assets at the end of 1953 exceeding $8,000,000,000. Assuming they propose to invest a total of around $100,000,000, the investment of each company will average less than $4,000,000. spread over four or five years. Clearly, this sum can readily be charged to operating expenses, as the Detroit Edison Company, one of the group, has already arranged to do.

Early in May the Nuclear Power group, which includes the American Gas and Electric System, the Commonwealth Edison Company of Chicago, the Pacific Gas and Electric Company, the Union Electric Company of Missouri, the Central Illinois Light Company, and the Illinois Power Company, notified the Atomic Energy Commission that the directors of the member companies had approved the proposal to build a 180,000-kilowatt atomic-power plant forty-seven miles southwest of Chicago and that the General Electric Company had contracted to build the plant for $45,000,000. The plant will be financed entirely through private funds without even a request for a quick-amortization certificate for tax purposes. Commonwealth Edison will put up $30,000,000 and will operate the plant; the other companies will put up the remaining $15,000,000 in return for the technical information, experience, and training they will get. On the basis of Commonwealth Edison's $30,000,000 investment, it is estimated that the plant will produce electricity at a cost approximately competitive with new coal-fired generating units in the company's service area.

The Consolidated Edison Company of New York has also applied to the Atomic Energy Commission for a license to build and operate, entirely with private capital, a 250,000-kilowatt atomic-power plant at an estimated cost of $55,000,000. This is about $220 per kilowatt of capacity, somewhat under the $250 per kilowatt estimated for the Commonwealth Edison project and well within the range of economic feasibility for the New York metropolitan area.

A Fast Start

All this means that the big private-power companies intend to occupy the field fast enough to weaken the argument that the act ought to be further amended to open the way for a federal atomic-power program. As I pointed out in an earlier article for *The Nation,* they are out to forestall any possible atomic Muscle Shoals. They are heeding the warning of Lawrence R. Hafstad, former director of the A. E. C.'s Division of Reactor Development and now consultant to the Chase National Bank, who told the Atomic Industrial Forum last September that it would be prudent for industrial magnates to safeguard their stockholders' money by pushing ahead with atomic-power development instead of letting government organizations do it. He quipped: "If we can get $10,000-a-year government brains to provide the imagination and to take the initiative in this program, then what are all the high-priced vice-presidents in industry for?"

The speed with which we are moving into the era of low-cost atomic power was suggested by W. Kenneth Davis, successor to Hafstad as director of the Division of Reactor Development, in an address to the American Power Conference in Chicago on April 1. Some 2,000,000 kilowatts of atomic-power capacity, Mr. Davis said, would be in service by the end of 1960, about 5,000,000 kilowatts by the end of 1965, about 27,000,000 by the end of 1970, about 83,000,000 by the end of 1975, and about 175,000,000 by the end of 1980, only twenty-five years from now. He added: "Once the transition really begins, I feel it will snowball."

The prediction that atomic-power capacity is due to "snowball" within a very few years can be based only on the assumption that it will be widely competitive with power from conventional low-cost steam plants. What this will mean is suggested by figures prepared by the Federal Power Commission, which show a top cost of 9 mills per kilowatt-hour for electricity produced in the most expensive large steam station built since World War II. Indeed, according to the F. P. C., half of the new steam stations are producing electricity at 6 mills or less.

If, however, the big private power companies dominate this new development, exacting their tolls for the people's use of their own energy resource, public and cooperative electric systems, burdened with old-fashioned high power costs, will face an increasingly difficult time. The right of American communities to choose non-profit electric service, the most important check on private monopoly since the birth of central-station electricity in 1882, will shrivel and die. In other words, since big atomic-power plants are necessary to bring costs down, the people must see to it that the TVA principle is extended to the atomic-power field, for it is imperative to assure to community electric systems a low-cost supply adequate to their expanding needs.

The Alternative

But there must be an alternative attack on the problem in case efforts to obtain a federal program fail. This would require public support for study and development groups working with the Atomic Energy Commission to reduce the cost of small atomic-power plants adapted to the needs of municipalities and rural electric cooperatives. Already there is ground for hope that this objective may be realized by utilizing the experimentation that has gone into the construction of relatively small atomic-power units for the propulsion of naval units, locomotives, and airplanes; there is also what is known as the army package-power reactor.

Fortunately, the country's non-profit electric systems are alert to the need. The National Rural Electric Cooperative Association has a study group approved by the Atomic Energy Commission, as has the Puget Sound Utilities Council, which includes the famous Seattle and Tacoma municipal electric systems and the Chelan and Snohomish Public Utility Districts, as well as the Puget Sound Power and Light Company. The Tennessee Valley Authority is also going forward with studies.

Stopping the Giveaway

Space permits only a brief outline of the steps which should be taken promptly to make sure that attempts to strengthen private-power monopoly by a giveaway of the people's atomic-power resource do not succeed. These steps should certainly include (1) Congressional authorization and appropriation for at least four large federal demonstration plants, constructed under Section 32 of the present act and located where municipal and rural-electric systems are now paying high rates to private systems for their power supply; (2) Congressional authorization and appropriation to enable the Tennessee Valley Authority and other regional power agencies to undertake atomic-power plants under A. E. C. licenses; (3) Congressional provision for loans by the Rural Electrification Administration to rural electric-cooperative groups and associations to finance their research and development activities; and (4) amendment of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954 to restore the power policy and patent provisions adopted by the Senate but struck out in conference.

Action along these lines would do much to bring the development of the people's atomic-power resource under the federal power policy which has produced such outstanding results in the way of lower electric rates, increased consumption of electricity by homes and farms, and healthy expansion of regional economies. Only in this way can we hope to block the extension of a private monopoly which constitutes a serious threat to democracy itself.

VI. WAR AND PEACE

The moral issues which face us as a result of the two-way nature of fissionable materials are discussed in this section by Kathleen Lonsdale. David Cavers reviews the practical and difficult problems connected with safeguarding fissionable materials for peace-time uses only. Robert W. Frase's remarkable chronology indicates the close relationship between international disarmament and international cooperation for the peace-time development of the atom's potential. The atom, like man, needs peace for development.

THE NEED FOR DECISION

Morality Must Rule . . *by Kathleen Lonsdale*

London

JUST as the laws of a country are effective only when the majority of citizens choose to be law-abiding, so international law, to be effective, must express the intention of at least some governments to act justly, whatever others may do.

It might have been supposed that the legality of using certain kinds of weapons or of experimenting with them in a way to contaminate international waters and the world's atmosphere was a matter that could rightly be considered by the International Court of Justice. The Secretary General of the International Law Association, W. Harvey Moore, in a speech made to the forty-sixth conference of the International Law Association in Edinburgh, August, 1954, declared:

> Nuclear weapons are contrary to international law because, first, nuclear weapons are poisonous, and only barbarians poison their enemies; second, nuclear weapons are inhuman as causing unnecessary suffering; third, nuclear weapons cannot be employed without disregarding the historical distinction between combatants and non-combatants; fourth, nuclear weapons are contrary to the Geneva Convention of 1925 prohibiting the use of asphyxiating, poisonous, or other gases and of all analogous liquids, materials, and devices.

It is clear, however, that this opinion is not accepted by the nations that are stockpiling nuclear weapons. It is questionable in fact whether international law can do more than record and regulate agreements between nations, such as the existing agreements on postal regulations and on the extradition of common criminals.

The nations have spent nearly ten years arguing about the international control of nuclear energy, not because it was impossible to reach agreement, but because neither side believed it to be a matter of sufficient urgency. The Western nations did not think it so urgent that they should risk having to accept the East's increasing preponderance of man-power and their own inability to prevent Communist territorial expansion. The Communist governments did not think it so urgent that they should accept the man-power ratio suggested by the West and allow their uranium industries to be owned, controlled, or limited by a Western-dominated United Nations agency and their country overrun by U. N. inspectors. No one has suggested complete disarmament all round as a practical possibility.

It must be admitted that the enforcement of an international law against a major power accused of violating it would in fact mean war. There is no analogy between a U. N. army and a policeman, for the function of a policeman is not to punish but to bring the wrongdoer to a fair trial, protecting him if necessary against those who would deal with him summarily and without a trial. To call any major war a "police action" is a gross misuse of the term. Is victory in war a proof that justice as been served, or defeat a sign of guilt?

That there is at present no international agreement, enforceable or otherwise, limiting the use of atomic energy to purposes which will benefit mankind does not mean that using them for other purposes is justifiable. Many types of action that are abhorrent to decent people are not and, indeed, cannot be regulated by law.

The Moral Issue

A moral decision represents an individual choice between good and bad, right and wrong. When one has to be made, it is usually influenced by many factors, such as national customs, tribal taboos, early training. In our childhood issues seem clear cut. We are taught that it is right to tell the truth, wrong to tell lies; right to be kind, wrong to be cruel. When we are older, decisions are not so simple. Truth may seem to conflict with courtesy and kindness with military duties or the "right of self-defense." The really difficult question is how to know in any particular set of circumstances what is the right or the wrong thing to do. To refuse to decide is to choose to do nothing. Apathy is a powerful form of action that eases the path of reaction or dictation. We tend to accept a double moral standard: one

---

KATHLEEN LONSDALE is professor of chemistry at University College, London, and the author of numerous books, among them "Removing the Causes of War" and "Chronology of Negotiations for International Control of Atomic Energy."

for ourselves as individuals, another for ourselves as nations—moral man, immoral society. But when we are faced as communities by evil situations on all sides, so that any kind of action seems morally questionable, then it is perhaps as well to look at our personal values and practices to see whether they are responsible for the creation of such situations.

We value material comfort and physical security, and attempt to regulate our national affairs so that we will attain these for ourselves and our children. Perhaps those of us who are Christians should remind ourselves that Jesus Christ promised his disciples neither comfort nor safety.

Young people want adventure and an ideal, not safety; we offer them "peace through H-bombs" and tell them it is impossible to be Christian in an un-Christian world. Jesus did not say so. He sent his disciples out "as lambs among wolves." If they had gone out as wolves among wolves, or even as hunters, it is unlikely that they would have found, as they did, that devils were subject to them in Christ's name.

Denial of Truth

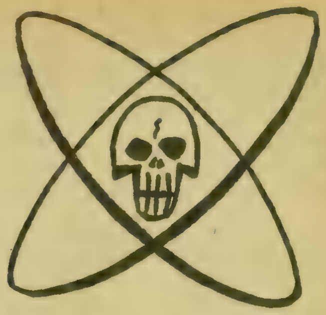
We expect our young people to be horrified at the Marxist denial of God, but we deny Him ourselves by behaving just as we would if He did not exist, did not care, or were helpless. We are afraid that if communism spreads, our children's minds may be conditioned, but we are conditioning them ourselves. When we teach them that truth must be defended by the use of spies and secret agents whose job is to live a lie, that freedom can only be maintained by conscription and military bases while in many countries people are starving, medical supplies are inadequate, and education is rudimentary, that justice may necessitate the use of weapons that will affect the bodies and minds of generations yet unborn, then we are ourselves deliberately confusing these young people so that they do not know good from evil.

We should consider very seriously whether what we are really trying to defend is our democratic ideals or our Western standard of living. Can we defend our ideals by throwing liquid fire over villages and maiming or killing millions of people—innocent children, conscript boys, pregnant mothers? Can we defend our ideals by taking the largest share of this world's goods that we can get, even if it means that others will have only what we throw them with strings attached? "If a brother or sister be naked, and destitute of daily food, and one of you say unto them,'Depart in peace, be ye warmed and filled,' notwithstanding ye give them not those things which are needful to the body, what doth it profit?" As President Eisenhower said in his address to the American Society of Newspaper Editors on April 16, 1953:

> Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired, signifies, in the final sense, a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed. This world in arms is not spending money alone. It is spending the sweat of its laborers, the genius of its scientists, the hopes of its children. . . . We pay for a single fighter aircraft with 500,000 bushels of wheat. We pay for a single destroyer with new homes that could have housed more than 8,000 people. . . . This is not a way of life at all in any true sense. Under the cloud of threatening war it is humanity hanging from a cross of iron.

It is sometimes argued that unless we are strong we cannot negotiate. But the policy of "negotiation from strength" which is followed by both sides in the world struggle has been responsible for much of the bedevilment of international politics by behavior that seems defensive and reasonable to the side that practices it but aggressive and perverse to the other. When the atomic bombs were dropped on Japan, for instance, any thoughtful geochemist could have foretold the fate of Czechoslovakia. For whereas the West could have easy access to various sources of uranium, particularly in the Belgian Congo and Canada, the Soviet Union would have been relatively helpless if it could not control the Czechoslovakian uranium mines.

What is quite clear, as common sense and simple morality should tell us, is that in the long run we can avoid war and use rightly the world's raw materials, scientific knowledge, and human energy only by abandoning all military weapons, not simply limiting them. This would permit, indeed necessitate, open frontiers,



for there would be no military secrets to hide and openness would be the proof of it. Thus there would be no effective barriers to the movements of populations. Some individuals, of course, would continue to be selfish and greedy, but in the complete absence of military organization, they could not attain great power. Public vigilance could prevent the reestablishment of militarism.

The First Steps

It is equally clear, however, that agreement on complete disarmament will not come for a long time. It can hardly come until nations have devised and put into practice methods of international sharing which prevent gross discrepancies of living standards between and within nations. This is the first step. It would require the training of young people in international cooperation, which could usefully include a period of voluntary, non-military public service at home or abroad. Many young scientists and engineers would gladly spend such a period helping to develop the peaceful uses of atomic energy, especially in technically underdeveloped countries. The second step would be the education of young people in the duty of non-cooperation in community wrongdoing and in the techniques of active but non-military opposition to such evils as racial discrimination, oppression of political minorities, and the occasional inhumanities of bureaucracy. They must not be allowed to make the mistake of thinking that the only alternative to violence is slavery, or to slavery is violence.

Even then the complete abandonment of military organization can only come when enough people are strongly enough convinced either that wars and preparations for war are wrong or that they are foolish. It is most likely to come when some nations have sufficient moral courage to set an example.

Certain principles may be enunciated to guide personal and national action, both immediate and long-term.

First, there is only one person whom we can compel to act as we think he should, and that is ourself. If we wait for others to behave better than we do, then we are content to be worse than they.

Second, we should not allow our own right conduct to depend upon the agreement of others to do right. If we wait for that, we may wait forever, and forever is too late.

Third, we must not suppose that behaving well will guarantee our personal safety. Neither Christianity nor any other great religion or ethical system has ever pretended to be an insurance policy.

Fourth, we must not expect that hungry, desperate, illiterate, or primitive peoples will be given a sense of responsibility by the threat or the use of the bombing airplane or by the sight of technically advanced nations continually snarling at each other.

Fifth, we must remember that different nations are at different historical stages. Peoples are not especially wicked because they are going through periods of revolution or imperialism that we have, we hope, outgrown. Nor can such historical stages be bypassed in any easy way.

Sixth, we should realize that the art of negotiation consists in making it easy for our adversary to do what is reasonable, not in humiliating him.

Seventh, it should be no business of decent nations to support corrupt or tyrannical governments.

Finally, when we are tempted to right wrongs by armed force, we should remember that armed force perpetuates the habits of thought that breed oppression and create wrongs; that self-righteous condemnation may only harden the wrongdoer's heart, but that genuine goodness, whether in an individual or in a nation, carries with it a moral force that is irresistible.

WEAPONS OR WELFARE?

Fission Can Go Two Ways . . *by David Cavers*

BACK in 1946 and 1947, when the Baruch Plan was being discussed in the U. N., we were warned that world safety required international ownership of all nuclear material and all plants capable of producing it. The nuclear fuel that would stoke an atomic-power plant was also the nuclear explosive in the atomic bomb. Now we find atomic power moving rapidly toward realization, with atomic-power discussions already under way between the United States and a number of friendly nations. These discussions assume that in a few years we shall be supplying those nations with the nuclear fuel we were so wary about less than a decade ago.

Moreover, after just about the same interval disarmament talks between West and East are showing renewed vitality. In the interim the United States and the Soviet Union have each amassed great stock piles of nuclear explosives; yet demands for international ownership of these volcanic hoards seem to have all but disappeared from the disarmament negotiations.

What has happened? Have the scientists eliminated the hazards, or have we, like the peasants on the slopes of Mt. Etna, simply grown used to living with the risk of being blown up? Unfortunately, the first question can be answered only by those who are not permitted to do so. However, some unclassified speculation may throw light on the problem.

Consider first the "atoms-for-peace" program. That does not depend on the disarmament which we hope it will hasten. Consequently, the United States must face the problem whether it can safely supply foreign nations with the substantial quantities of nuclear fuel needed to supply power reactors, once these become economically practicable. Pretty clearly, Congress will have to be satisfied on the score of safety if it is to tolerate the agreements for exporting the atom that the 1954 Atomic Energy Act authorizes. One precaution is, of course, to supply only our friends. But national regimes and friendships change, whereas the reactors would be built to last at least a decade, perhaps two, perhaps four. Better assurances are to be found in the physical facts.

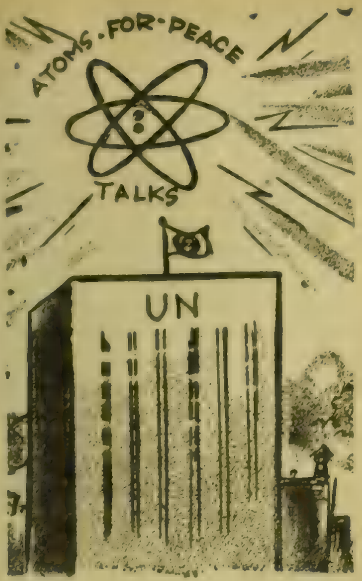
A nuclear-power plant, whatever its design, does not have to be refueled continuously or even frequently. Indeed, the withdrawal of the partially consumed nuclear fuel when fresh fuel is to be substituted is a costly, difficult task, and the longer it can be postponed, the more economical the reactor's operation. When the fuel is removed, it is highly radioactive and contaminated with fission products, so that it must be carefully shielded and taken away for reprocessing.

Two reassuring circumstances emerge from these facts. In the first place, it will not be necessary to provide power reactors abroad with nuclear stock piles that might be seized for weapons and used in an international crisis. Instead, deliveries of fuel elements can be deferred until those in the reactors are near the end of their burn up. The fresh elements would then have to be put promptly to work in the reactor lest a large-scale power shutdown occur.

Moreover, once in the reactor, the fuel elements could not be converted

---

DAVID F. CAVERS is Fessenden professor of law and associate dean of the Harvard Law School.



York Gazette and Daily
Progress is being made

readily into bombs. In a short time they would be too hot to handle. This would be even more true of the elements withdrawn for reprocessing at the end of the burn-up. More important still, the new nuclear fuel produced by a converter or a breeder reactor would not emerge from the reactor in a condition permitting its immediate use in atomic bombs.

This fact takes on significance when the functioning of converter and breeder reactors is considered. At the same time that they produce heat for power generation, they produce fissionable plutonium from natural uranium or a fissionable isotope of uranium (U-235) from thorium. The quantities they produce approach, or, in the case of the breeder reactor, exceed the quantity of fissionables (U-235, plutonium, or U-233) they burn up in producing heat. Here then is a possible source of nuclear material for weapons use—but only after chemical separation of the fissionable material from dangerously radioactive impurities, the fission products for which as yet we have found few uses.

These considerations suggest a further precaution. Our agreements for supplying fissionables could reserve to the United States the exclusive privilege of reprocessing fuel elements and of separating fissionables produced in the reactors we had fueled. This is what the government is planning to do in the case of the privately owned reactors now projected for operation in the United States.

There is still another precaution possible, for a time at least. The reactors proposed for construction in the United States are being designed chiefly for the use of uranium enriched by more of the fissionable uranium isotope U-235 than is found in natural uranium. Although U-235 by itself is a nuclear explosive, this combination could be made to create a nuclear explosion with great difficulty, if at all. Fortunately, to separate U-235 from the far more plentiful isotope U-238 requires the material to be run through a gaseous diffusion plant. Probably the United States alone possesses these fantastically expensive facilities, and so we could minimize risks by confining the nuclear fuel we provided to uranium enriched in U-235. However, the coming into use of breeder reactors fueled by plutonium or U-235 and producing plutonium or U-233, all nuclear explosives, would make it impracticable to continue this limitation for an indefinite period of time.

In disarmament planning the main problem springs not from the export of nuclear fuel by the atomically rich nations but rather from the nuclear riches they themselves possess. If we are ever to conceive of a world in which conventional armaments are limited and the possession of atomic and hydrogen weapons is forbidden, we must decide what is to be done with the vast hoards of weapons-grade U-235 and plutonium amassed by us and, in the case of plutonium at least, by the Soviet Union.

The problem of nuclear stock piles was not difficult for the U. N. in '46 and '47. Our own stock pile then was small, and Russia's probably non-existent. Moreover, in the partially formulated U. N. control plans that the Soviets then rejected, the production of any more fissionables was to await the development of an economic need for them. This was certainly no immediate contingency.

The problem today is made all the more acute by the fact that if atomic explosives are available, atomic bombs can be made, whatever the control plan. No accounting by a control agency could ascertain the number of bomb cases previously manufactured, and future small-scale production would be virtually impossible to detect. As the Soviets put it in the second Assembly resolution they proposed on May 11, "there are possibilities beyond the reach of international control for circumventing this control and organizing the secret manufacture of atomic and hydrogen weapons."

The West's Plan

The British and French at London in May, 1954, had a formula for the stock-pile problem to which we and Canada have now adhered. Our Joint Draft Resolution of March 8, 1955, outlining our whole plan, calls for the "total prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons and *the conversion of existing stocks of nuclear materials for peaceful purposes*" (italics added). On April 18 the four nations joined in a "Proposal on Nuclear Disarmament" which dealt more specifically with the timing problems, stating that when all nuclear weapons had been destroyed, then "all states . . . shall *convert* and devote their supplies of fissile material to peaceful purposes only" (italics added).

No intimation as to the nature of the happy process whereby atomic explosives can be "converted" to peaceful purposes appears in the verbatim record of the 1954 London meeting of the same subcommittee. Possibly the record of the 1955 meeting will be more revealing. Perhaps no physical change whatever is

ATOMS PEACE
ATOM DESTRUCTION

St. Louis Post-Dispatch
Still Free to Choose

contemplated, and "convert" refers only to changes in purposes. The uncertainty is all the more significant since there is not a single reference to conversion in the Soviet proposals, from that made by Vishinsky in the Assembly last fall down to the three draft resolutions submitted by Malik on May 12, though all of them have picked up many other features of the British-French plan. After atomic weapons are destroyed, the Soviets simply say, "all atomic material will then be used solely for peaceful purposes."

Obviously this declaration, however laudable, carries little assurance. Even conversion does not take care of the atomic material that has not been declared or detected—by whatever accounting methods the control plan calls for. This amount has been estimated at up to 20 per cent of past production. However, conversion does at least offer a way of safeguarding the 80 per cent or more of that past production which honesty or prudence leads each nation to declare.

The conversion idea is not new. It dates back to the Acheson-Lilienthal Report of 1946, the predecessor of the Baruch Plan. Then it was suggested that atomic explosives might be "denatured" in such a way that they could not be used in weapons but still might be used for power. Later it seemed necessary to dampen the excessive hopes that for a time were built on this possibility.

Recently, in setting the statutory "fair price" for nuclear materials produced in private reactors, the United States Atomic Energy Commission has differentiated "weapons-grade" material from nuclear material suitable for use in reactors. However, it is not clear from this that reactor-grade plutonium when used in an A-bomb would not, in a clumsy way, devastate a few square miles and, if combined with lithium in an H-bomb, a few hundred. Moreover, one can only guess whether the weapons-grade plutonium and U-235 that we have in our military stock piles can be downgraded as readily as production can be held below the weapons-grade level.

It seems not unlikely that contaminants could be introduced into weapons-grade materials to render them unsuitable for both weapons and reactors until after chemical refining to eliminate the impurities. If this process were slow enough or required elaborate equipment whose capacity could be limited by the control plan, then a nation's ability to restore the "converted" stock pile to a war footing would be cut down reassuringly. However, the cost of reconverting the material to make it usable again in reactors might be high. Perhaps this explains why the Soviets seem uninterested in conversion.

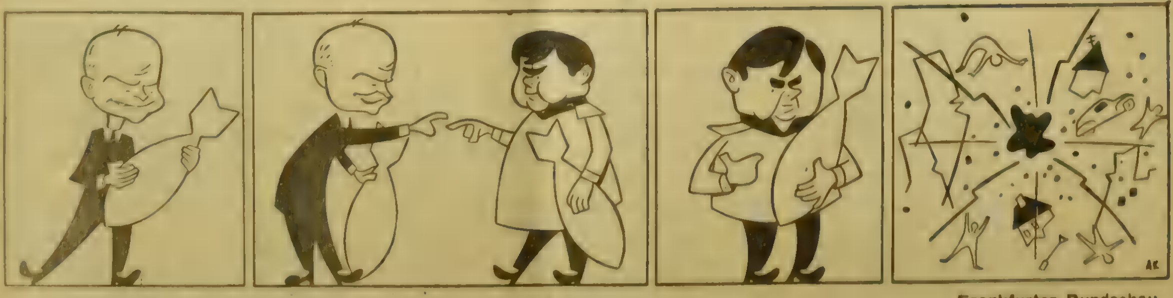
Stock-Pile Problem

Whether stock piles are converted or not, both sides agree that they are to be used only for peaceful purposes. But nothing in the records disclosed thus far reveals whether the stock piles must be used up, or at least be depleted to a reasonable inventory level, before new production of nuclear fuel would be permitted, except perhaps as a by-product in power reactors. Readiness to conform to this requirement might be a better test of good faith than willingness to adopt conversion, yet it might be a hard one for us to accept. It would require the closing down of the huge production reactors at Hanford and Savannah River and of the giant diffusion plants at Oak Ridge, Portsmouth, and Paducah. This would save money, but for certain Senators and Representatives it would be saving money the politically hard way.

How long would it take peaceful consumption to cut back present stock piles to militarily safe levels? Here, of course, one can only guess. But it is obvious that research needs will make only an infinitesimal dent in the stock piles; 100 kilograms of U-235 (not of weapons grade) will keep 15 research reactors abroad operating at least 5 years, A. E. C. Chairman Strauss has announced.

Most of our own projected power reactors will barely be getting under way in three or four years, but they will probably be well ahead of any foreign reactor development we would supply. Moreover, the quantities involved in these four or five ventures will be small in relation either to our military supplies or to our annual output. For example, these reactors may use only U-235; they will leave our plutonium stocks untouched. And if converter and breeder reactors prove practicable, the drain on military stocks for civilian needs will be slowed down by the production incident to reactor operation.

We must face therefore a substantial period when, under a disarmament plan, the world would have more nuclear explosives on its hands than is indicated for its own peace or peace of mind. Conversion may well be the answer, but this prospect makes one look back rather enviously to that Old Testament conversion formula: "They shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks." Plutonium is harder to handle.



Frankfurter Rundschau

I have the bomb *You have the bomb* *He has the bomb* *We have the bomb*

AN ATOMIC CHRONOLOGY

From Hiroshima to Now . . *by Robert W. Frase*

1945

July 16: First atomic bomb exploded in New Mexico test.

August 6: Second atomic bomb exploded over Hiroshima. Its power equivalent to 20,000 tons of TNT; its area of total destruction, a circle of two miles in diameter, 3.14 square miles.

August 9: Third atomic bomb exploded over Nagasaki.

August 16: Release of the Smyth Report, official account of the wartime development of the atomic bomb and methods of producing fissionable material.

November 15: Declaration in Washington by President Truman and Prime Ministers Attlee and McKenzie King proposing the establishment of a commission in the United Nations to develop a plan for the international control of atomic energy to insure its use for peaceful purposes only.

November 29: General Groves tells Senate committee that the U. S. S. R. would require fifteen to twenty years to produce an atomic bomb by its own unaided efforts, five to seven years if equipment and machinery were supplied by the United States, Great Britain, and Switzerland.

December 5: Russia agrees at Moscow conference to join the United States, Great Britain, and Canada in sponsoring a commission in the United Nations to deal with international atomic control.

1946

January 24: The United Nations General Assembly by unanimous vote accepts the four-power proposal to establish an Atomic Energy Commission consisting of the United States, Great Britain, France, China, Canada, and the U. S S. R. as permanent members with rotating terms.

January 29: Prime Minister Attlee announces Britain's intention to produce fissionable material.

March 16: Acheson-Lilienthal report released to the press. Technically a report of an Advisory Board under the chairmanship of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer to a State Department committee headed by Under Secretary of State Acheson, it proposed to base the control of atomic energy on an international agency owning and controlling all production facilities from mines to electric-power stations. Atomic-power facilities were to be allocated among nations in a "strategic balance" or atomic balance of power. The plan was to go into operation by stages, working up the atomic production ladder from raw materials to reactors.

June 14: First meeting of the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission (hereafter U. N. A. E. C). Presentation of the United States official proposal, the "Baruch Plan," which was the Acheson-Lilienthal plan plus a proposal to remove the great-power veto in the U. N. Security Council so that that body, by a simple majority vote, could impose sanctions for violations of the proposed atomic-control treaty.

June 19: Soviet proposals presented to the U. N. A. E. C. by Andrei Gromyko: an international convention to prohibit the produc-

---

ROBERT W. FRASE, economist and political scientist, has written about the international control of atomic and other weapons for various British and American journals.

*How 'dated'
is your dictionary?*

WEBSTER'S NEW WORLD DICTIONARY is the first truly *new* dictionary in more than three decades. New from A to Z — 142,000 entries, each word freshly defined for modern usage. 1760 pages. In cloth, $5; thumb-indexed, $6, at booksellers. THE WORLD PUBLISHING COMPANY, Cleveland and New York

BOOKS OF PERMANENT SIGNIFICANCE

1. **THE FACE OF VIOLENCE. By J. Bronowski.** The motives and manifestations of violence in history studied in literature and anthropology. By author of **Common Sense of Science. 128 pp. $2.75**

2. **HISTORY OF THE WARFARE OF SCIENCE WITH THEOLOGY IN CHRISTENDOM. By Andrew D. White.** A monumental study of conflicting influences in human experience. **928 pp. $5.00**

3. **HISTORY OF EUROPEAN MORALS. By W. E. H. Lecky.** Introduction by **C. Wright Mills.** A brilliant study of the origin and development of Western moral beliefs and conduct. **875 pp. $5.00**

4. **HISTORY OF THE RISE AND INFLUENCE OF RATIONALISM IN EUROPE. By W. E. H. Lecky.** Introduction by **C. Wright Mills.** The scope and significance of reason in religion, morality, politics and economies. **838 pp. $5.00**

5. **CHARACTER AND OPINION IN THE UNITED STATES. By George Santayana.** A brilliant study of the American scene — its great minds and popular beliefs, moral dilemmas and political commitments. **136 pp. $2.75**

6. **THE THOUGHT AND CHARACTER OF WILLIAM JAMES. By Ralph Barton Perry.** Briefer Version of the Pulitzer Prize winning biography. **416 pp. $3.00**

Complete Catalogue on Request

GEORGE BRAZILLER, INC.
215 Fourth Avenue, N.Y. 3, N.Y.

Please send me the books circled. Payment of $ ______ is enclosed (Add 3% Sales Tax in N.Y.C.)

1 2 3 4 5 6

NAME ____________________
ADDRESS ____________________
CITY __________ STATE ______
BN-1

tion and use of atomic weapons and destruction of completed weapons within three months, to be followed by the establishment of an unspecified system of international control and sanctions for violations.

July 19: U. N. A. E. C. establishes a Scientific and Technical Committee consisting of the scientific advisers to its several delegates. This reported unanimously on September 27 that it did "not find any basis in the available scientific facts for supposing that effective control is not technologically feasible."

December 14: Unanimous resolution of the U. N. General Assembly establishing a Commission on Conventional Armaments, with the same membership as U. N. A. E. C., to work on problems of arms control for non-atomic weapons and armed forces.

December 30: First Report of the U. N. A. E. C., nine affirmative votes and two not voting (U. S. S. R. and Poland). While following generally, so far as it went, the United States proposal of the previous June, the report did not require international ownership of all stages in the atomic-production process.

1947

January 5: Baruch resigns as United States delegate to the U. N. A. E. C. and is succeeded shortly by former United States Senator Warren Austin, with Frederick Osborn as deputy and day-to-day negotiator.

February 18: Gromyko proposes amendments to the First Report of the U. N. A. E. C., the substance of which was to reject the United States proposal on stages and to insist that whatever form of international control was agreed on would have to be applied to all stages of the atomic-production process at the same time; to reject the idea of international ownership and management; and to indicate acceptance of only some weak form of international inspection.

June 11: Formal Russian proposals presented by Gromyko—accepting an internationally staffed control commission but rejecting international ownership and management of all atomic-production facilities. Inspection for compliance to be only "periodic," with special investigations on any suspicion of violation. Rejected by the U. N. A. E. C. majority.

July 7: Meetings of the various committees of the U. N. A. E. C. thrown open to the public, symbolic of the termination of serious East-West negotiations in the commission.

September 11: Second Report of the U. N. A. E. C. approved nine to one (U. S. S. R.), with Poland abstaining. This is the so-called "majority plan," which remains to this day the most detailed elaboration of an atomic-control plan adopted in the United Nations. The plan spells out at some length international ownership of atomic-production facilities, except uranium mines, and sweeping inspection arrangements designed primarily to detect possible illegal and clandestine production facilities. It advises against any large-scale production of plutonium until the technical and economic feasibility of electric power from atomic energy is demonstrated. The plan contains no significant details on the atomic-production quotas to be allowed individual countries, on the international control agency, on timing of the stages for putting it in operation, or on the matter of sanctions for violations of the control plan.

November 7: Molotov announces that the U. S. S. R. has uncovered the "secret of atomic energy."

1948

May 17: Third Report of the U. N. A. E. C., containing no new substantive material and designed primarily as a procedural vehicle for transmitting the First and Second Reports to the U. N. General Assembly.

June 22: First Soviet veto in atomic-energy matters, cast in the Security Council vote on approval of the first, second, and third reports of the U. N. A. E. C.

November 4: Resolution of the U. N. General Assembly indorsing these reports, directing the U. N. A. E. C. to continue work, and requesting its permanent members plus Canada to engage in private consultations and report back to the next Assembly session. The original Western motion, put forward by Canada, to discontinue the work of the U. N. A. E. C. was withdrawn when it became apparent that it would not be accepted. In the Assembly debate Russia withdrew its insistence that prohibition of the use of atomic weapons precede control of such weapons—subsequently withdrawn and reinstated at intervals.

1949

September 23: First atomic explosion in U. S. S. R. announced by United States and British governments and later confirmed by the Tass news agency.

October 24: Report issued on the six-power private consultations ordered by the U. N. General Assembly: no progress reported.

November 23: Resolution of the U. N. General Assembly recommending continuing consultations of the six permanent members of the U. N. A. E. C.

1950

January 31: President Truman announces that work on the hydrogen or super-bomb will be pressed by the United States.

June 14: Start of the Korean war.

July 1: First large-scale British plant for production of plutonium placed in operation at Windscale.

October 24: President Truman, addressing the U. N. General Assembly, states that a successful disarmament plan must cover all types of weapons and proposes that the U. N. A. E. C. and the U. N. Commission on Conventional Armaments be merged, a reversal of the position held by the United States since 1947 that atomic-energy control must precede control of conventional armaments and armed forces.

November 17: U. N. General Assembly votes to establish a Committee of Twelve to consider United States proposal for the merging of the two commissions and to report back to the next Assembly.

1951

October 6: Stalin in *Pravda* interview states that U. S. S. R. has recently tested another atomic bomb and that further tests of atomic bombs of different calibers will be made.

October 23: The Committee of Twelve recommends to the U. N. General Assembly acceptance of the Truman proposal to merge the U. N. A. E. C. and the Commission on Conventional Armaments into a new Disarmament Commission.

November 18: British-French-American proposals to U. N. General Assembly, suggesting in addition to the merging of the two commissions a progressive disclosure and verification of all armaments and armed forces as the first and indispensable step in a general program of atomic and conventional arms control.

December 11: Results of four-power private discussions (United States, Great Britain, U. S. S. R., France) during U. N. Assembly session reported. Major differences between the Western powers and the U. S. S. R. reported at this stage to be Soviet insistence on one-third reduction of general armaments from present levels instead of balanced absolute quota, Soviet insistence on prohibition of atomic weapons as first step, Soviet objection to inspection on a continuing basis, Soviet unwillingness to accept the "majority plan" as basis for atomic control.

1952

January 11: U. N. General Assembly adopts revised version of British-French-United States resolution by forty-two affirmative votes to five (Soviet bloc), with seven not voting. This version set up a new Disarmament Commission and provided as its terms of reference an arms census, balanced reduction of conventional armaments, and the U. N. "majority plan" as the basis in principle for atomic control.

January 12: New text of Soviet proposals presented to U. N. Assembly by Vishinsky—no essential change except that prior prohibition of atomic bombs once more withdrawn. Referred to new Disarmament Commission.

March 14: First meeting of new U. N. Disarmament Commission. United States proposals for agenda put forth by Benjamin Cohen, the new United States delegate. They would require progressive disclosure of armaments and their verification by international inspection before the commission would take up the substance of conventional arms quotas or the details of atomic-energy control. Modified on April 5 to include atomic weapons in the disclosure.

May 28: British-French-American paper submitted to Disarmament Commission proposing first specific quantitative limit on armed forces put forward in U. N. negotiations: between 1,000,000 and 1,500,000 men for the United States, U. S. S. R., and China, 700,000 for Britain, 800,-

SOUTHERN FARMER, INC.

Montgomery, Alabama

PRINTERS OF

- THE NATION
- SOUTHERN FARM AND HOME
- MONTGOMERY EXAMINER
- ALABAMA RURAL ELECTRIC NEWS
- AIR DISPATCH
- SINGING NEWS

- TABLOIDS
- CIRCULARS
- NEWSPAPERS
- CATALOGS

If It's Printed On Newsprint We Do It

Presstime Available

We Invite Your Inquiry

SOUTHERN FARMER Inc.

1630 REUBEN STREET
TELEPHONE 3-7579

MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA

A MOST UNUSUAL BOOK

ABOUT A MOST UNUSUAL MAN

"THE MAN WHO NEVER DIED"

The story of a man who became a myth. Here is a unique combination of history and creative work. In his new book "The Man Who Never Died" Barrie Stavis presents the story of Joe Hill and then, using the documentary materials, fashions a play of unusual dramatic intensity. You will read **both**—in the same book.

On November 19, 1915, Joe Hill was executed by a five-man firing squad in the state of Utah. During the 22 months between his arrest and his execution, his name became known to millions.

His defenders said he was executed not for the murder of a grocer and his son, but because he was Joe Hill, labor's poet. President Wilson intervened **twice** on behalf of Joe Hill; the Swedish Government intervened; the AFL demanded he be given a "new and fair trial."

After his execution, when his body was brought to Chicago, 30,000 people marched in the funeral procession. For some years after his death much was written about his articles, poems and songs. Then a curious silence descended. Though his songs continued to be sung—though his memory was kept alive in the immortal lyrics of Alfred Hayes "I Dreamed I Saw Joe Hill Last Night"— the real man began to fade into myth.

In 1948, Barrie Stavis received a Fellowship from the National Theatre Conference and began his work on Joe Hill. Five years of devoted effort have gone into this work and today it is THE only true and complete story of one of labor's martyrs. The book, in addition to the play, contains many hitherto unpublished documents—letters, reports, unpublished photographs.

WHAT THE CRITICS SAY

"Stavis' . . . research into Joe Hill's life and trial, is almost certainly the most complete job ever done on the subject . . . We feel the presence of a real living man and a remarkable one at that."

St. Louis Post-Dispatch

"Drawing upon previously unpublished letters and other documents Stavis has produced a unique book, combining a play about Joe Hill's trial and execution with the factual material about his life. The biographical notes are fascinating, but the play is the heart of the book. There are many eloquent and moving passages as well as sharp, dramatic scenes."

The Nation

"A magnificent job on Joe Hill — and this includes the scholarship, the passionate accuracy, the inclusion of songs and production notes . . . . but above all, the play itself . . ."

Hallie Flanagan

"In late November of 1915, I took part in the great funeral for Joe Hill . . . Joe Hill was a working man, an organizer, a poet, a singer. He represents to me the spirit of labor during my young manhood. Framed and executed, he died a labor martyr . . . He lives again in this just-about-perfect book, 'The Man Who Never Died'."

Thomas L. Slater,
Secretary-Treasurer,
Carpenters Union,
Local 1, AFL

HAVEN PRESS, 545 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 17

Enclosed is $____________ for which send me ____________ copies of "The Man Who Never Died" at $3.00 (plus 15 cents for postage and handling).

Name ____

Address ____

City ____________________ **Z** _____ **State** _______________

000 for France, with 1 per cent or less of total population for other countries. Rejected by U. S. S. R.

October 23: First British atomic test explosion.

November 16: Atomic Energy Commission announces conclusion of atomic tests at Eniwetok in Pacific, including experimental thermo-nuclear (hydrogen bomb) device.

1953

March 5: Death of Stalin.

April 8: Resolution of the U. N. General Assembly directing the Disarmament Commission to continue its work and report to the Security Council and General Assembly not later than September 1.

April 16: President Eisenhower in speech to American Society of Newspaper Editors sets forth United States position on arms control: limitation of armed forces of all nations by absolute numbers or agreed ratio; limitation of strategic materials devoted to military purposes; prohibition of military use of atomic energy; limitation or prohibition of other major weapons; enforcement by adequate safeguards, including inspection by international agency.

April 25: Eisenhower speech printed in full in *Pravda,* with editorial approval of the five principles in general.

August 25: Pravda announces Russian test of hydrogen bomb, "many times greater than the power of atomic bombs."

November 18: Resolution of the U. N. General Assembly directing the Disarmament Commission to continue work and recommending private talks on the subject by major powers.

December 8: In a speech to the U. N. General Assembly, President Eisenhower presents "Atoms for Peace" proposal, an international pool of contributed fissionable material for research and development of the peaceful uses of atomic energy. States that United States has conducted forty-two test atomic explosions and that the United States stockpile of atomic weapons exceeds explosive equivalent of all bombs and shells used in the six years of World War II.

1954

March 1: United States hydrogen bomb tests in Marshall Islands in Pacific.

March 13: Japanese fishing trawler Fukuyuru Maru docks in Japan with twenty-three crew members suffering from radiation exposure caused by fall-out from March 1 test at a distance of 80 to 90 miles.

March 31: The chairman of the United States Atomic Energy Commission announces that the hydrogen bomb tested on March 1 had about twice as much power as was calculated in advance.

Western Proposals

June 25: Conclusion of the private five-power talks of the subcommittee of the Disarmament Commission in London that were started on May 13 in accordance with Assembly recommendation. Subsequent release of the records indicated that the United States had put forward more detailed proposals on the international control agency than hitherto and that the British and French had made a new detailed proposal on the four stages of disarmament and atomic control: creation of a control body; freeze of military man-power and military expenditures at 1953 levels; reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces to half of agreed quota; cessation of manufacture of nuclear weapons, reduction of conventional armaments by remaining half to agreed quotas, and conversion of all nuclear materials to peaceful purposes. The Soviet reaction was noncommittal.

August 20: Dr. Mervin J. Kelly, consultant to the United States Defense Department, tells a meeting of the United States Air Force Association that *fission* bombs with a force equivalent to five million tons of TNT (250 times the power of the Hiroshima bomb and using little more fissionable material) have been developed; also *fusion* bombs with up to 40 times the force of the largest fission bombs (10,000 times the power of the Hiroshima bomb).

September 6: Ground-breaking ceremonies for first United States full-scale atomic reactor for electric-power production at Shippingsport, Pennsylvania.

September 30: Vishinsky makes new proposals to U. N. General Assembly, accepting British-French proposals on timing as point of departure, but differing in such details as no initial freeze of armaments and concentrating all action in two stages definitely delimited in time. In the debate the British and French delegates raised a new question—whether it is now practical to devise an effective means of international atomic control that would take account of past production of fissionable material and its possible concealment for use in bombs.

October 20: Announcement by the chairman of the United States Atomic Energy Commission that there had been a series of nuclear explosions in Soviet territory beginning in mid-September and continuing at intervals, with widespread fall-out of radioactive material.

November 4: The U. N. General Assembly approves unanimously a resolution urging the Disarmament Commission to continue its work and recommending further talks in its big-power subcommittee.

November 15: The U. N. Assembly debate begins on Eisenhower's "Atoms for Peace" proposal. Because of Soviet unwillingness to participate this had been modified to eliminate an international pool of fissionable material and substitute a U. N. agency acting as a clearinghouse to distribute donations of fissionable material. The United States offers to contribute 220 pounds of fissionable material (U-235 or plutonium content); the British offer 44 pounds.

Resolution Approved

December 4: The U. N. General Assembly approves revised "Atoms for Peace" resolution: (1) setting up as a specialized agency of the U. N. an International Atomic Energy Agency for the development of peaceful uses; and (2) authorizing the Secretary General to call an international conference on peaceful uses not later than August, 1955 (Geneva Conference).

1955

February 15: The United States Atomic Energy Commission announces that the March 1, 1954, hydrogen-bomb test in the Pacific demonstrated power which can be estimated as sufficient to destroy or seriously damage or destroy all buildings within a circle with a diameter of from 12 to 24 miles (113 to 452 square miles, or 36 to 144 times the number of square miles destroyed by the Hiroshima bomb). The radioactive fall-out would contaminate an elliptical area down wind extending some 140 miles and covering some 7,000 square miles to an extent requiring evacuation or taking shelter.

February 17: Churchill announces that the British will make hydrogen bombs.

March 4: Estimates published in New York *Times* setting United States' A-bomb stockpile at more than 5,000 and U. S. S. R.'s at from 500 to 1,000.

March 19: President Eisenhower announces appointment of Harold Stassen as his special assistant to coordinate plans for disarmament.

May 11: The Soviet news agency Tass releases a draft resolution proposed for adoption by the U. N. General Assembly and submitted the previous day to the major-power subcommittee of the Disarmament Commission which had been meeting in London since late February. The Soviet draft for disarmament in two stages included the following further concessions in the direction of the Western position, especially the British-French proposals of June 11, 1954: (1) acceptance of a preliminary freeze of existing forces; (2) agreement to the specific numerical limitations on armed forces first proposed by the Western powers in May, 1952; (3) agreement on permanent resident international inspectors. The newest Soviet suggestions still diverge from the Western proposals in requiring the abolition of foreign military bases, in the details of what is to be included in each of the disarmament stages, in the addition of a ban on atomic tests along the way, and in the failure to specify unlimited access to the international-control inspectorate. They contain some recognition of the problem of accounting for past production of fissionable material—the difficulty of discovering secret caches of fissionable material even with more or less unlimited inspection.

May 17: The United States Atomic Energy Commission announces a successful underwater nuclear test explosion in the Pacific, bringing to sixty-six the number of nuclear bombs and devices exploded by the United States, sixteen of them in 1955.

VII. ROLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS

THE ATOM IN THE U.N.

Power or Power Politics? . . *by Victor H. Bernstein*

IT IS natural that people's hopes for international cooperation in the development of peace-time uses of atomic energy should be centered in the United Nations. It was before this body that the first formal proposal for international atomic control and development—the Baruch Plan—was laid in June, 1946. It was before the same body, four years later, that President Truman, borrowing from the late Senator McMahon's imaginative "global Marshall plan" based on atomic energy, proposed that after a "fool-proof" disarmament agreement was reached, the money saved on armaments could be spent on a "pooling of resources" in a war against want. And it was before the U. N. that President Eisenhower, on December 8, 1953, laid the groundwork for the two current major international developments in the peace-time use of atomic energy: the Geneva scientific conference which meets in August, and the International Atomic Agency, now in process of formation. The conference and the agency are themselves provided for in a resolution passed by the General Assembly on December 4, 1954.

BASIC PAMPHLETS

A searching inquiry into a disturbing question—whether our free educational system can survive the effects of loyalty probes, informers, and the blighting climate of fear.

BASIC PAMPHLET No. 9

THE ASSAULT ON ACADEMIC FREEDOM

By Corliss Lamont

Order your copy today

Other Basic Pamphlets on civil liberties

- **No. 8** The Congressional Inquisition
- **No. 2** The Civil Liberties Crisis
- **No. 5** Back to the Bill of Rights
- **No. 7** Challenge to McCarthy

Single copy 10c; 7 copies 50c; 15 copies $1.00.
50 or more, 40% discount.

BASIC PAMPHLETS, Dept. N
Box 42, Cathedral Station, New York 25, N.Y.

Thus the role of the U. N. as guide and mentor for the world's entry into the atomic era would seem to be assured. In truth, it is nothing of the sort. Speeches and resolutions, however eloquently they may express the hopes of mankind, are no match for the national self-interests which still shape international conduct. Unless public opinion forces a basic change, the future of the atom will be charted less in the U. N. than in Pentagons, chancelleries, and industrial laboratories of the have nations; for the have-nots, the U. N. will offer little beyond libraries of learned formulas, some blueprints for reactors which they now have neither the money nor the resources to build, and an international forum from which to air their grievances.

In only eighteen months, under the impact of *Realpolitik,* the President's atoms-for-peace proposal has itself undergone a kind of non-nuclear fission, and today it bears hardly more than an historical affinity to its original form. To understand what has been happening, one must recall the circumstances under which the President spoke. With disarmament talks at a stubborn deadlock, the world was watching with growing horror as the United States and the Soviet Union competed in the building of bigger and better nuclear weapons. In the meantime the security provisions of the first Atomic Energy Act were proving more embarrassing to our allies, it would seem, than to our potential enemies. Certainly the British, who had done much to help develop the bomb which smashed Hiroshima, were eyeing the American uranium curtain with increasing restiveness. So were the Belgians, who supply Washington with much raw uranium. It is worth noting that

To thaw . . .
or not
to thaw?

Reviewing recent Soviet novels, some Western critics have expressed the opinion that there are new trends becoming evident in Soviet literature.

They have noted, they say, a certain "warmth" creeping in . . . more humanity . . . less rigidity . . . more concern with people as **people** rather than as units in a society. . . .

How true is this? Is there a "new trend"? Were the critics right in their assessment of the "old trend"? How much have you **yourself** read of the works of the new up-and-coming writers and poets at work in the Soviet Union? And where can you read them?

SOVIET LITERATURE

A monthly magazine of the arts regularly publishes the writings of modern Soviet novelists, dramatists, poets and critics. In nearly 200 pages, each issue devotes a large section to a complete new novel, extracts or short stories, plus poems, plays, art plates in colour, and appraisals of the works of writers in the Soviet Union and abroad.

It costs only 30 cents a month or $1.85 for a year's subscription. You can order SOVIET LITERATURE to be sent to you direct from—

COLLET'S BOOKSHOPS
Dept. R, 45 Museum Street,
London, W. C. 1.

Mr. Eisenhower appeared before the General Assembly fresh from his meeting with Sir Winston Churchill in Bermuda.

The operative paragraphs of the President's plan, as delivered before the General Assembly, were as follows:

> I therefore make the following proposal:
>
> The governments principally involved, to the extent permitted by elementary prudence, to begin now and continue to make joint contributions from their stockpiles of normal uranium and fissionable materials to an international atomic-agency. We would expect that such an agency would be set up under the aegis of the United Nations. . . .
>
> The more important responsibility of this atomic-energy agency would be to devise methods whereby this fissionable material would be allocated to serve the peaceful pursuits of mankind. Experts would be mobilized to apply atomic energy to the needs of agriculture, medicine, and other peaceful activities. A special purpose would be to provide abundant electrical energy in the power-starved areas of the world.
>
> Of [the nations] principally involved. the Soviet Union must, of course, be one. . . .

Presented in the context of a disarmament speech, the plan seemed a brilliant maneuver to bypass the disarmament deadlock and achieve the same goal by other means. Indeed, in urging his plan Mr Eisenhower pointed out that the formation of an atomic pool for peace-time use would serve to "divert" fissionable materials from war-time use. But hopes that the plan could slow down the atomic-weapons race were short-lived. "This is outside our terms of reference," said an American delegate at the U. N. disarmament subcommittee meeting the following May. With the supply of fissionable materials increasing at a steadily accelerating rate, how could a minute contribution to an atomic pool check the building of nuclear weapons?

The absolute separation between the President's plan and any and all disarmament proceedings was soon officially confirmed both in Washington and at the U. N. What the President was proposing, in effect, was the erection of an atomic-energy paradise in the shadow of the atomic bomb. One could only hope that the

"Uncommonly logical book"
—*Newsweek*

China AND THE Cold War
By LORD LINDSAY
Cambridge University Press
$3.75.

Publish Your Book We will publish, promote, advertise and distribute your book. We are rated officially among the largest leading publishers in the U. S. Our successful plan insures prompt publication. Manuscript reports in one week. No obligation.

Send for free Brochure 8 for details.
Pageant Press, Inc., 130 W. 42nd St., N. Y.

BOOK MANUSCRIPTS INVITED

Looking for a publisher? Learn how we can publish, promote and distribute your book, as we have done for hundreds of others. All subjects considered. Especially seeking books on thoughtful and scholarly topics. New authors welcomed. Write today for booklet No. 103. It's free.

Vantage Press, Inc., 120 W. 31 St., N. Y.
In Wash., D. C.: 1010 Vermont Ave., N. W.
In Calif.: 6253 Hollywood Blvd., Hollywood 28

25% Discount
ON ALL BOOKS
(10% on Texts and Technical Books)
*ANY BOOK YOU CHOOSE
1) Deduct 25% from list
2) Add 15c per book for postage.
3) Send check or money order
*Only obligation. you agree to buy at least 4 books during first year.
N.Y C. residents add 3% tax

THRIFTY BOOK CLUB
206 West 15th Street
Dept N N.Y C 11, NY
Phone: CHelsea 3-6499
NO MEMBERSHIP FEE

THE GREAT ATOMIC DISASTER:
"BLUEPRINT FOR SURVIVAL"
$2.00

Do atomic explosions interfere with TIME and the orderly processes of Nature?

Do they dislocate Cosmic Harmony and Equilibrium?

Is there a connection between the forces released by atomic explosions and those released by humanity in the struggle between Good and Evil?

Is there a spiritual antidote to atomic disaster?

Is man created only to be destroyed?

What then, is the meaning and purpose of man's existence?

THIS STIMULATING BOOK WILL ANSWER THESE AND OTHER QUESTIONS FOR YOU!

COLLEGE PUBLISHING CO.
Daytona Beach, Fla.

paradise would be completed before the bomb went off. But within its limitations, the President's was an imaginative gesture, and was so received by most nations—particularly that part of it which promised to provide "abundant electrical energy in the power-starved areas of the world." What is so tragic is that it ended up as no more than a gesture; its weakest defenders were the Americans themselves. The Russians, of course, headed the overt opposition, arguing that to disseminate fissionable materials and nuclear know-how throughout the world without first reaching an agreement on disarmament and international atomic controls was to invite the building, not of fewer bombs, but of more. They also demanded that the proposed agency be made responsible to the Security Council (and thus subject to veto). The Soviet representatives pressed home their viewpoints with remarkable logic and with an equally remarkable insensitivity to world opinion. For it was clear from the beginning that while nations everywhere wanted disarmament, most also wanted the President's plan and were in no mood to sacrifice the one because they could not get the other.

Repeated attempts by the small nations to put some flesh on the bones of the President's proposals failed. How could they succeed when the Americans would not help? Quietly the President's idea that a "special purpose" of the agency would be to "provide abundant electrical energy in the power-starved areas of the world" was allowed to fade. This is not surprising: if Washington is reluctant to distribute wheat to hungry people through the U. N., why should it distribute electric power that way? And there was a meeting of minds among the uranium-producing nations—extending, to some extent, across the iron curtain—that it might be unwise to entrust the agency with actual possession of the atomic pool. So the President's plan was amended in another direction: fissionable material would not be "allotted" to the agency, but would be "earmarked" through it for direct delivery to a specific beneficiary. "The agency," said the British representative in the U. N.'s Political Committee, "would be a broker, not a banker."

The question of the relationship which the agency is to bear to the U. N. has not been solved. Opposing the Soviet demand that it be subsidiary to the Security Council, Washington and most of its allies sought to give it the status of a specialized agency, such as the World Health Organization, which is responsible to the General Assembly and to the Economic and Social Council. In the end, at the suggestion of India, the General Assembly approved a resolution which "suggests that, once the agency is established, it negotiate an appropriate form of agreement with the United

COMPLIMENTS

of

A FRIEND

Nations." This is the agency which, according to Eisenhower's original plan, was to have been formed "under the aegis" of the U. N.

Nor was this the last distortion of the President's proposal. Eisenhower had clearly said that the Soviet Union must be one of the nations involved in the setting up of the agency. But Russian recalcitrance angered the Americans, who decided to go ahead with or without Moscow. Talks on the formation of the agency are now proceeding among the United States, Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, the Union of South Africa, and the United Kingdom—all uranium-producing nations. Apparently it is hoped to present the Russians with a fait accompli. If you ask at the United Nations about the progress of these discussions, you will be told: "The International Atomic Agency is not our baby; direct your inquiries to Washington."

U. N. Is Left Out

Will it ever be really the U. N.'s "baby"? In the course of the debate in the Political Committee, the Norwegian delegate remarked:

> It was clear that the uranium-producing nations would hesitate to empower the international agency to dispose of one of their most valuable assets, and such an arrangement could not be contemplated. On the other hand, the consumer nations clearly wish to have access to the necessary raw materials and information. Lastly, it is desirable that the U.N. should participate in the contemplated agreement, and it would seem desirable for countries which have no access to raw materials to be represented in the negotiations on the establishment of the agency

The U. N. is not participating in the agency's formation, and neither are the nations which have no uranium. The relationship to be created between the agency, once it is established, and the U. N., will reflect these facts. The uranium will continue to belong to its producers, and its producers will determine where and how it shall be used. The rest will be window dressing until such time as an international disarmament and control plan have been reached. Meanwhile the United States and Britain have scored a propaganda victory by earmarking the first contributions to the atomic pool. But it is Washington, not an international authority which is determining how the American contribution is to be distributed. Similarly the President's new offer last week of experimental reactors and "know-how" to free nations is also based on the principle of bilateral rather than collective agreement.

The Geneva Conference

Like the international agency, the scientific conference to be held in Geneva was an American idea. Unlike the agency, it has become truly a U. N. enterprise. But valuable as it will undoubtedly prove, its functions do not measure up to President Eisenhower's broad international concept as expressed in his 1953 speech. The agency and the conference were discussed at the U. N. under the agenda title: "International cooperation in developing the peaceful uses of atomic energy: report of the United States of America." At one point in the debate, the Norwegian delegate remarked:

> The United States representative proposed that the conference should discover the field in which progress would be technically feasible and develop procedures whereby the nations of the world could make known their wants. The development of procedures whereby nations could make known their wants is clearly a very different matter from the development of the peaceful uses of atomic energy through international cooperation.

What the Norwegian was saying, of course, was that while the conference might very well serve to uncover needs, it was not prepared to provide ways to supply them. And indeed it is not. The conference will be a twelve-day assembly of most of the world's greatest scientists who will exchange information on every conceivable phase of the peace-time uses of atomic energy. There will be a plethora of cranium and no uranium. It must report its findings to the U. N., but without recommendations or resolutions. The papers presented must be purely technical, scientific, and apolitical, which means that the delegations from the have-not nations will depart the conference stuffed with scientific lore which they will not be able to apply unless they go elsewhere to get the uranium or money. And on the one aspect of atomic energy most important to world peace and the war on want—the application of nuclear power to underdeveloped areas—the conference will be all but mum. Of the 166 hours of scheduled discussions on the agenda, the time allotted to this subject is part of a three-hour closing plenary session.

Even so, the Geneva meeting will be on a grander scale than anything contemplated at the outset by its originator. the United States. In the early planning stages, the Americans were talking in terms of an agenda limited largely to isotopes. But the plan captivated the world's imagination, even as did President Eisenhower's atoms-pool plan, and this time with more results. The agenda grew; papers are pouring in from all parts of the globe. The Russians, Americans, and British are vying for space for government exhibits re-

Featured in the June

American Socialist

The most talked of monthly of the American Left

Albert Einstein: Scientist, Philosopher, Socialist

A physicist estimates the life-work of the greatest scientist of modern times, in the field of physics, philosophy, and social relations.

The Modest Privilege Of Keeping Silent

A lawyer explores the retreat in the field of civil liberties from Jefferson to the present.

The Vindictive Execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg

A minister recalls the shameful act that aroused millions throughout the world two years ago.

Apathy on the Plains

An old-timer surveys the midwest region where socialism was once strong.

The Next Ten Years

An editor of the AMERICAN SOCIALIST examines the basic trends of our epoch.

—and other articles, reviews, comment.

Subscribe Now!

Special Introductory Offer: 6 months for $1

The American Socialist 863 Broadway, Dept. 1, New York 3, N.Y.

lating to atomic energy. Private industry has been titilated; it will have an international exhibit of its own in downtown Geneva, away from the site of the conference. The U. N. has a thriving enterprise on its hands. Yet it could be that the conference's ultimate significance will evolve outside the purview of the world organization. For in a real sense the meeting provides a springboard for the entry of private enterprise into the atomic era on an international scale. Except for classified military material, there will be not much left of the uranium curtain by the time it is finished. The atom will have been stripped of its mysteries, at least for peace-time uses, and subject only to national security considerations, the industrial giants of the world can get to work exporting reactors.

The show seems to be running away from its planners. Despite the agenda's injunction, there is doubt that it can be kept apolitical. The very fact that the delegates will attend as representatives of governments rather than as individuals creates a political atmosphere. If they are enjoined from making collective decisions, there is nothing to prevent them from reaching individual ones, formally or informally. The dynamics of the situation are creating pressures on both East and West to turn from their cold war rivalry into the constructive channels of peaceful competition.

Needed: Point 4 Plan

This is all to the good, yet one is constrained to ask: could it not have been better? It is true that the benefits of the first industrial revolution, fostered and carried through by private enterprise, were eventually shared in some degree by most of the people in the world. But how rapidly and how equitably? And how rapidly and equitably will the world's peoples share in the vast potential of the atom so long as it is exploited in the interests of politics and profits? It is within this context, of course, that the proper role of the U. N. in the atomic era becomes clear. What other international body is capable of thinking in terms of human needs rather than national interests or private profits? What other body is better prepared to send the atom not where it will make the most money, but where it will do the most good?

What is needed, as a beginning, is a U. N. Point 4 Plan. The outlook is not propitious, if only for the reason that the Russians have already introduced a proposal of this kind for discussion at the next General Assembly. But it is far from hopeless. An aroused public opinion forced East-West agreement on the resolutions of 1954 which provided for the Geneva conference and the international atomic agency. An aroused public opinion can force agreement again in 1955. And this time, an alert American industry, motivated by self-interest, will throw its weight behind any U. N. plan, be it called Point Four-A or Atomic Technical Assistance or whatever, which promises to broaden the market for the inexhaustible atom.

For the CAREFUL INVESTOR!

Protect your dollars by placing with

INSURED SAVINGS ASSOCIATIONS

(Each account in each association insured in amount to $10,000 by Federal Savings & Loan Insurance Corporation. A Federal Government instrumentality.)

Enjoy 3% and 3½% Current Income

For personal Savings Accounts — Corporate, Institutional, Guardian, Endowment, Union, Credit Union, Pension, Perpetual Care — LEGAL FOR TRUST FUNDS; Place any amount, $500.00 to $1 Million.

NO COST TO INVEST—NO SERVICE COST—NO COST OR PENALTY TO RECALL FUNDS WHEN WANTED—ALWAYS AT PAR.

Call, phone or write for Chicago and nation-wide list of Insured Associations—complete information—no fee —no obligation.

INSURED INVESTMENT ASSOCIATES

176 West Adams Street • Chicago 3 • Illinois
Telephones FInancial 6-2117 • STate 2-4439

[REGISTERED WITH U. S. SECURITIES & EXCHANGE COMMISSION PURSUANT TO SECTION [illegible] (B) OF THE SECURITIES EXCHANGE ACT OF 1934. REGISTERED DEALER STATE OF ILLINOIS SECURITIES DEPARTMENT]

Compliments

of

M. F. B. CO., INC.

BOOKS

Ninety Years of *The Nation*

By Kenneth N. Stewart

THE battlefield of liberal journalism is strewn with the neglected graves of high-minded and short-lived periodicals, nobly conceived and ignobly buried. Precious little in newspapers and magazines today reminds readers that the American free press was born of protest and revolt.

Time and time again men and women of vision and talent have dedicated their dreams and their energies, sometimes their fortunes and even their lives, to the proposition that freedom of the press and democracy itself can survive only so long as responsible dissent is kept alive. At periods throughout our history it has been a bitter battle and often a losing one. There have been many signs on all sides in recent years that this may well be one of those periods. It is heartening then to be able to point to at least one champion of not always popular men and ideas, one challenger of dogma and orthodoxy, one publication that has survived adversity and animosity for almost a century and still dares to print what it believes despite the climate of conformity.

For ninety years now *The Nation* has carried on in the independent tradition of its founders, escaping the fate of so many of its fellows.

On July 6, 1865, three months after the end of the Civil War, the first issue of *The Nation* appeared, editorially committed to the elevation of the newly freed men of the South, as well as to the accurate discussion of public affairs and the diffusion of democratic principles.

It seems significant that the Supreme Court's desegregation decision should have come at the time when *The Nation* was preparing to observe its ninetieth birthday. *The Nation's* first editorial pledge was to the cause of equality for the Negro. What better yardstick than the race question remains for measuring the true degree of devotion to the principles of freedom? *The Nation* is in the forefront of that fight today as in 1865.

That is not to say that *The Nation* has at every stage in its long life stood for policies which every modern liberal might embrace. For a single instance, it once opposed woman suffrage (later espousing it with special vigor). Taking *The Nation* to task for specific stands it may have held on isolated issues is, however, beside the point—that is, if we think of liberalism as an attitude, not a program, if we grant that liberals ought never become so irrevocably attached to any plan or any man, to any party or any policy, that they cannot change with the changing times. Any other concept of liberalism sacrifices the liberal's valuable function of keeping democracy dynamic and mutable. If we look not so much for consistency in causes as for constancy in principles and practice we shall soon see that *The Nation* has lived up to its lofty heritage and met the test of the years unflinchingly.

This changing quality, this flexibility reflected in the pages of *The Nation,* is ably and dramatically illustrated by Alan Pendleton Grimes, associate professor of political science at Michigan State College, in his scholarly monograph on "The Political Liberalism of the New York Nation, 1865-1932."*

"The development of American liberalism since 1865 has not been a systematic process but rather one that has proceeded with mighty spurts and occasional retrogressions," he writes. "No better portrayal of this movement, with its high ideals and frequent flaws may be found than in the files of *The Nation* magazine."

Although Professor Grimes brings

KENNETH N. STEWART, professor of journalism at the University of Michigan, is the author of "News Is What We Make It" and co-author with John Tebbel of "Makers of Modern Journalism."

---

*The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science Volume 34. The University of North Carolina Press.

L.I.D. MUST PAMPHLETS FOR NATION READERS

THE RIGHT TO MAKE MISTAKES, by George S. Counts ---------------------10c

TAFT-HARTLEY ACT IN ACTION, by Jack Barbash ---------------------25c

HOW FREE IS FREE ENTERPRISE, a Symposium ---------------------35c

DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM—A New Appraisal by Norman Thomas ----------25c

FORWARD MARCH OF AMERICAN LABOR by Theresa Wolfson and Joseph Glazer ---------------------15c

Send to

LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY
112 East 19 Street New York 3, N. Y.

PUBLISHERS' OVERSTOCK

Limited quantity! Buy now!

Wecter: Love Letters Mark Twain $5 list	$1.00
Paul Rosenfeld, Voyager in the Arts	1.00
L. Aragon: Aurelien (2 vol.) $5 list	1.00
Carl Becker: Progress & Power	1.00
Bertha Van Hoosen: Petticoat Surgeon	1.00
D. H. Lawrence Mss. (Frieda L., Collection)	1.00
Marberry: The Golden Voice (life of I. Kalloch)	1.00
M. Unamuno: Perplexities & Paradoxes	1.00
Walter Karig: The Fortunate Islands	1.00
Cleveland Rodgers: Robert Moses	1.00
Peter Drucker: The New Society $5 list	1.50
Ivor Brown: Shakespeare	1.50
Aldous Huxley: Themes & Variations	1.50
Dissenting Opinions Mr. Justice Holmes	2.00
Writings & Speeches Eugene V. Debs	2.00
Enid Starkie: Arthur Rimbaud	2.00
G. Vernadsky: History of Russia (1951 ed.)	2.00
Stalin, by Trotsky (Jarrold, England)	3.00
J. C. Grew: Turbulent Era (2 vol.) $15 list	5.00
Edgar Johnson: Charles Dickens (2 vol.)	5.00

Postpaid U. S. A.

Downtown Book Bazaar, 212 B'way N.Y.C. 38

CONTINUED BY POPULAR REQUEST

20% Off On All Leading Hi-Fi Lines

To order—merely deduct 20% from the published nets of any high fidelity product. This can be from any catalog or advertisement.

Exceptions: Altec, Ampex, Magnecord.

We stock $40.000 worth of such leading lines as: Fisher, Bogen, Harman-Kardon, Garrard, Electrovoice, Jim Lansing, Bozak, Fairchild, etc., etc.

Immediate delivery F.O.B. warehouse.

AUDIO BARGAIN CENTER

Box 12, Fleetwood Sta., Mt. Vernon, N. Y.

GREETINGS

To

THE NATION

From

Retail Drug Employees Union

Local 1199, RWDSU-CIO

LEON J. DAVIS, President

SUBSCRIPTION FULFILLMENT

All operations necessary for prompt, accurate and economical service. Our experience covers more than 100 publications with a combined circulation exceeding 15,000,000!

LIST MAINTENANCE

We are the trusted custodians for the mailing lists of leading retailers, manufacturers, wholesalers and mail-order companies, performing all operations needed for competent list upkeep.

ADDRESSING

Swift completion of large and small assignments, by hand, typewriter or giant typewriter and from Addressograph, Speedaumat or Elliot stencils.

PRINTING

Quality work, produced economically on regular and triple-head Multigraph, Multilith or our own battery of high-speed offset presses.

MAILING OPERATIONS

A complete lettershop handling all details under one roof, employing the latest automatic inserting machinery and every other possible money-saving method.

SERVICE!

Fast and frequent pickups and deliveries with our own fleet of modern trucks. Just telephone JU. 6-3530 for immediate service.

CIRCULATION ASSOCIATES
226 West 56th Street
New York 19, New York

the story only up to the beginning of the present editorship, which happened to coincide with the depression and the birth of the New Deal, readers of the magazine can write a fitting sequel themselves from what they see in its pages today. "Here, encompassed in the span of one journal's life," Freda Kirchwey has written, "you find the whole story of freedom's struggle to adapt to, and so survive, the inexorable growth of industrial collectivism." By way of introduction Professor Grimes notes that the editor of such a periodical, "dealing with present politics rather than history, with contemporary personalities rather than past heroes, with rights endangered and wrongs to be rectified, with the whole machinery of government in motion, writes of the excitement and vibrancy of history in the making, and his periodical may become not only a source of history, but one of its makers."

Outstanding among editors who made history was Edwin Lawrence Godkin, who founded *The Nation* and directed it from 1865 to 1899. Godkin was an intellectual of extraordinary integrity, who deeply influenced the thinking of the educated minority. Under him *The Nation* was a brilliant but unprofitable journal which eventually became a weekly edition of the New York *Evening Post.*

At a time when the circulation warfare of the yellow journals was misleading masses of readers and making a mockery of enlightened citizenship, the opinions of Godkin, who reached only a comparative handful of subscribers directly, penetrated to the farthest corners of the country through other newspapers, from ministers in their pulpits, out of the offices of college presidents, in the thoughts and speeches of public men, until they eventually reached the masses, who had never heard of their author. When Godkin died in 1902, Charles Eliot Norton, who had helped get the magazine on its feet, wrote: "He did more than any other writer of his generation to clarify the intelligence and to quicken the conscience of the thoughtful part of the community in regard to every important political question of the time."

After a series of editorial shifts Oswald Garrison Villard took over the editorship of *The Nation* in January, 1918. In July of that year he sold the New York *Evening Post,* which had been affiliated with *The Nation* since 1881, and they went their separate ways. Villard retained active editorship of *The Nation* until 1932. Under the interim editorships, according to Grimes, *The Nation* had lost a good deal of the verve and the flavor it possessed under Godkin and was to regain under Villard. Those other editors were "as much academicians as journalists, and their work reveals more of an ardent scholarship than a zest for contemporary political life."

Crusading Zeal

Villard, educated at Harvard, where he taught American history from 1894 to 1896, revived *The Nation's* crusading zeal and "made more acres of public men actually miserable, per unit of circulation, than any other editor alive." He reinstated the ideals, if not all the ideas, of Godkin, of whom he wrote: "Almost every one of the reforms in government of our day Godkin championed, and always by going to the root of the thing, by seeking the underlying principle and setting it forth." This was the model and the inspiration set before Freda Kirchwey when she joined *The Nation* under Villard in 1918. She became vice-president in 1922 and served as managing editor from that year until 1928, then for two years as literary editor. After Villard retired in 1932, a board of editors directed the paper until 1937 when she took over as editor and publisher.

Through the personalities of its editors and through the developing pattern of *The Nation's* political editorials and comments, Professor Grimes traces the transition in American thought from a formalized liberalism to a flexible progressivism.

> The old liberals, clinging to a static concept of economic rights that took little cognizance of economic changes, believed liberty to exist whenever government regulation was absent [he comments]. The new progressives, basing their concept of economic rights on current economic conditions sought positive government assistance to make more meaningful the phrase "equality of opportunity." . . . The old liberals, identifying liberalism with capitalism, resisted any governmental alterations of the eco-

> nomic system. The progressives, identifying liberalism with social democracy, sought to modify capitalism in order to extend liberty....
>
> Within the framework of the old liberalism, the Godkin Nation fought the good fight for human freedom, honest government, and a pure society. Within the outlines of progressivism, the Villard Nation carried on the same struggle.
>
> Whereas the old Nation seldom made an issue of civil liberties, the new Nation scoured the country for instances of their denial and gave them full publicity. . . . The new Nation flaunted its banner of freedom in the face of the Ku Klux Klanism, 100 per cent Americanism, and the super-patriotism of the twenties that found all dissenters subversive. It espoused the freedom of men to speak and write about James Joyce, Soviet Russia, and free love; it defended Henry Ford's right to expound anti-Semitism. It reaffirmed the old faith in truth discerned through free discussion. It fought for the release of conscientious objectors from concentration camps, an executive pardon for Mooney and Billings, and a new trial for Sacco and Vanzetti. Within the framework of progressivism it fought for equality, freedom—social, political, and economic—and democracy. Though it seldom won its battles, it nevertheless served to keep alive the tenets of liberal democratic faith in an age that saw that system on the wane.

This is the heritage *The Nation* honors as it enters the final decade of a century of continuous publication. Never was the full and fearless exercise of that heritage more important. At a time when a reputable newspaperman can land in jail for helping a Negro buy a house in a white neighborhood, when once again dissenters are suspected of subversion, and faith in free and open discussion falters, today as in the twenties and other times past the nation desperately needs *The Nation.*

Editorial Board

Freda Kirchwey	Editor and Publisher
Carey McWilliams	Editorial Director
Lillie Schultz	Director, Nation Associates
Victor H. Bernstein	Managing Editor
J. Alvarez del Vayo	Foreign Editor
Martin Solow	Assistant to the Publisher
Harold Clurman	Theater
B. H. Haggin	Music
Robert Hatch	Films
Gladys Whiteside	Copy Editor
Caroline Whiting	Assistant Literary Editor
Alfred Maund	Editorial Assistant
Mary Simon	Advertising Manager

Contributing Editors: Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus, Keith Hutchison, H. H. Wilson, W. Macmahon Ball, Maxwell Geismar, Bruce Catton.

Greetings
from the
GENERAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
of the
FARBAND LABOR ZIONIST ORDER
Meyer L. Brown, President
Louis Segal, Secretary

COMPLIMENTS
OF
A FRIEND

CONGRATULATIONS
ON YOUR
90TH ANNIVERSARY
JULIUS I. KISLAK
Jersey City Deal
New Jersey

For 34 years, a men's clothing store earning nation-wide good will of loyal patrons.

Write for circular

GORSART COMPANY

317 Broadway, New York 7, N. Y.

Phone: WO 2-0024
3 blocks north of Chambers St.

PUBLICATIONS

IMPORTED PERIODICALS AND BOOKS

FOR A LIMITED PERIOD ONLY

20% DISCOUNT ON ALL BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS IN ENGLISH.

(This sale ends July 15)

WORKS OF FAMOUS RUSSIAN CLASSICS AND CONTEMPORARY WRITERS.

HANDY SIZE BOOKLETS ON ALL PHASES OF SOVIET LIFE.

BEAUTIFULLY ILLUSTRATED BOOKS FOR CHILDREN.

• • •

Subscriptions for Soviet Magazines in English mailed from New York

Ask for "E-55" book lists
"D" sub rate card

• • •

FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.
55 W. 56 St. N. Y. 19
822 Broadway (cor. 12) N. Y. 3
Gr. 3-2018-19

BRITISH BOOKS—All Subjects—direct from London to you. Bargain catalogues free. Transbooks, Box 22-N, Brooklyn 26, N. Y.

SOCIALIST BOOKS. Catalog, literature, Free New York Labor News Company, Dept. M, 61 Cliff Street, New York 38, New York.

PERSONALS

WANT TO LIVE IN MEXICO? Filet mignon 15c lb.! No cold war tensions! $1 will bring you booklet with legal requirements for living in Mexico -- also general tourist information. Blair Publications, Dept. N, 1267 No. Vermont, Los Angeles 29, Calif.

AIR CONDITIONER—Top Rated. Regularly $319.95. While they last, $169.95. Standard Brand Dist., 143 4th Avenue (13th & 14th Sts.), N. Y. C. GR. 3-7819. 1 hour free parking or 2 tokens.

BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES

$200 WEEKLY CLEANING VENETIAN BLINDS. Free book. Burtt, 2434AB, Wichita 13, Kansas.

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE

Buy Your Books

through THE *Nation*

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular retail price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the retail price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

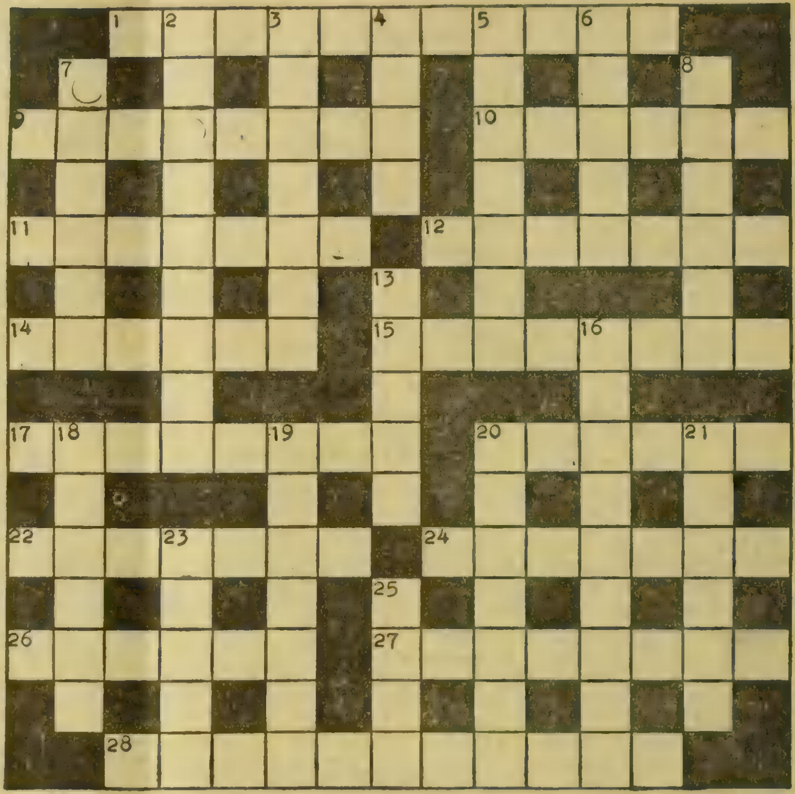
Please address your orders to

Miss O. LePach

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
333 Sixth Ave. New York 14, N. Y.

Crossword Puzzle No. 624

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 See 11 across

9 Vain, in a way—took off and disappeared completely! (8)

10 See 14 across.

11 and 27 and 1 across It appears that zero follows after, as a diplomatic lake. (7,8,4,7)

12 Puckish fools? (7)

14 15 and 10 across Tom has to be sacked before you can. (3,3,3,3,2,-3,3)

17 Knock at the temple? (8)

20 A hundred to one it's in a sort of free port of Brazil! (6)

22 Beats what some riders will hang on to! (7)

24 Did one [illegible] turn, but might prove troublesome. (7)

26 He's a prime reason for getting needled! (6)

27 See 11 across.

28 Implying nothing is shady when it comes to emotions! (4,2,5)

DOWN

2 This wire's confused with the dish! (5,4)

[illegible] Intensify it, hence an alteration is necessary, though slight. (7)

4 Open reverse, perhaps. (4)

5 The destroyer "Leopard"? (7)

6 The professional's name for what is seen with 8. (5)

7 A major part in "Life With Father?" (6)

8 A sight of oil has to be refined here! (4,2)

13 Wallace's bleeders, according to the poet. (5)

16 It's no matter of import when the world organization gets firm. (9)

18 One who stays sounds as though he might fly! (6)

19 General increase. (7)

20 One certainly isn't right to be both a sort of cad and liar. (7)

21 In the frying pan, perhaps, with [illegible] certain miss. (6)

23 With the words reversed, it implies modern "drive" is tasteful. (5)

25 Miss-beliefs? (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 623

ACROSS: 1 SATURDAY'S CHILD; 9 NEEDFUL; 10 RELAPSE; 11 ISAIAH; 12 TEXTILES; 14 NOTCHES; 17 NOSED; 19 REACTOR; 21 and 15 TUESDAY'S CHILD; 23 STROVE; 25 CHIANTI; 26 TONGUES; 27 THURSDAY'S CHILD. DOWN: 1 and 2 SINGING IN THE RAIN; 3 REFRACTED; 4 ALLY; 5 SCREEN STAR; 6 HELOT; 7 LAPILLI; 8 WENS; 13 WHIRLYBIRD; 15 CATATONIC; 16 DIGRESSED; 18 SWEDISH; 20 RIO MUNI; 21 TUCK; 22 DONOR; 24 STAY.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York

RESORTS

SACKS LODGE

Saugerties, N. Y. Tel.: 555

SOMETHING GOOD . . .

At A Price You Can Afford

Memorable meals (Amer.-Jewish). Attractive modern accommodations—private & semi-private bath. Expert instruction in Folk, Square & Latin Amer. dancing. All Sports. Fine Art classes—also Crafts.

Fun for the children: Complete Day camp July, August & Holidays. Expert counsellors. Exciting arts & crafts. Dancing.

NEW: filtered swimming and wading pools.

—N. Y. S. THRUWAY EXIT No. 20—

ROUND POND LODGE

Walden, New York

Adults. 100 acres, secluded, landscaped, vast shade lawns, quality food. German-American, refined atmosphere. Solarium, spring fed pool, sports. Modern conveniences. Good beds Capacity 30

Rates: $42.50-$50; Week-ends, $8-$10 & Day. Make Reservations Now. Telephone: Walden 2-4964

WEST POINT FARMS

RELAX in quiet, lovely surroundings. Rooms with private bath. New large swimming pool, terrace. 40 miles from N. Y. Superb cuisine.

CENTRAL VALLEY, N. Y.
Highland Mills 7895

Echo Lake Lodge

In the Green Mts. Brandon, Vermont

A delightful Vacation Resort for the Entire Family

- ● On lovely Echo Lake—all water sports
- ■ New canoes, boats, swim and fish
- ■ Tennis, ping-pong, shuffleboard
- ■ Music, square dancing, camp-fires
- ■ Summer theatres nearby

Dianna & Abe Berman N. Y.-WA4-6064

32nd SEASON
as a parent-child
Resort

Chaits

ACCORD 2, N. Y.

An intimate resort with "BIG" hotel facilities

160 beautiful acres • Tennis • Swimming • Golf nearby • Arts & Crafts • Art Classes • Folk & Square Dancing Complete Day Camp (8 AM to 8 PM) Professional Direction • Kind'gar'ner Nite Patrol

LOW, LOW June [illegible]

Full Program Starts July 1
Activities Dir., ARDEN EAST

Adults $45 up • Children $32.50 up

NYC office OL 4-4070 or
Karhonksen 8316

HOUSE FOR SALE

NORWALK, CONN. Two-year-old ranch house, on wooded acre in interracial community on Sound. Private beach, boating. Ideal for children. Patio, 3-4 bedrooms, 2 bathrooms, fireplace. Most modern kitchen, plumbing, etc., equipment. $26,000. Box 403, c/o The Nation or Phone: (Norwalk) Temple 8-2046.

RESORT CLASSIFIED DISPLAY
$7.42 per inch, one insertion
Advertising Department
***The* NATION**
333 SIXTH AVENUE
New York 14, N. Y. CHelsea 2-8400

RESORTS

CONCORD ACRES

Co-Ed Ages 6-15 Hancock, New York

FOR AN EXCITING PROGRAM
IN A RELAXING SETTING

The Tone: Non-regimented, friendly and understanding atmosphere where individual needs [illegible] met. Mature staff under top educator and camping leadership.

The Program: Rich and varied program includes all land and water sports, camping and boating trips, nature, arts and crafts, music, dramatics, dancing, archery, photography, and many special features.

Inspected and approved member of the American Camping Association.

Write or phone for brochure, interview, parent references

Moderate Fee
HAROLD ROSENTHAL
149-06 61 Road, Flushing, N. Y., FLushing 3-7750

Stonegate LODGE

ON [illegible]

Informal Adult Resort in the Adirondacks
Charming Estate — Limited to 90 — Pollen Free
Concert Trio — Dance Band — Arts & Crafts
DAVID HAHN, Folk-Sq. Dance Leader
Golf ■ All Sports ● Fishing
Bachelor Club Rate—Fine Food
N. Y. Office: 250 W. 57th ● Circle 6-6386
Red. Rates to July 10 Louis A. Roth, Dir.

THE PINES. Modern year-round retreat for adults in the Blue Mountains of Pennsylvania Dutch Country. Continental cuisine. Intimate group of congenial people, 95 miles from N. Y. C., 60 miles from Philadelphia. Write: Mrs. Ann Wunthal, Danielsville, R. D. 1. Tel: Bath Te 7-6501.

MODERN ADIRONDACK HOUSE, white birch motif, gas cooking, screens. $50.00 week. Other cabins. Vern Hutchins, Indian Lake, N. Y.

CHANTERWOOD FOR PEACE, where glorious lakes, deep woods, mountain-top location leave Atomic Age far behind. Informal, relaxing, moderate vacation. Tanglewood, Jacob's Pillow, Playhouse nearby. Tennis, badminton, shuffleboard, croquet, ping-pong, etc. on grounds. Ideal swimming & boating. Retreat for business and professional people. CHANTERWOOD, LEE, MASS. Folder N.

The Ideal Resort For Child & Parent

CARAN LODGE

Sylvan Lake ■ Hopewell Junction ● New York

60 miles from New York on Taconic Parkway Tennis, swimming, crafts, Folk and Square Dance instruction; golf and summer theatres nearby Children's Dining Room. Complete Day Camp. Farm animals. Riding in saddle and cart. Nite Patrol.

Accommodations limited to 10 families
RESERVE NOW
N. Y. [illegible] 6-7506 Hopewell Junction 6-2632

LAKE LOUANNE, ideal spot for vacation. 200 acres woodland, private mile long lake. Boating, fishing, swimming. Charming home with fireplace. Large rooms, each with private bath. Small group; informal. For Summer Rental—Large 2 room Studio, bath, fireplace, picture windows, screened porch facing the lake and waterfalls. Charmingly furnished. All housekeeping facilities. Also, one room cabin with fireplace and porch on island in our lake. Housekeeping facilities.

Louis Cudroff, Lake Louanne, Old Clinton Road, Westbrook, Conn. Phone: Clinton 6-2465.

RESORTS

MERRIEWOODE

FOR ADULTS
HIGHLAND LAKE — STODDARD, N. H.

Where Interesting People Meet [illegible] the Perfect Vacation ● Enjoy beautiful 10-mile Lake ● All Land and Water Sports, featuring Water Skiing [illegible] Excellent Tennis ■ Interesting Hiking Objectives thru Woodland Trails ■ Arts & Crafts, Square & Folk Dancing ■ Planned Evening Programs ■ Opportunity to participate in Dramatic Performances coached by Off-Bway Director ● Fine Food ■ Non-Sectarian ■ Write for Picture Folder

OLIVE "HATTIE" BARON, Director
TEL. HANCOCK 70
Special Pre-Season Rate—June 25-July 2, $50.00

WINDY HILL

ON ORANGE LAKE

A pleasantly informal vacation in friendly atmosphere. Swimming, Boating, Fishing on Natural Lake. Badminton, Volley Ball Ping-pong, other sports Movies, records, books. Summer Theatre nearby. Food of excellent quality in generous quantity

Pre-Season $45.00 Weekly; $7.00 Daily
Season and Holidays $50.00 Weekly; $7.50 Daily
65 Miles from [illegible] York City
Jane C. Arenz R. D. No. [illegible] Walden, N. Y.
Phone: Newburgh 1232

50 Miles to FOREST HOUSE

Near enough for easy travel, far enough for [illegible] unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality Two grand lakes. All sports.

FOREST HOUSE
Lake Mahopac, N. Y. ■ Tel. Mahopac 8-3449

Reserve for June Vacations,
Honeymoons and July 4th

festival house

- ■ Informal ■ Folk Dancing
- ■ Record Library ● Social Staff
- ● Tennis ■ N. Y. Tel: JU 2-1165

Write for Tanglewood Concert Program

lenox 4, mass. tel. lenox 367

BUILT ON THE SIDE OF A MOUNTAIN

the WOODLANDS

PHOENICIA, N. Y. Extraordinarily scenic. Fine book and record collection for the lazybones; sparkling swimming pool and fast tennis courts for the spirited. Also, theatre workshop, folk and square dancing art and ceramic classes, fine food and accommodations. Low rates. Tel. BOulevard 8-1461

CRYSTAL LAKE

LODGE

all deluxe accommodations at

LOW JUNE RATES

Folk & Squares with Cliff Bullard—Informal Fun

9 championship clay tennis courts, handball, fishing, riding, all water sports on private Crystal Lake. 1500 Woodland acres.

FREE weekend to tennis tournament winners.

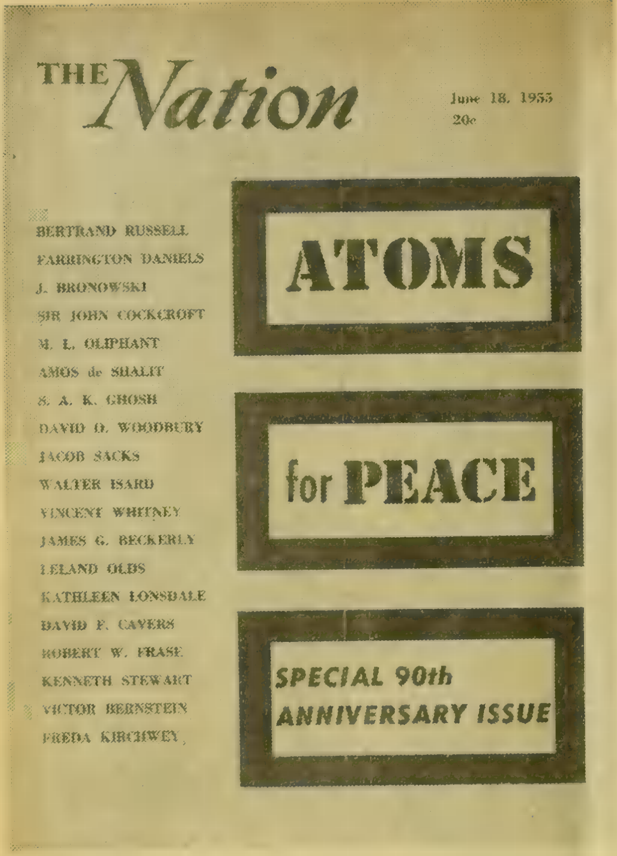
CHESTERTOWN 3 NEW YORK
Phone 3830 N. Y. Phone: OL 3-1884

Camp Alpine

45 MILES FROM PHILADELPHIA
Pennsylvania's Cooperative Camp

Social Program ● Swimming ■ Hiking ■ Folk Dancing
Dramatics ● Arts & Crafts ■ New Recreational Facilities
Cabins by the Week or Season.
Plenty of Fresh Air and Sunshine in this Pennsylvania Dutch location
Call Cheltenham 2774 Write box 5183, Philadelphia 41, Pennsylvania

Printed in the U. S. A. by Southern Farmer, Inc. P. O. Box 509, Montgomery, Ala.



THE Nation

June 18, 1955
20¢

BERTRAND RUSSELL
FARRINGTON DANIELS
J. BRONOWSKI
SIR JOHN COCKCROFT
M. L. OLIPHANT
AMOS de SHALIT
S. A. K. GHOSH
DAVID O. WOODBURY
JACOB SACKS
WALTER ISARD
VINCENT WHITNEY
JAMES G. BECKERLY
LELAND OLDS
KATHLEEN LONSDALE
DAVID F. CAVERS
ROBERT W. FRASE
KENNETH STEWART
VICTOR BERNSTEIN
FREDA KIRCHWEY

ATOMS

for PEACE

SPECIAL 90th
ANNIVERSARY ISSUE

Give Your Friends A Copy of This Great Issue of

THE Nation

Because we believe this special 90th Anniversary Issue of The Nation will have a positive impact upon the attitudes of thoughtful Americans we want to enlist your aid in furthering its distribution. Here's how you can help:

- You can purchase extra copes for distribution to your friends as well as to various leaders in your community. (See coupon below for special bundle order rates.)
- You can have it sent, with your compliments — plus a gift card from you—to a friend, or friends, as part of a special offer which will introduce them to The Nation for the next 26 weeks for only $2.00.

(Please use the coupons below to take advantage of these offers.)

The Nation 333 Sixth Avenue New York 14, N. Y.

I enclose $—— for —— copies of The Nation's special 90th Anniversary Issue.

10 copies	$1.60	100 copies	$12.00
50 copies	$7.20	500 copies	$50.00
1000 copies	$75.00		

Name ________________

Address ________________

City ________ Z ______ State ________

Send 26 weeks of The Nation plus a free copy of the 90th Anniversary Issue as a gift from me to:
(Enclose $2 for each order)

Name ________________

Address ________________

City ________ Z ______ State ________

Your Name ________________

Your Address ________________

City ________ Z ______ State ________

(Use separate sheet for additional names)

ADENAUER TO MOSCOW BY TERENCE PRITTIE

BURLINGAME
PUBLIC LIBRARY
Burlingame, Calif.

THE Nation

June 25, 1955
20c

Biology and the Bomb

by Paul G. 'Espinasse

Gray New World

by John W. Aldridge

Labor's Dixie Victory

by Alfred Maund

Salvaging the Desert

by Peveril Meigs

EVERY
WEEK
SINCE
1865

Letters

On U. M. T. . . .

Dear Sirs: In the April 16, 1955, issue of The Nation, John M. Swomley, Jr., deals with an article called The Kids Want U. M. T. which I wrote for This Week magazine. In discussing it Mr. Swomley makes some assertions and brings in some implications which I cannot allow to stand unchallenged.

First, he implies that I have a strong bias in favor of U. M. T. There is no foundation for this charge. I had come across the results of a poll by the Institute of Student Opinion indicating overwhelming support of the idea of U. M. T. by high-school students. I thought this was significant, whether the high-school students happened to be right or wrong. This Week agreed that it could be the basis of an article reporting a little-known fact. That's why The Kids Want U. M. T. was written.

Second, Mr. Swomley says that my interpretation of the I. S. O. poll results is misleading. Would it help if I quoted a pretty good authority backing up my general interpretation? As you know, the I. S. O. poll is conducted by Scholastic magazine. On March 24, 1954, after careful examination of the ballots Scholastic summed up the results this way: "U. S. high school students are overwhelmingly in favor of compulsory military training. . . . The boys were for it—66 per cent; the girls—65 per cent."

Third, Mr. Swomley implies that I concealed the fact that the high-school students did not agree on a specific U. M. T. plan. His reasoning seems to go something like this: "You're right in saying that 66 per cent of the students polled voted in favor of compulsory military training on the first part of the I. S. O. ballot. But that doesn't mean anything. When the students are asked about specific U. M. T. proposals, they vote no. That means they're really not in favor of U. M. T. at all." I'm convinced that anyone who interprets the results that way is wrong. The I. S. O. poll did not attempt to cover the whole range of U. M. T. programs. For example, students had no chance to vote on a plan which would break U. M. T. training into two three-month periods—a plan which, after checking with hundreds of students, I found to be popular. The poll did list a plan which would have required students to draw lots to determine whether they would go in the army for six months or for two years. Many of those who voted against this plan made it clear they did so because of the lottery feature. Nobody seems to be seriously proposing drawing lots any more.

Mr. Swomley says that This Week had such overwhelming confidence in my absolute accuracy that the magazine "apparently thought it unnecessary to check [my] facts." Alas, how little Mr. Swomley knows about editors. I was grilled at least a dozen times by one This Week editor between the date my article was accepted and the date it appeared.

I realize that Mr. Swomley did not intend to cast aspersions. He is a strong believer in the evils of U. M. T. and is certainly entitled to defend his opinions. MYRICK E. LAND

Jackson Heights, N. Y.

. . . And the Answer

Dear Sirs: Let me comment on Mr. Land's points: First, my article said nothing about bias. But how else interpret such statements as: "The country's top military experts say that universal military training is the fastest and fairest way to build up our military reserves"? Why doesn't Mr. Land say that the air force and navy have opposed U. M. T. and have gone along because the army wants it? Why not report that the National Guard, Reserve Officers' Association, Naval Reserve, Air Force Association, Air National Guard have testified it is not needed and that some have said it would be harmful to national defense? Did Mr. Land report the attitude of General MacArthur, General Wedemeyer, and others against U. M. T.?

Mr. Land states in his letter: "I had come across a report of the Institute of Student Opinion poll." Why doesn't Mr. Land come right out and say that he is an official or employee of Scholastic magazine, which sponsored the poll?

Second, to support his interpretation of the poll, Mr. Land here cites Scholastic as a good authority. I would hardly call Scholastic's interpretation of its own poll authoritative, nor do I think an interpretation of it by a Scholastic employee necessarily objective.

As to Mr. Land's third point, I certainly implied that Mr. Land concealed part of the poll, and further I would assert it. Anyone who has studied the U. M. T. question and checked with members of Congress and others as Mr. Land has must have known that the only U. M. T. proposals before Congress during the past five years were essentially those for six months' compulsory training plus seven and a half years' reserve duty, which received an adverse vote in the Scholastic poll. Not to mention this is concealment. The point that Land makes regarding students favoring a plan of summer training may be true, but there is no evidence to support it. They may prefer health and physical training to military training, or something else entirely, but questions which don't present alternatives reveal very little.

New York JOHN M. SWOMLEY, JR.

Two Remarkable Features

J. Bronowski on Albert Einstein

The distinguished British scientist and essayist pays a remarkable tribute to one of the truly great men of history. Here is an evaluation of Einstein both as a scientist and as a man.

Roderick Seidenberg on The Sense of the Future

Mr. Seidenberg's book "Post-Historic Man" was called "brilliant" by Reinhold Niebuhr, "timeless and timely" by Nobel laureate H. J. Muller, "the work of a profound intelligence" by Waldo Frank. His article in *The Nation* is a challenging commentary on the ultimate destiny of mankind.

Coming Soon in The Nation

VOLUME 180, NUMBER 26

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JUNE 25, 1955

THE Nation

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

The Shape of Things

Civil Rights: Planned Surrender

Popular interest in the Supreme Court's decision of May 31 referring compliance with its decision of last year in the segregated-school cases to the federal district courts has diverted attention from the studied effort of the Democratic leadership in Congress to bury three important civil-rights amendments sponsored by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The first of these, introduced by Representative Powell, provides that any state seeking to participate in the military-reserve program must refrain from practicing racial discrimination in the National Guard. The second, an amendment to the school-construction bill, would require that states seeking benefits under the act first certify that their school facilities are open to all children without regard to race, in conformity with the Supreme Court's decision. The third amendment, offered to the housing bill, requires all agencies applying for benefits under the federal housing program to certify their adherence to non-discriminatory policies and practices. There is nothing revolutionary about these proposals; they are simply designed to carry into effect promises made by both parties many times.

The three amendments, moreover, have a special relevance to the school-segregation issue. Southern school districts might hesitate quite a time before rejecting federal funds; in many districts the financial inducement might be sufficient to tip the scales in favor of immediate compliance with the Supreme Court's ruling. In much the same fashion, a non-discriminatory federal housing program would weaken the resistance to integrated schools, for the argument is now advanced of course that segregated schools merely reflect existing social patterns in housing. Throughout the South the National Guard has been one of the sturdiest bastions of Jim Crow; to induce the Southern states to abandon discrimination in National Guard units would necessarily weaken resistance to integrated schools. Should Congress sidetrack the three amendments, therefore, it will have given dangerous aid and comfort to forces in the South that seek to delay compliance with the Supreme Court's decision and, if at all possible, to nullify it.

Where The Blame Falls

Efforts to kill the three amendments have been directed for the most part by liberal Northern Democrats who seem far more concerned with party unity than are their Dixiecrat colleagues. Even stranger than their behavior is the President's. He has characterized the amendments as "extraneous" and has said that civil-rights issues should be decided on their merits and not in the form of amendments to existing legislation. But as Mr. Powell points out, it is almost impossible nowadays to get a civil-rights issue before Congress; the amendment route is about the only avenue not blocked by the Dixiecrats and their friends in both parties.

If President Eisenhower feels that civil-rights issues should be considered on their merits, he could easily send a special message to Congress recommending legislation of the type proposed in these amendments. It is one thing for Senator Eastland to charge that the N. A. A. C. P. is attempting to hold up important legislation in the field of housing and education by insisting on equal benefits; it is something else again when liberal Democrats and the President echo the charge. The Dixiecrats are the ones who are holding up important social legislation in Congress and who have established a virtually complete blackout on civil-rights issues. Neither in housing nor in education can genuine social progress be purchased by ducking the issue of equal benefits. After all, it was the President who said, on March 19, 1953, that it is legally, logically, and morally wrong to permit discrimination in the expenditure of federal funds.

The Wayward Southern Press

Alfred Maund's article in this issue will provide many readers with their first reasonably full account of the recent railroad and telephone strikes in the South. The Southern press, at any rate during the early stages of the strikes, showed extraordinary bias in its coverage. "Nearly every dispatch from the South," observed the May 27 issue of the *Guild Reporter*, official newspaper of the American Newspaper Guild, "carried accounts of reported cable cuttings and train derailments attributed by management to 'strikers' sabotage.' In contrast, injuries to strikers at the hands of armed company thugs got little attention." Mr. Maund's article redresses the balance in this respect. But perhaps the best answer to the repeated charges of lawlessness hurled at the strikers was the opinion handed down by Judge Courtney C. Wells of the Kentucky Circuit Court in denying the Louisiana and Southern Railroad's plea for an injunction: "I have never seen a case where the plaintiff has as little ground for asking an injunction. . . . I have driven up and down these picket lines as late as 10:30 at night and

In This Issue

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 573

ARTICLES

Adenauer to Moscow: The German Reaction by **Terence Prittie** 575

Salvaging the Desert: Light on an Old Problem by **Peveril Meigs** 577

Biology and the Bomb: Some "Hidden" Perils by **Paul G. 'Espinasse** 579

Dilemma in Saigon: Which Way Democracy? by **Sam A. Jaffe** 581

Labor's Dixie Victory: Politicians Are Impressed by **Alfred Maund** 582

BOOKS

Gray New World by **John W. Aldridge** 585

American Distrust of the Mind by **John W. Ward** 588

ART by **S. Lane Faison, Jr.** 589

THEATER and FILMS by **Robert Hatch** 590

RECORDS by **B. H. Haggin** 591

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 625 by **Frank W. Lewis** 592

LETTERS opposite 573

Editorial Board

Freda Kirchwey	Editor and Publisher
Carey McWilliams	Editorial Director
Lillie Shultz	Director, Nation Associates
Victor H. Bernstein	Managing Editor
J. Alvarez del Vayo	Foreign Editor
Martin Solow	Assistant to the Publisher
Harold Clurman	Theater
B H Haggin	Music
Robert Hatch	Films
Gladys Whiteside	Copy Editor
Caroline Whiting	Assistant Literary Editor
Alfred Maund	Editorial Assistant
Mary Simon	Advertising Manager

Contributing Editors: Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K Smith, Carolus, Keith Hutchison, H. H. Wilson, W Macmahon Ball, Maxwell Geismar, Bruce Catton.

The Nation, June 25, 1955. Volume 180, No. 26

The Nation, published weekly by The Nation Company and copyright, 1955 in the U S A. by The Nation Associates Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N Y Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879 at the Post Office of New York N Y under the act of March 3, 1879 Reentered as second class matter at the Post Office Montgomery, Alabama Printing Office. 1603 Reuben Street

Subscription Prices Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17 Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address. Three weeks notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs, Information Service, Dramatic Index.

I have never seen men acting more peacably. . . The very purpose of these men being on the picket line is to prevent, by proper influence, other employees going to work. The law gives them that right."

While Judge Wells's denial of the injunction was given adequate coverage, most newspapers published little if any of his argument.

The U. A. W. Agreements

The guaranteed-wage plan embodied in the new contracts between the United Automobile Workers and Ford and General Motors is not quite the revolutionary development which both union and management would have us believe. At the outset of the negotiations the U. A. W. was demanding a true guaranteed annual wage—substantially full-time weekly unemployment benefits combined with almost complete job security for the whole labor force (the subject was discussed at some length in *The Nation* of April 23). What emerged was a plan for limited benefits for part of the labor force under conditions which may increase job insecurity. The agreement provides benefits which when combined with existing government unemployment-compensation payments will amount to 65 per cent of take-home pay for four weeks and 60 per cent for additional weeks up to twenty-six. This gives labor only a little more than it would get under current proposals for increasing government unemployment compensation—the President recently suggested 50 per cent as a fair standard for such benefits. Moreover, employees will have to wait a year before they are eligible for any so-called G. A. W. benefits. This provision, together with certain other complex compromises which modified the original plan, gives management a year in which to shake down its labor force in order to minimize its financial obligations under the plan. Management's ultimate objective will be to divide its labor force into a group of high-seniority workers eligible for benefits but likely to have little need for them and a much larger group of low-seniority workers who will be eligible only for small benefits if any and will be the first to be laid off.

One weakness of the plan is the fact that it is tied to existing government unemployment-insurance legislation. It is already evident that under the laws of most states maximum unemployment insurance cannot be given to workers who are receiving the kind of private unemployment insurance envisaged by G. A. W. It is also evident that business will lobby ardently against any attempt to alter these laws.

DESPITE these drawbacks, the automobile workers' contracts have established a useful precedent in saddling employers directly with some responsibility for the security of workers in a seasonal industry. And apart from the G. A. W., the contracts do embody significant advances for labor. Basic wages are increased by 6 to 8.5 cents an hour; peripheral benefits such as vacation, sickness, and disability allowances, pensions, and life insurance are raised, in some instances substantially. The increase in current cash payments alone are appreciably more than workers in other industries have received this year. The automobile workers have given other unions a mark to shoot at.

The Bryson Case

A federal jury in San Francisco, after acquitting Hugh Bryson, former president of the now defunct National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards, of having falsely denied membership in the Communist Party in a Taft-Hartley affidavit in 1951, proceeded then to find him guilty of "affiliation with" the party. The jury was apparently confused, as we are, by the distinction between "membership" and "affiliation"; at one point they returned to the courtroom to ask Judge William C. Mathes for permission to consult a dictionary. The request was refused, but the judge did "illustrate" his previous instructions by saying that affiliation was similar to a situation "in which a man and woman live together without being married." The analogy is not impressive. Some states may recognize common-law marriages, but crimes are defined by law, not by custom. "Membership" itself can be a dangerously vague concept for a jury to apply; "affiliation" compounds the uncertainty and confusion. Disregarding a suggestion from the prosecution that bail be set at $30,000 pending an appeal, Judge Mathes fixed bail at $50,000—a figure which would seem to be harshly vindictive as well as excessive.

During the trial Judge Mathes instructed the attorneys, reporters, and spectators in the courtroom that they were "enjoined and restrained" from interviewing, photographing, or otherwise "molesting or communicating with" the jurors even after the verdict. The San Francisco *Chronicle* immediately announced that it would seek a test of the validity of this unusual order by attempting to interview them. The *Chronicle* contends that the order abridges the freedom of the press. It would also seem to abridge Bryson's right to a fair trial, for in this day and age a public trial has come to mean a trial to which the public has access through the press, which constitutes its eyes and ears. Recently a judge refused to permit the New York *Post* to inspect an official transcript, and the *Post*, like the *Chronicle*, promptly announced that it would test the order. Today as never before the press should be encouraged to resist a tendency on the part of many judges and law-enforcement officials to mask judicial proceedings in a qualified secrecy.

ADENAUER TO MOSCOW

The German Reaction . . *by Terence Prittie*

Bonn

THREE weeks before the invitation to visit Moscow was extended to Dr. Adenauer a commentator of the North West German Radio Corporation in Cologne threw out the suggestion that after Austrian Chancellor Raab and Yugoslav dictator Tito, Dr. Adenauer might be the third in the succession of European statesmen to be approached by the Kremlin. This commentator was a lonely prophet, and his suggestion was laughed to scorn. Practically nobody in Germany believed that a personal approach to Dr. Adenauer was a remote possibility. In the first place the rulers of the Soviet Union have sponsored an active propaganda campaign directed against him. In the second place they have every reason to regard him as committed heart and soul to the Western cause. They could, after all, afford to wait for an octogenarian's death or at least his departure from the political stage. Finally, the Soviet Union has on its hands its own satellite East German regime.

During the present phase of German history the German people have become understandably apathetic to major political issues. This is due to the failures of their former leaders, the stunning effect of the lost war, the division of Germany into two mere "semi-states," and the real need for Germans to earn money, rebuild their homes, and bring back their standard of living to normal. Only in political and press circles did the invitation to Dr. Adenauer become an absorbing subject of conversation.

The Chancellor's Christian Democratic Party was careful not to make too much of it and stressed the need for careful prior appraisal of possibilities in concert with the Western powers, with whom the federal republic is now allied. Only one leading member of this party, the speaker of the lower house, Dr. Eugen Gerstenmaier, could be induced on the evening of June 7 to say that he hoped that Dr. Adenauer would go to Moscow. Dr. Adenauer's coalition allies, the the Refugee Party (B. H. E.) and the German Party, were equally reserved. In their first short statements they both urged careful examination of the invitation and expressed the hope that it would not be turned down without due consideration.

The only party in the government coalition which was prepared to say something definite was the Free

---

TERENCE PRITTIE is the Manchester Guardian's *correspondent in West Germany.*

Democratic Party. For months past its chairman, Dr. Thomas Dehler, has been toying with the idea of a "third solution" midway between the neutralization of a united Germany and Germany's continued division into two states belonging to rival military alliances. The F. D. P. youth had asked repeatedly for an examination of the possibility of a united Germany opting out of NATO. The F. D. P. member of the federal Parliament, Hermann Schwann, called on the Soviet High Commissioner in East Germany, M. Pushkin, ostensibly to discuss the question of German p. o. w.'s still in Soviet hands. But Schwann betrayed his real motive when he said he intended to use this only as an "introduction" to political themes.

On June 8 the F. D. P. Press Service declared that the German government had no choice as to the Soviet invitation. It could not possibly reject it. The press service saw four good reasons why Dr. Adenauer should visit Moscow, or at least meet M. Molotov at some convenient point. He could help solve the question of the p. o. w.'s; he could explain the federal government's foreign policy to the Russians; he could improve East-West trade prospects; finally he could assist the process of German reunification.

SINCE the Russian invitation came every West German newspaper of note has devoted at least a couple of leading articles to the subject, and some, like *Die Welt* and the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, are running a series of articles examining all aspects of the situation. Most of them show the same reservation as the political parties. No one expects Dr. Adenauer to "bring back peace with honor" from Moscow. It is far more important, the *Frankfurter Allgemeine* wrote, that a basis of mutual trust should be established—"this is the prerequisite to German reunification." Dr. Adenauer's real task would not be to wring immediate concessions from the Soviet Union but to convince its rulers that the federal republic will never indulge in any aggressive action against its eastern neighbors. This might do something toward removing the greatest fear in the Russian mind—that American atomic power will be linked with the German infantrymen and tank crews who fought their way to the gates of Moscow twelve years ago.

Nothing must be done, said *Die Welt*, without full consultation with the Western powers. "We believe," it went on, "that it is wrong to suppose that Germany will ever try to be referee between East and West and derive purely selfish advantages in this way. Even after this invitation nobody in Germany believes that we have all at once become a great power again." The editor of *Die Welt*, Hans Zehrer, emphasized how easy it would be for Germany to lose the confidence of the West by making too much of a rapprochement with the Soviet Union. Rapallo and Tauroggen, the 1922 and 1811 Russo-German pacts, were still fresh in Western minds. So was the Hitler-Stalin pact of 1939. There should be no deviation therefore from the straight course of loyalty to existing alliances.

It has been quickly pointed out, moreover, that Dr. Adenauer will not be in a position to make immediate concessions to the Soviet Union. "Adenauer will be unable to shift his point of view one iot on three questions," wrote Frank Vogl, editor of the Duesseldorf *Mittag*. "He cannot renounce the Paris Agreements; he will reject an 'Austrian solution' for Germany; and he will not recognize the puppet East German Republic." (In Washington, Adenauer confirmed Vogl's view.) Like many other Germans, Vogl sees a possible ruse in the Russian move. Suppose Adenauer goes to Moscow, and German hopes are allowed to run too high beforehand? Suppose then that he comes back manifestly empty-handed? This is a real danger, Vogl thinks, for it could lead to a neutralist propaganda offensive which would seriously weaken Adenauer's position at home and his prestige abroad.

A visit to Moscow, wrote Werner Friedman in the *Sueddeutsche Zeitung*, would be Dr. Adenauer's severest test so far. Now he would have a chance to live up to Churchill's dictum that he is the greatest German statesman since Bismarck. Nor should all the credit for securing the invitation be given to Adenauer. The fundamental reason why it has come is that the Soviet Union is ready to bid for German friendship in the East-West cold war which still continues. The cold war, for that matter, was chiefly responsible for the granting of German sovereignty and for the acceptance of the federal republic as a partner of the Western democracies.

WHAT could Adenauer achieve in talks with the rulers of the Soviet Union other than establish some measure of mutual trust and convince them that two world wars have taught Germans their lesson? This is probably the most important question that Germans are asking themselves today. It is not surprising that after ten years in the diplomatic wilderness they are uncertain as to what the answer should be. They have had little guidance from Dr. Adenauer himself. In the one press interview which he has given, the Chancellor said there might be an opportunity to discuss "controlled disarmament" throughout the world and to link this with present plans for German rearmament within NATO. Dr. Adenauer has discussed this possibility in Washington and explored ways of setting up a security system in Europe which would assist German reunification.

Press commentators have been quick to point out that M. Molotov opened up one avenue of escape from the present diplomatic deadlock in Central Europe at last year's Berlin conference. This was his proposal of a system of interlocking pacts among European countries. One German suggestion now is that an "arrangement" might be made between the NATO powers and those which signed the Eastern-bloc pact. Another is that the federal republic should stay out of NATO and make its military contribution through Western European Union. Yet another is that there should be an agreed withdrawal of Western and Soviet troops behind the Rhine and Oder rivers and that the German army should act as a "Central European police force" between them. Much more will be heard of these various possibilities when practical progress is made toward restoring diplomatic relations between Bonn and Moscow.

Western Germany is still not a fully mature community, and Moscow's invitation has obviously reawakened some fears in Western capitals. There are four valid reasons for such fears. First, the German government may bite off more than it can chew. Talk of Germany being a "bridge between East and West" has been current for a long time, and there is a curiously strong belief among Germans that they know how to "manage" the Russians. This is founded on Rapallo, on the close economic and military ties which bound the two countries together in the 1920's, and on satisfactory trading with Russia before the Second World War. Overconfidence now would be fatal if applied to relations with the Soviet Union.

In the second place there is already a feeling that Dr. Adenauer should go to Moscow before the next four-power conference. This feeling will grow as it is increasingly realized that this is a unique opportunity for the federal republic to take the diplomatic initiative in European affairs. The view held by Allied observers in Germany is that a visit should take place after the four-power conference, and it has since been so decided in Washington.

There is also the danger that the F. D. P. will try to capitalize on the new situation. This party is still an unsteadying influence in Germany, owing to the persistent efforts of its right-wingers to develop it into a national-conservative "melting-pot." Thanks to its leavening of ex-generals and junior officers of the Wehrmacht, the F. D. P. regards itself as a repository of military lore and the appropriate guide in German rearmament.

The fourth danger is less easily defined. It is the possible change in general approach from circumspection to opportunism. This is clearly tempting for German politicians. The 17,000,000 people of East Germany cannot be left indefinitely under Communist domination. The economies of the two halves of Germany are growing steadily farther apart. Berlin is as isolated and vulnerable as ever. No beginning can be made with the coming German campaign for the return of the territories east of the Oder-Neisse line until the primary unification of the Soviet zone with the federal republic takes place.

Dr. Adenauer's "roving ambassador," Professor Walter Hallstein, has declared that the months ahead are going to try the patience of the German people very severely. An intelligible objective – reunification – has been brought definitely nearer by the Austrian treaty and the invitation to Adenauer. The very fact that it looks attainable for the first time since the Potsdam agreement was signed is liable to unbalance German judgment and the new decorum which marks Bonn's conduct of foreign affairs. The Austrian treaty produced a period of crisis, with German ambassadors being suddenly recalled and instructed to make frequent and regular reports from now on. The strain on German nerves became apparent then; it is going to become greater and not less as a result of Dr. Adenauer's success, and the reactions of the German people—the 50,000,000 West Germans who can be watched and analyzed—will be of greater significance than ever before.

SALVAGING THE DESERT

Light on an Old Problem . . *by Peveril Meigs*

THE city of Albuquerque in the upper Rio Grande Valley, a center of cattle raising, irrigated crops, mining, and Pueblo Indians, acquired international prominence last spring when it was chosen for the site of an international conference on arid lands. The conference was sponsored by the American Association for the Advancement of Science and its Southwestern and Rocky Mountain Division in cooperation with the Advisory Committee on Arid Zone Research of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization. The aid of the UNESCO committee was offered as part of its program to encourage international attack on the problems of arid lands. Similar symposiums have been stimulated by UNESCO in Ankara, Jerusalem, Montpelier, and New Delhi.

The traveling expenses of those who attended the conference, which were of course heavy for the sixty-odd invited scientists from twenty-five foreign countries, were shared by UNESCO, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the National Science Foundation. In addition, more than $9,000 was raised by voluntary contributions from farm and business organizations and individuals in and around the Rio Grande Valley.

For a scientific gathering the conference attracted an unusual amount of public interest. On the opening night at the University of New Mexico it was attended by several hundred farmers, business men, and other members of the public, in addition to the more than one hundred invited scientists. In the last three days the specialists met at Socorro for full discussion of different aspects of the general problem.

As in 1952 at Jerusalem interest was stimulated by local conditions. The meeting hall at Albuquerque was invaded by pale insistent dust from the surrounding desert, a reminder that the Southwest is experiencing what is already one of the

---

PEVERIL MEIGS is a geographer at the Quartermaster Research and Development Center, Natick, Massachusetts, and chairman of the Arid Zone Commission of the International Geographical Union. This article is published with the consent but not necessarily with the indorsement of the Department of the Army.

Arid and Semi-arid Areas of the World

eight worst droughts of the past six hundred years. Visitors arriving from the East by air flew above cultivated fields half covered with drifting sand. Grazing lands were so dried up that the governors of Arizona and New Mexico had asked the President to declare their states drought-disaster areas.

Some people hoped that the assembled desert specialists would perform a miracle. One substantial contributor remarked: "I expect those experts to get results. If they don't produce water, next time I'll give my money to a preacher." The meetings brought forth no panaceas, but they did focus the wisdom and experience of scientists in many fields on the theme question: What is the future of the arid lands?

THE widely held belief that the climate of these regions has become drier was almost unanimously rejected. All the evidence indicated that there has been no perceptible decline in precipitation within historical times. Dr. Terah Smiley, geochronologist from the Tree-Ring Laboratory of the University of Arizona, reported the occurrence of cycles of dry years, irregularly spaced and unpredictable, but no long-term trend. Archaeological evidence that conditions are as humid now as 2,000 years ago was introduced by Dr. Pedro Armillas of the Mexican National School of Anthropology; Dr. Michael Evenari, professor of botany at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem; Colonel Omar Draz, director of the Desert Range Development Project of the Desert Institute, Heliopolis, Egypt; and Jean Tixeront, chief engineer of Public Works, Tunis. Dr. Evenari stated flatly: "When we followed the land-use method of 200 B. C. in the Negev desert, we succeeded; when we followed modern methods, we failed." M. Tixeront said that abandoned Roman wells, reservoirs, and cisterns in the Tunisian dry lands had been viewed as proof of greater aridity today, but that when these water-collecting systems were cleaned out and reconstituted they provided as much water as ever. The extensive olive groves of the Sfax area were started experimentally in a treeless plain because the finding of Roman olive-oil presses suggested that olives had once been raised there. The idea that archaeological research can improve present-day water use received great encouragement at Albuquerque.

The latest word on rain-making is still "not proved." Exhaustive statistical analyses of the results of carefully controlled cloud-seeding experiments have yielded no proof of significant additions to precipitation. However, Dr E. G. Bowen, chief of the Division of Radiophysics of the Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organization, Sydney, Australia, pointed out that the world-wide increase of rainfall on certain dates was related to the passage of the earth through fields of meteoric dust. Dr. S. Naqvi, director of the Pakistan Meteorological Service, thought that cloud seeding with powdered salt had brought a substantial increase of rainfall in Pakistan but that another year of trials would be needed for verification. Dr. Vincent Schaefer reported favorable results under certain conditions in Project Cirrus in New Mexico but admitted that the subject was still controversial. In the long run, control of the weather is a distinct probability, in the opinion of Glenn W. Brier, meteorologist of the United States Weather Bureau. If and when such control comes, Dr. Enrique Beltran, director of the Mexican Institute of Renewable Natural Resources, suggested, a new profession may be required—rainfall management, to deal with such problems as flood damage, accelerated erosion, and rainfall theft.

DEMINERALIZATION of the inexhaustible water supplies of the ocean, another alluring possibility, received much attention at the meetings. Dr. W. F. J. M. Krul of the University of Delft, director of the Netherlands Institute of Water Supply, reported that West European research on demineralization is being coordinated by a working party that he heads. Research on all four principal methods of water desalting has been stimulated in the United States by a five-year $2,000,000 program approved by Congress in 1952 and administered by the Department of the Interior; this was reported on at Albuquerque by Sheppard T. Powell, adviser to the federal Saline Water Conversion Program. The goals set are costs of 38 cents per thousand gallons for municipal water and 12 cents per thousand gallons for irrigation water—about $125 and $40 per acre-foot. Transportation costs would be in addition. Since present costs by use of vapor-compression distillation are about $375 per acre-foot and by solar distillation about $325 per acre-foot, the goal is still some distance in the future. However, according to L. N. McCalellan of the Bureau of Reclamation, Denver, the city of Colorado Springs recently offered $350 an acre-foot for water now being used for agricultural purposes, and according to Dr. Louis Koening a hard-pressed Texas city paid $1,000 per acre-foot for water hauled in. The normal price charged for irrigation water from federal projects is from $2 to $6.

With the sea and air written off for the present as sources of extra water at reasonable cost, most of the meetings were devoted to consideration of how best to conserve and utilize the existing terrestrial sources. Though the principles of good usage are not new, the meetings furnished a valuable review of techniques and unsolved problems. The statements of agronomists, botanists, and zoologists on the deterioration of range lands were exemplified on field excursions. That unpalatable plants such as juniper and mesquite are encroaching on desirable grasses was only too clear. The foreign scientists were surprised to find little or no use being made of the device of spreading the water from slope runoff, a common practice in the Sahara.

The accelerating insufficiency of water for irrigation in the Rio Grande Valley was discussed. In the area served by Elephant Butte Dam, with a normal annual requirement of 3.1 feet per acre, the outlook this year is for an allotment of only 2½ inches. There has been feverish well-drilling by individual farmers to tap the ground water for additional supplies—these may tide the situation over for a few years but will ultimately require replenishment by periods of greater precipitation. Below El Paso the increasing salinity of the Rio Grande due to the return of water from upstream irrigation has caused many farms to be abandoned. Silting up at the head of the reservoir is steadily reducing the storage capacity of Elephant Butte Dam, and the salt-cedar thickets on the reservoir delta transpire enormous amounts of the declining water supply. To conserve water these are now being killed by a chemical spray from planes.

A startling paper on the economics of arid lands was read by Dr. Louis Koenig, associate director of the Southwest Research Institute of San Antonio, Texas. He considered irrigation to be an uneconomic use of water in the desert, since the same amount could support sixty times as many people if used for industry instead of for irrigation. He suggested that desert oases should concentrate on manufacturing and get their food from humid regions—a revolutionary thesis made somewhat credible by the recent expansion of industry in Southwestern cities, the difficulties of Southwestern irrigators, and the increased productivity made possible in the humid Eastern United States by supplemental irrigation. One comment was that certain crops, such as dates and long-staple cotton, require desert climate.

The question of how to prevent oversettling of farm lands beyond the water capacity of the land was not faced. In informal discussions the most practical solution offered was that lending agencies might have to play the unpopular role of applying the brakes to the uneconomic establishment of new farms.

Dr. Gilbert White, president of Haverford College, United States member of the UNESCO Advisory Committee on Arid Zone Research and chairman of the planning committee for the New Mexico conference, summed up the main value of the meetings as "the building of bridges" between countries, between scientists of different disciplines, and between scientists and the general public. Not only the meetings but the bus rides, discussion groups, meal-time talks, and coffee breaks led to the development of friendships and a sense of common problems among the foreign and American participants.

BIOLOGY AND THE BOMB

Some "Hidden" Perils . . *by Paul G. 'Espinasse*

Hull, England

BIOLOGISTS have not, on the whole, been very enthusiastic about the consequences to be expected from the letting off of thermo-nuclear bombs. Most of the voices which have been heard most widely by ordinary people have been those of the physicists, who, after all, made the things. Such attention as has been given to the biological effects of thermo-nuclear explosions has been concentrated upon the genetic consequences likely to show themselves in a population exposed to the possibly abnormal amounts of radiation which might well follow such an explosion in some areas. The effects upon people, however, need not be only of a direct kind, such as would result from the occurrence of mutations in them, for people do not live in a dead world. They live, on the contrary, in an environment which consists very significantly of other living and related things.

H-BOMB FALL-OUT AREA

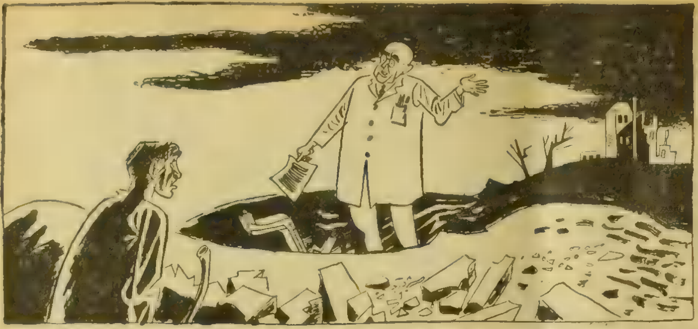
Washington Post

Shape of Things to Go

The relations established between living things, generally over very long periods of time, are one of the studies of the ecologists. These relations are often very close and very complicated, and any change in one member of such an association is likely to disturb the others. It is the suggestion of this article that such disturbances are conceivable consequences of the use, or even perhaps of the testing, of thermo-nuclear weapons. This is because genetic

---

PAUL G. 'ESPINASSE is professor of zoology at the University of Hull, England.



Stuttgarter Nachrichten

Last H-Bomb Test: "Sorry, We Miscalculated a Little."

changes, if they occur, affect not isolated individuals or isolated species in moments of time, but breeding individuals and vitally related species through quite indefinite time. They affect not man alone, but his associates—his parasites and his symbionts.

As an example we may perhaps consider the trypanosomes. These protozoa are very common. They live in all kinds of hosts—snails, sheep, and many other animals. The great majority of species do no appreciable harm to their hosts. A tiny number, however are very harmful and are responsible for a great deal of disease and death among men and women and their domestic animals. Some of them cause the serious sleeping sickness of the tropics. There is a good deal of reason to suppose that these pathogenic forms are those that have changed or "mutated" in comparatively recent times and so have not yet had their habits trimmed by natural selection so as to become tolerable to the host. It is probable, too, that the hosts have not yet had time to get their habits trimmed so as to coexist with the parasite. It is the imported cattle, not the native, that suffer worst from the trypanosome. The whole group of trypanosomes is apt to vary when kept in a laboratory, and it seems likely that part of what is happening is the occurrence of mutations.

IN ORDER to grasp the relevance of situations such as the one sketched to a consideration of the biological consequences of thermo-nuclear explosions, it is necessary to form some idea of what a "mutation" is. A living thing may be usefully regarded as an "open system"—that is to say that in so far as it is alive it is always capturing bits and pieces from the surrounding universe and making them into itself, and by the same token it is always losing bits and pieces of itself to the circumambient universe. It has, therefore, in a sense, the kind of persistence which we recognize in a whirlpool; at the end of five minutes' observation we call it the same whirlpool, though it probably does not contain many of the molecules of water which were there to start with. One aspect or mode of this habit of continual capture shows itself in reproduction. When a chromosome replicates, it probably does so by the capture of suitable bricks to use in repeating its pattern. If anything goes wrong with this process, what is made is not a replica but something different, and perhaps something new.

In the vast majority of cases this imperfect replica will not be viable, or not be functional, but in the odd case it will, and if the replicating structure is a chromosome its replicas will be replicas of its changed self, and the man, the animal, the plant, that grows from it will have a new genetic constitution. Most viable changes in sexually reproducing forms are what is called recessive, which just means that they will not show their effects until two of the changed elements turn up together in the same animal, one from its father and one from its mother. It has been known since the nineteen twenties that radiation—for instance, X-rays—greatly increases the incidence of mutations in fruit flies.

There are two ways of imagining how radiation increases the incidence of mutations. It may, first, be supposed that radiant energy simply kicks the replicating entity from one stable state through an unstable state to another and different state of stability, rather as one flicks the lever of an electric-light switch from a stable up position through an unstable horizontal position to a new and stable down position. The new stable structure can now be supposed to be able to replicate its new state, and its replicas to reproduce themselves indefinitely. Alternatively, and perhaps a little more attractively, the radiant energy may be thought of as bringing into existence, perhaps for very short periods only, improbable micro-environments from which the replicating element may capture imperfect bricks—bricks, for instance, which fit on one side but are wrong on the other. If these false bricks get built in, then once more in the great majority of cases the new and different structures will not be viable, but in the odd case it may be. Such a case will provide a mutant and new form. So far as is known this kind of thing is generally true—true, that is, for viruses, bacteria, protozoa, worms, plants, and man.

MUTATIONS occur in nature. They are rare, but they happen. Just exactly how and why they happen is not really clearly known, but it seems reasonable to suppose that some at least of them happen as improbable consequences of the background radiation against which all evolution has certainly taken place. We call this background radiation low because we are used to it, and we think of evolution as a process geared to such a rate. The absolute mutation rate resulting from cosmic rays and all other "natural" causes is very hard to estimate in any population. There is no reason whatever to suppose that it is the same for fruit flies, mice, and men, and the mutability of individual points in chromosomes certainly varies too.

The background radiation varies widely over the surface of the earth. Whether mutation rates in, say, man, vary also over the earth is a question which it would seem risky at present to attempt to answer. There is nothing sacred or safe about any particular level of background radiation. It is just that level to which the local populations have shown, by being still there, that they are adjusted, and to which they respond by no more mutations than they can cope with.

Now bearing all this in mind, it is doubtful whether a biologist with any sense of responsibility can claim to be able to forecast the consequences of any change in the level of background radiation. It may be possible to forecast the effect of a given change on human mutation rates, though more than one view seems tenable even here. It is surely not possible, now or within the measurable future, to form any idea of the consequences of such a change on genetic mutations in the unimaginably large numbers of replicating entities—over and above the chromosomes of men and women—which exist on every few thousand square miles of the earth's surface. There are viruses, bacteria, parasitic and symbiotic amoebae, tape worms, thread worms, flukes, and many many others to remember. A "bar" mutation in a harmless bacterium in our guts may be an unlikely consequence of radiation but a moment's thought will show that the absolute numbers of for instance, parasitic and symbiotic creatures subjected to the change in the level of radiation caused by the explosion of an H-bomb is really very large indeed, and that most of them have a lot of replicating sub-elements. Even if they are subjected to this change only for a fairly short time the number of occasions on which a "bad" mutation might occur begins to look rather large, and if you run a risk often enough, the improbable seems less comfortably negligible.

There is a further point. A good many pathogenic organisms do not practice sexual reproduction. If a viable mutation occurs in one of these, then it will not have to wait to show its effects till it gets represented twice in a cell. Once is enough. It does not take long for a change in chemical habit in a trypanosome to kill a lot of people.

It is perhaps considerations such as these that account for a certain reserve in some biologists when they hear the cheerful talk of some physicists about "safe dosage levels." Safe over a small area, perhaps, or safe for a time. But over a continent? Over a world? Safe for days? For weeks? For years? Safe for the unimaginable millions of delicately integrated micro-organisms? Just who would say so? And on what grounds?

DILEMMA IN SAIGON

Which Way Democracy? . . *by Sam A. Jaffe*

Saigon

ALONG the Rue Catinat, Saigon's Fifth Avenue, scores of small French automobiles scurried to and fro, all trying desperately to overtake and pass each other. In one of the expensive sidewalk cafes that line the street, a young Vietnamese who was in the government of President Ngo Dinh Diem but spent most of his time, like so many young men employed by Mr. Diem, in the homes of the opposition noticed a correspondent's amusement over the traffic turmoil. "Traffic conditions here," the Vietnamese said, smiling sarcastically, "are symbolic of the political state of our country. The driver who can frighten the other drivers the most is the one that gets through."

One wonders how long Diem can stay behind the wheel of the South Vietnam government. The dollar is doing more to keep him there than all his American advisers together, but despite the old saying the dollar is not "almighty." One hears conflicting stories about the state of affairs here, each with a slant that indicates its source. Certainly the situation is completely out of control. On that all are agreed.

All the powers and all the religious-political sects with an interest in the welfare of Vietnam are anti-Communist, but their mutual hostility gives one the feeling that they have lost sight of the coming elections. Diem's only claim to leadership is his strong anti-French feeling, but attacking the French and at the same time cooperating with them because they still control the purse strings is not fighting communism. Nor is letting thousands of refugees from the North wander through the streets of Saigon begging for a crumb of bread. Nor is Diem's blindness to the corruption of many of his officials. Some persons question his motive in running out of the city the religious-political Binh Xuyen, which controlled Saigon's police, gambling, and brothels. "Was it not to transfer these lucrative operations to his government?" they ask.

Ngo Dinh Diem

The French, moreover, are still there; some 80,000 troops of the French expeditionary force occupy an area in and around Saigon. The French officials are now trying to get trade and other concessions from Ho

---

SAM A. JAFFE is The Nation's *roving correspondent in Southeast Asia.*

Chi-minh. France has no interest in Indo-China other than a purely economic one. It has proved this by arming and supplying the Binh Xuyen gangsters, still some 3,000 strong, against the Nationalist government. It is also arming the Hoa Hao, the largest of the religious-political sects, against the Diem regime.

The sects, like the French, are anti-Communist; like the Nationalist government, they are anti-French. With the exception of the Cao Dais, who have joined forces with Diem, they are out to overthrow the Nationalists and assume command. To accomplish this they will accept military aid from anyone and give nothing in return except a promise to continue fighting the National government.

The United States has been caught in the middle of all this. As one army officer put it. "Sure, Diem is a bad apple, but you should see the rest of the barrel." If the United States could, it would boot the French out of Vietnam, but at present it must not only cooperate with them but pour millions into the French expeditionary force. This is because months ago it was willing to offer almost anything to get the French to support the rearmament of Germany. What concessions the United States made to France at the time is known only to the State Department and the French Foreign Office, but concessions were made, and for the present we have to play along with the French. We can be assured, however, that the United States will not allow them to get completely out of hand in Vietnam.

No one here imagines that America will pull out the rug from under Diem and back some other leader. There is no other.

IN SAIGON there is one man with a solution. But he admits it must be put into effect quickly or all will be lost. I am not permitted to give his name, but he is an American official who works around the clock attempting to whip the Diem government into shape. He has a deep belief in America and its great past, which, he reminds you, was the result of its success in throwing off colonial rule. He also has a deep belief in the Asians. He feels strongly that our Asian foreign policy should not be to support any one group or government but the will of the Asian peoples.

He speaks of concrete plans now under way in Vietnam for the reconstruction of the country. These include the resettling of over 800,000 refugees. Land will be granted them and money given them to build new homes—if needed, more money can be obtained through a low-interest loan. He speaks with enthusiasm of the work being done by TRIM, the American Training Relations and Instructions Mission under the able command of Lieutenant General John W. O'Daniel, in helping the Vietnamese build and maintain a strong military force. He hopes for much from the teams of Americans under USMO, the United States Operations Mission, who go into the Vietnamese countryside to ascertain the wants of the people. Their reports are filled with the need for schools, bridges, communications, hospitals, sanitation, and the many other necessities of life that might stem the tide of communism.

But this American knows that economic aid is only part of the huge task that lies ahead, for without a strong, efficient, and honest government in Vietnam all the money in the world will not stop Ho Chi-minh from claiming the whole of Indo-China as his by 1956. He says there must be free elections in the south for a Representative Assembly, and within sixty days. Will the Assembly be representative? he is asked. "It must be," he replies. He points out that the religious-political sects are too strong to be left out of the government.

He sees no other way to save the free world's efforts in Vietnam from complete failure. It is not an easy or a pleasant job to keep a man like Diem in power, a man who ignores America's advice while reaching into America's pocketbook. But Diem must be upheld. This American believes that if we lose Vietnam, we shall have lost all Asia.

LABOR'S DIXIE VICTORY

Politicians Are Impressed . . *by Alfred Maund*

Birmingham, Alabama

"THEY are trying to make the South a guinea pig in a test tube. They are trying to run over the workers and make them work for low wages and I resent it." Governor James E. Folsom of Alabama was talking about big corporations. He had specifically in mind the Louisville and Nashville Railroad and the Southern Bell Telephone Company, which fought strikes of record length and bitterness this spring.

There is good ground for the view that these strikes were deliberate tests of the strength of unions in the South, and the results will be studied by both the C. I. O. and A. F. of L. leadership for clues to the temper of the South and the fiber of the Southern worker. With runaway shops common in all industries, with a mere 15 per cent of the Southern labor force carrying union cards, with Southern Congressmen blocking progressive labor legislation, American organized labor, after the impending merger, can be expected to make a new Operation Dixie its major concern

The crucial issue in both strikes was management's refusal to agree

---

ALFRED MAUND is on the staff of The Nation.

to arbitration of disputed points. Behind this refusal was management's knowledge that an arbiter would be likely to be guided by practices in effect in similar industries in other parts of the country. The companies were willing to sweat out long strikes to preserve policies peculiar to the South.

MEMBERS of the Louisville and Nashville's ten non-operating unions stayed out fifty-eight days to force the railroad to submit to arbitration a health and welfare plan. The case of management was stated by the Richmond, Virginia, *News-Leader*, as follows: "Standing firm where other railroads had supinely surrendered, the L. and N. . . . refused to impose upon its employees a program of compulsory health and hospitalization insurance . . . that would have required the railroad to take $3.40 a month from the pay of each employee, whether the employee had other insurance, whether he had approved the deduction, whether he preferred an alternative voluntary plan offered by the railway."

The plan on most railroads is for management and workers to share equally the cost of the program—$6.80 per worker per month. By holding firm, the 25,000 L. and N. workers won more than the prevailing pattern. On May 20 a Washington attorney acting as referee cited the trend toward employer-supported health plans and ruled that the railroad should pay the whole premium.

The victory did not come easy. One striker was shot to death, several trains were derailed, bridges were dynamited or burned, nasty incidents of stoning, ambushing, and knife-wielding occurred. The key to the union's success was the support of the operating brotherhoods. Engineers and firemen respected the picket lines from the outset. When the railroad ordered them to duty, threatening them with loss of seniority, the brotherhoods went on strike themselves, calling the threat a breach of contract. In Alabama the attempt to operate trains with non-union personnel was halted by the state public-service commission as a menace to public safety. Although injunctions forbade picketing of other lines to which the L. and N. was transferring freight, the railroad's operations were reduced to 10 per cent of normal during the entire strike period.

THE outcome of the strike against Southern Bell was less clear cut. As the Communications Workers of America learned in 1947, fighting the American Telephone and Telegraph Company is a tough proposition. At that time the entire system was struck. This spring 50,000 workers in nine Southern states tried to pin down one arm of the octopus, an even tougher job.

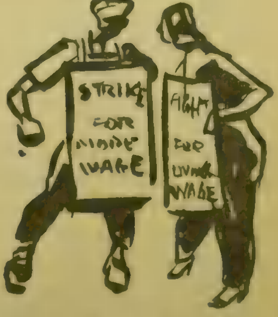
The Southern locals of the C. W. A. have long been conscious of their second-class status. As J. M. Van Houten, Alabama director of the union, said: "Telephone workers in the South were the only employees in the Bell system not to get a pay raise in 1954. . . . The wage differential is not merely North versus South, but wages differ between Montgomery and Birmingham, and between Birmingham and smaller towns of the South for those doing the same work. . . . Wages in Montgomery may have a $20 a week differential with some Northern cities. Yet Bureau of Labor statistics show that the cost of living in the South is about the same as in the North." The maximum pay of operators in 1954 ranged from $57 a week in cities the size of Atlanta to $43 in smaller towns.

However, the issue that precipitated the strike was not primarily wages but arbitration. The union refused to accept a no-strike clause unless the company agreed to submit grievances on all contract points to binding arbitration. According to Van Houten, Bell had first presented, then withdrawn this no-strike proposal in negotiations with eighteen other unions. As interpreted by the C. W. A., the clause would prevent its members from honoring the picket lines of other unions.

The grievances of the telephone workers had been aired in numerous "quickie" strikes called in various localities in protest against the punishment or dismissal of employees. These spontaneous, often successful gestures were the only means of seeking redress that employment conditions at Bell permitted. Final say on the justice of supervisory decisions was exclusively in the hands of supervisors. Appeal could be taken only from branch office to district office to headquarters in Atlanta. Management kept tab on the most minute details of the workers' private lives—according to a statement issued by the Birmingham C. W. A. local—entered all items on the individual's personnel record, and used them to keep the employees in line.

The odds against a successful tie-up of Southern Bell were considerable. Besides the dial systems which could continue local service, there was an ample supply of supervisory and front-office employees to step into the breach. According to Joseph S. Beirne, C. W. A. national president, thousands of supervisors were brought in from other Bell affiliates.

Backing the C. W. A. strikers was a fund made up of contributions by fellow-members the nation over. In the late stages of the strike a gift of half a million dollars was received from an "anonymous" source—some disgruntled party-line subscriber, a wag guessed—and the national C. I. O. gave $1,250,000. But the grass-roots, voluntary assistance lent by C. I. O. and A. F. of L. locals in other industries played a major role in the sixty-eight-day struggle.



I have no space to chronicle the violent incidents. Henry H. Bolin, president of the Birmingham C. W. A. local, accused the company of hiring professional criminals for acts of violence, of manhandling women pickets, offering bribes, cutting off strikers' phone service, and using special influence to get police intervention. A police-court judge promised to throw the book at strikers convicted of violence. When a crowd of some five hundred sympathizers gathered outside the exchange in Birmingham to protest against an injunction limiting the number of pickets to three, the police arrested sixteen of them on charges of loitering and disorderly conduct—beating up a housewife in the process, according to the union. C. I. O. and A. F. of L. officials thereupon demanded the removal of the police commissioner and accused Bell of importing strike-breakers from outside the state in violation of the federal Burns Act.

At first newspaper opinion and possibly public opinion was hostile to the strikers—for even television reception was occasionally interfered with. But after the L. and N. strike was ended by arbitration, an impatient public began to look askance at Southern Bell's contention that it would not be "in the public interest" to permit an arbiter "unfamiliar" with the telephone industry to settle personnel problems. In essence, Bell was refusing to arbitrate the question of including arbitration provisions in its contract with the C. W. A.

This unyielding attitude irritated the committee of Southern governors who met with Bell and union officials. Governor White of Mississippi, not usually considered a supporter of unions, was provoked into accusing the company of not wanting to settle the strike. Governor Folsom declared afterward that Alabama should have a law permitting the state to take over the operation of strike-bound utilities. In Washington, Senator Estes Kefauver criticized the company's position, entering in the *Congressional Record* the contrasting replies he had received to an appeal to the opposing sides.

An agreement was finally reached on May 20. Southern Bell asserted that the terms were substantially those it had offered before the strike began. The C. W. A. denied this, declaring that it had achieved a "fair" contract and a "moral victory." The union accepted a no-strike clause qualified by the provision that workers could refuse to cross the picket lines of other unions engaged in "lawful strikes." The Federal Mediation Service said that the agreement provided "broader arbitration of disputes . . . including disputes involving suspension of employees and disciplinary action taken under the no-strike clause." The company said that pension and benefit plans, leaves of absence, compliance with health and safety measures, and demotions and discharges during trial periods were exempted from arbitration. Workers received wage increases ranging from one to four dollars a week. The regional pay differentials remain.

The contract was ratified by 115 of the 120 locals, often by narrow margins. In Birmingham, for example, the ratio in favor was four to three. Many voted against ratification because of the company's refusal to rehire the 150-odd employees fired for "misconduct" during the strike. Their cases will be individually submitted to arbitration. In contrast, the L. and N. took back all workers without prejudice.

THE last few months have presented firm evidence that Southern workers are tired of being considered "docile" and "cheap." One of the most impressive aspects of the rail and telephone strikes was the display of union militance by women and Negroes, two traditionally subservient sources of labor. Disputes in other industries hinged on the same demands for dignity and justice. In New Orleans 1,500 members of the United Packinghouse Workers who went out on strike at two sugar refineries for a 10-cents-an-hour raise were bitterly conscious that "even when we get the dime, we'll still be 39 cents an hour behind the Eastern refineries." At Miami Beach ten swank hotels are being picketed by employees demanding that the A. F. of L. Hotel Employees Union be recognized as their bargaining agent. Wages in these pleasure palaces dip below 70 cents an hour for a seven-day work week.

There is also basis for the belief that Southern politicians have become uncertain about the position they should take on organized labor. The effort of the Southern Governors' Conference to mediate the rail and telephone strikes was a far cry from the former eagerness of their Excellencies to use the state militia to enforce their economic views. Anti-union forces in the South are launching drives to bring to book public officials who spoke out in behalf of the strikers. A prime target is Alabama's "Big Jim" Folsom, who blamed the disputes on the "right-to-wreck" laws and committed the unforgivable impropriety of saying that "the telephone company is the largest, dominatingest, most monopolistic corporation in the world. When a corporation gets as all-powerful as A. T. and T. it should become some sort of public corporation."

On May 28, acting on a handout from the local Chamber of Commerce, the Montgomery, Alabama, *Advertiser* opened a hatchet attack on Folsom with the following story. Names were omitted to protect the visiting capitalists.

> Last January the general manager of ——— (a household-appliance manufacturing company) wrote the Montgomery Chamber of Commerce that he had become interested in Montgomery as a possible site for a satellite factory employing thirty-five to forty workers. But by April the manager's favor for Montgomery had grown so that, in addition to this small plant, he wondered if Montgomery wasn't the place to relocate a factory unit for which 100,000 square feet would be required. . . .
>
> On the afternoon of May 2 the president and the general manager, accompanied by their wives, arrived from the East by car and checked in at a hotel. . . . About ten o'clock . . . the general manager announced an abrupt change in plans. . . . The deal was off and they were leaving Montgomery soon after daybreak.
>
> What had happened was that the corporation president bought a copy of Montgomery's afternoon paper and there . . . read Governor Folsom's rash demand that the legislature give him power to seize strike-bound utilities. The visitor was repelled by Folsom's snarling attitude toward business. . . The executive had no appetite for building a plant that might be subject to seizure by a raging governor.

Thus the strategy becomes clear: friends of labor are to be denounced as foes of industrial expansion in the South.

BOOKS

Gray New World

By John W. Aldridge

THE impact of David Riesman's work over the past several years has been such that any general discussion of his ideas at this time must appear superfluous. It may be said with certainty that Riesman, for better or worse, is now in the public domain, and even though his "position" in the more advanced circles of the mind has been under sporadic siege, one cannot but acknowledge the successes recently made by the hired legions of *Time* in effecting his release into middlebrow adulation. Riesman has now, we may say, begun to suffer the typical fate of the good writer or thinker in America, particularly of the kind in whom talent has joined with a sense of the age to create a glow of prophecy nearly indistinguishable from meretriciousness. He has lived to see himself become, at the height of his career, a sort of myth-maker and culture-hero of the leisure-orientated educated classes, the same classes which a generation ago took up Spengler, Ortega, and Freud but which tend today not so much to fashion themselves on ideas as passively to consume them, without noticeable decrease of pallor. His key terms have become established as the common coin of the new cocktail-and-breezeway Bohemia—from which, ironically, the concepts behind some of them derive; and they have had bestowed upon them what in this country is the final proof of popular acceptance—the accolade of misquotation by the illiterately well-read. "The Lonely Crowd," Riesman's core work, is now a best-seller in the abridged paper-back edition; the number of servants its author keeps in his Chicago house has been for several months a matter of public record. At the colleges the brighter students, in contrast to their elders, are forming themselves on his categories, quite consciously seeking "autonomy" and looking ahead to the time when they will be able to take a course in it. Others still brighter are discovering in "other-direction" a patent excuse for their silence and conformism.

Meanwhile, from the intellectualist camp the sniping continues. In the autumn, 1954, issues of *Partisan Review* and *Dissent,* Elizabeth Hardwick and Norman Mailer, reviewing Riesman's latest book, "Individualism Reconsidered," charge him with a variety of offenses ranging from opportunism through conservatism to complacent optimism about the changing character of our culture. Mailer's discussion, which I take to be the most penetrating we have yet had of Riesman's whole "case," turns on the excellent point that what Riesman has given us is essentially a fiction rather than a sociological analysis of American culture, a creative image whose value must be judged not by its truth to Reality—if such exists—but as in a novel by the quality of the mind and the depth of the life behind it. While in Riesman's case Mailer does not assess either of these at very much, his point seems to me an important one in putting us on to the primary fact about the best of Riesman's work, particularly "The Lonely Crowd": that within its obvious and perhaps very narrow limits it is wholly successful as a work of the creative and intuitive intelligence. The insights it employs differ in quality but not in kind from the insights employed in any serious novel to achieve realism or verisimilitude, and its success derives like a novel's from the thoroughness with which it explores and dramatizes the problems set by its subject.

I imagine that this sort of success, in place of the sterner academic variety, is one of the reasons Riesman has earned such a large share of dislike among critics. Another may be that taken merely as sociology "The Lonely Crowd" at once runs afoul of both our current mistrust of programmatic definitions and our vastly inflated egocentricity, which causes us to reject those definitions which take into account less of life than we are daily bewildered by. But taken as fiction "The Lonely Crowd" presents us with a dramatic image of ourselves which we can respond to and learn from, precisely as we can learn from the image thrown back by the caricaturing fun-house mirror of a first-rate novel of manners. It does not matter that the image is not "true" and does not do us justice. Neither are statistics and graphs "true," and certainly they never do us justice. What matters is that the image by its very distortion may reflect certain tendencies in us which in twenty or thirty years will become our truth.

In this sense I believe "The Lonely Crowd" to be one of the most important literary expressions the present age in America has had, a book to rank in its implications for Western culture with "The Revolt of the Masses" and "Democracy in America." It is a book, furthermore, which opens for us in a new way the old question of the relationship between literature and society, between the novelist and those portions of his material which we may take to be environmentally given but which from novelist to novelist are never seen to be precisely the same. I should like to argue that, in addition to its relevance to us all, "The Lonely Crowd" is a book which no novelist at the present time can safely ignore or wholly escape, for it may be read as a record of the disappearance from our culture of the social forms which have traditionally afforded the novel its dramatic materials.

WHAT Riesman calls the "inner-directed" man has been the typical hero of fiction from its beginnings and of drama from antiquity. Whether we begin with Oedipus and Tom Jones or Odysseus and Don Quixote, we find the recurring source of drama in the conflict between the obsessive inner drives of the hero and the moral structures of his society which work to deny them fulfilment. One can in fact say that

---

JOHN W. ALDRIDGE is the author of "After the Lost Generation" and the editor of "Critiques and Essays on Modern Fiction." His new book of criticism will be published late this year.

as the novel has evolved, its form has tended to imitate the movement of the "inner-directed" hero through the various phases of this conflict, precisely as the curve of classical tragedy with its culminating recognition-reversal effect represents the archetypal imitation. The "investigation of illusion and reality,"which Lionel Trilling considers to be the proper business of the novel, quite literally depends upon the existence of some "inner-directed" ideal or dream that is so compulsive and blinding that it causes the hero not to *see* or to refuse to *see* in time. Then, as a rule, the novel transports him, and us with him, through a body of experience which proves his illusion to *be* illusion, and reality as always to be transcendent. When this proof appears, we have our moment of recognition and, nearly always, our moment of purgation, for the hero has by now clearly failed, fallen short, been duped, and so must go down in defeat. Or he has undergone initiation, conversion, and been reborn phoenix-like out of the ashes of his former self.

From the Greeks down, indeed from Venus and Adonis and the early fertility cults down, this is the chief dramatic pattern of our racial inheritance; it is in fact the pattern through which our minds naturally express our sense of the cycle and rhythm of life itself; and we recognize its recurrence again and again in the drama, the story, and the novel. It has given us in modern times some of our most memorable fictional characters—Emma Bovary, Lambert Strether, Raskolnikov, Babbitt, Axel Heyst, Jay Gatsby, Frederic Henry, Willie Stark, Willy Loman—and in the novel of the past, where it tends to be clearer because more firmly buttressed by the dramatizing agents of property, religion, money, and class, it has given us very nearly the whole of our formula for seeing and evaluating the reality around us. So completely has this been true that it is only with the greatest difficulty, the most painful renovation of our habits of insight, that we can discard its stereotype and see in the new reality around us the change which has rendered the stereotype invalid.

This change, which if Riesman is correct has resulted in the rise of a new "other-directed" personality type, must cause us drastically to revise our conception of drama, just as it must drive the novel either to extinction or to the discovery of new dramatic effects. With the disappearance of "inner-directed" man the illusion generated by ideals also disappears, along with the dramatic action taken in the name of ideals, and drama of the traditional kind becomes impossible. What the new "other-directed" man apparently requires is the approval of others, usually of the others in what Riesman calls his "peer-group." But the difficulty from the standpoint of drama is that the need for approval does not express itself in the form of an ideal or represent a basis for dramatic action. It is not a drive compelling the individual toward the realization of selfhood. What is, in fact, most intriguing about it is that it seems to have no ideological basis whatever, but is simply the result of a vague, generalized feeling of anxiety. The need to please others does have, however, a very real though largely unrecognized practical basis. In a society in which, as Riesman shows, "inner-directed" traits are no longer required by industry and therefore no longer serve as criteria for the judgment of individual worth, a person's agreeableness or niceness becomes the only criterion by which he can be judged; his "personality" becomes his only distinguishing or salable commodity. But "personality" in such a society does not mean a set of traits which particularize or set off an individual from others. The requirement that he be approved of by everyone forces the individual, on the contrary, to suppress his particularizing traits—if he has any—on the ground that someone, anyone, might not like them, with the result that "personality" becomes, for him, innocuousness and anonymity. What we are therefore faced with in Riesman's gray new world is a situation in which the drives have disappeared that might have caused the individual to act dramatically and, at the same time, a situation in which dramatic action is seen as a threat to the one kind of satisfaction that the society still considers worth while.

We ought also to take into account the parallel disappearance in Riesman's world of the older patterns of social class as the way of life has become increasingly standardized, as wealth has come to be distributed more widely and evenly, and as aristocratic traditions have grown thin. One effect of this has been to deprive the novelist of the means of distinguishing among characters through differences in their appearance and manners, social position and breeding. He has also been deprived of some of his oldest themes—the movement of the individual up and down the scale of class; his struggle for wealth and prestige; his moral orientation toward money, money not simply to buy *things* but to keep up the family honor or estate, as one sees it dramatized in Jane Austen, George Eliot, and Henry James; and lastly what Lionel Trilling has called the theme of the "Young Man from the Provinces."

This is the young man of "provincial birth and rearing . . . [who] starts with a great demand upon life and a great wonder about its complexity and promise. He may be of good family but he must be poor. He is intelligent . . . but not at all shrewd in world matters. He must have acquired a certain amount of education, should have learned something about life from books, although not the truth." He should be in a position to move from a state of innocence to a state of knowledge, from "inner-directed" idealism, perhaps, to initiation in "other-directed" experience. Mr. Trilling mentions several novels in which the Young Man from the Provinces has figured as hero—"The Red and the Black," "Pere Goriot," "Lost Illusions," "Great Expectations," "Sentimental Education," perhaps "War and Peace" and "The Idiot." And one might add to the list out of our own literature "The Leather-Stocking Tales," "Huckleberry Finn," "The Red Badge of Courage," some of James, "An American Tragedy," some of Lewis, "Winesburg, Ohio" and "Dark Laughter," "In Our Time," "One Man's Initiation," "Manhattan Transfer," parts of "USA," all of Fitzgerald and Wolfe, "The Wild Palms," Farrell's Studs Lonigan and Danny O'Neill novels, and coming up to the present, "All the King's Men," "Catcher in the Rye," "Other Voices, Other

Rooms," "End as a Man," "The Heart Is a Lonely Hunter," and Bellow's "The Adventures of Augie March."

The novelist in the predominantly "other-directed" culture of today, however, is faced with a situation in which increasingly everyone tends to look, dress, and act like everyone else, to drive the same cars, to live in the same kind of houses, and, because of the power of the mass media, even to think the same thoughts. As for the Young Man from the Provinces, he is an antique figure, a literary stereotype of which the type in life can scarcely be said any longer to exist. The ignorant, domineering parents and community which he characteristically rejected in the name of his ideal, his illusion of life as it should be, have been replaced, for the most part, by parents of intelligence and understanding and by a community which so closely resembles the city to which he formerly escaped that there is no effective difference between them. The Young Man himself, or his comparable type, is no longer provincial or idealistic. Dreams of glory, wealth, and adventure no longer obsess him. His future course is clear and realistic. The safe job with the corporation or university, the pretty wife and children, the ranch-style house, the Ford that looks like a Cadillac—these are the goals toward which his heroism is directed, his dramatic escape is made.

THE movement which in the last fifty years the novel in America records is the movement gradually away from the "inner-directed" phase of our cultural development toward the phase of at least incipient "other-direction." In Dreiser, Lewis, Fitzgerald, Dos Passos, Wolfe, and Farrell one is repeatedly struck by how much the dramatic intensity depends on the conflict between the rural and pioneer virtues of moral innocence, honesty, thrift, and fidelity, on the one hand, and the urban and modern attributes of knowledge, corruption, infidelity, and promiscuity on the other. One also recognizes just as often the conflict between the provincial drives toward material success and increased social status and the resistance put up against them by competition or

**"A dull morning ushered in the ninth of November 1918 in Berlin . . . the streets looked as they had looked for many months past. Men, most of them middle-aged and old, all of them weary, were hurrying to the factories. Women were hurrying to the factories. Many of them had a lemon-coloured complexion; they worked in munitions plants and handled picric acid. There were other women; they carried the morning newspapers from door to door. Other men; they carried long poles with which they turned out the gas-jets high up on the lamp-posts. There were no bakers on their rounds with rolls (the Berliner's traditional breakfast food), no milkmen on their rounds with milk; there were no rolls, there was no milk.

"The street-cars were driven by women; the conductors, too, were women. The street-cars, the city trains, the underground trains clattered along noisily; their bearings were worn out and there was not enough metal to replace or repair them, not enough grease to lubricate them properly. The people clattered along noisily; they were ill-clad and their shoes had soles of wood and their heels had rims of steel.

"Everywhere in the streets of the capital were soldiers in groups of three . . ."

This is the setting for events in Germany between November 1918 and March 1919, when a Socialist Republic was proclaimed (by accident), thwarted in its growth (by design) and finally destroyed – by intrigue and civil war. The author was there – and he tells a graphic and dramatic story of the struggle between and within the political parties. A struggle that led from World War I straight into Hitler's Third Reich.

FAILURE OF A REVOLUTION

By Rudolf Coper

$5.00, at your bookseller's
CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Germany's evil genius?

Friedrich von Holstein was one of Bismarck's chief subordinates at the German Foreign Ministry. From 1890 until 1906, he was largely responsible for planning and directing German foreign policy, though he never held a conspicuously high rank. Since his death, equal measures of prejudice and lack of information have combined to make of him an evil genius of sinister and self-seeking policy.

But Holstein kept diaries, wrote countless letters, and began memoirs. It is a selection from these that show his keen sardonic mind, his sharp eye and the gift for character and tableau of a disenchanted novelist. It is with the publication of these important documents that the true assessment of Holstein's place in German history can begin.

THE HOLSTEIN PAPERS

I—MEMOIRS AND POLITICAL OBSERVATIONS
edited by NORMAN RICH and M. H. FISHER
$5.00, at your bookseller's
CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

prejudice or political chicanery. Lewis's Babbitt is what might be called an "inner-directed, other-directed" type. Like the "other-directed" business man of today, Babbitt wants to be well liked, but the vastly important distinction to be made between the two is that Babbitt has strongly "inner-directed" reasons for wanting to be well liked. He wants success, wealth, and position while today's business man usually wants merely security and, in his lonely isolation from the motives and springs of being, a constant assurance that he is accepted by others.

Scott Fitzgerald's Gatsby is a perfect example of the strongly "inner-directed" type dedicated to the fulfilment of his dream in a society already passing into "other-direction." Nick Carraway, furthermore, is the type of the provincial Young Man who, in the face of the corruption of this society, does Gatsby's learning for him, conducts his moral education by proxy. Jack Burden functions in Warren's "All the King's Men" in a very similar way. Willie Stark, the fiercely "inner-directed" man, dies unchanged and essentially undefeated, but Jack is initiated and undergoes conversion, is metaphorically reborn with a new father and mother, a new past and future, a future based largely on the virtues of "other-direction." The heroes of Farrell and Wolfe are nearly all drawn on the type of the provincial Young Man. Eugene Gant, George Webber, Studs Lonigan, and Danny O'Neill are simply confronted with experience, most of it for the first time, and the novels merely record their reactions, their progress toward moral fulfilment or destruction.

When we come to the thirties, however, we notice that the novels depicting the change from "inner-" to "other-direction" begin to be replaced by novels in which social scene gives way to social crisis and the portrayal of special social groups victimized by the depression. Farrell's work overlaps this category, and the novels of Steinbeck and Caldwell are centered directly within it. Through the novels of the forties and the second war the social scene recedes still farther, the depression disappears, and there develops a preoccupation with social and psychological *problems*—the war experience, race prejudice, homosexuality, and insanity. Now in the fifties these subjects have largely faded out, the social scene is scarcely discernible, and there are signs of concentration upon rather thin childhood and domestic situations, in which the drama tends to center in a subtle psychic conflict between characters and in which occasionally a climaxing instance of violence effects in them [illegible] species of conversion—as happens in Jean Stafford's "The Mountain Lion," Robie Macauley's "The Disguises of Love," and Peter Matthiessen's "Race Rock."

Not only does the reflection of the social scene in novels after the twenties and thirties seem repetitious following the appearance of such books as "The Great Gatsby" and "USA," but the social scene itself, marked as it is by increasing "other-direction," tends to be less and less *worth* reflecting. It is quite possible, although it may well be brash, to argue that most Americans today literally don't *do* anything. Their goal is, in fact, a condition of life in which they will not be required to do anything ever again. This, I suspect, is what the poet John Berryman meant when he said that "a man can live his whole life in this country without finding out whether or not he is a coward." The novel has consequently been forced to concern itself with more and more marginal and aberrant subjects in its unceasing effort to keep alive and to discover fresh materials for drama. The movement from social crisis to perversion to the stunted domestic epiphany may be seen in this sense to represent the novel's adjustment to the gradual failure of dramatic possibilities in our culture.

American Distrust of the Mind

AN END TO INNOCENCE: ESSAYS ON CULTURE AND POLITICS. By Leslie Fiedler. The Beacon Press. Cloth, $3.50; paperback, $1.25.

By John W. Ward

LESLIE FIEDLER has in one sense of the word a curious mind. He delights to turn an object about under the light of his intelligence until the dimly seen is suddenly luminous, and he is able to project his insights sharply. Yet, despite these strengths, he has written a disturbingly unsatisfying book.

"An End to Innocence" is a collection of essays published in various journals over the last seven years. The organizing theme, the pervasiveness of innocence in American culture, is treated in three parts: Part I, An Age of Innocence, is political (Hiss and Chambers, the Rosenbergs, and McCarthy); Part II, Innocence Abroad, is a backward glance at America from Italy and includes perhaps the finest essay of all, Roman Holiday; Part III, The End of Innocence, is mainly literary—essays on Whitman, Fitzgerald, Huckleberry Finn, the American novel, plus Montana, or the End of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, which is as much fun as its title. The method is to give social documents the close scrutiny usually reserved for literature and to give literature the wider treatment usually reserved for political events. The result is an image of America full of paradox and complexity and colored by a sense of guilt which Mr. Fiedler finds new as well as controlling in our experience.

The first section, on politics, is the weakest, except for parts of McCarthy and the Intellectuals. Perhaps it is because the guilt which Mr. Fiedler finds general is more personal here. There is a compulsive quality to the anxious reiteration of the failure of liberals to assess the political situation in recent years. What wisdom are we to derive from the recognition that men of intelligence and good-will were drastically wrong about the most important political fact of our time while "the buffoons and bullies, those who *knew* really nothing about the Soviet Union at all, were right—stupidly right, if you will, accidentally right, right for the wrong reasons, but damnably right." Even

---

JOHN W. WARD, a member of the Department of English at Princeton University, is the author of "Andrew Jackson: Symbol for an Age."

arch: De Sica is burdened with a dubbed voice that seems to belong to a Chicago sports announcer, which is unintentionally funny but not very.

Then there is a slapstick "period" affair in which furniture movers cart Pompadour's bed back and forth several times between the national vaults and the apartment of a nineteenth-century government "favorite." This features aging pomposities in alarmed moments of semi-dress and offers occasional belly-laughs. The remaining episode sinks to one of those "and then I woke up" endings, a low trick in any medium.

All in all, "The Bed" promises a good deal more than it delivers—which serves us right for our vulgar expectations.

STANLEY KRAMER has assembled quite a cast for "Not as a Stranger": Olivia de Havilland, Robert Mitchum, Frank Sinatra, Gloria Grahame, Charles Bickford, Broderick Crawford, Myron McCormick, Lon Chaney—it sounds as if all Hollywood had gathered for the Oscar ceremonies, and it must be said that Kramer works them like dogs. This is a "think" picture with box-office glamour.

The "think" arises from the fact that the hero is the villain because of his own virtues. A poor but ambitious medical student (Robert Mitchum) has such high ideals for his chosen profession that he believes a doctor who is not omniscient and infallible should be kicked out of the A. M. A. He also believes that his own potential in these respects is so bright that he is justified in marrying a gullible nurse (Olivia de Havilland) whom he despises, so that her savings account will see him through school. In order to become a really good doctor and an acceptable human being this paragon must learn humility from failure and he must apologize to the splendid woman he has married. You can see it's a stumper.

Kramer is a tireless researcher who spares no expense to get the documentation right. Therefore the picture offers some striking medical reportage on the "*Life* Goes to an Appendectomy" level. There is also a good deal of side advice on ethics, medical and domestic, delivered for the most part by Crawford and Sinatra. But since no rational observer can believe that any such put-up dilemma as Dr. Lucas Marsh ever walked a hospital corridor—or any other corridor—all the high-grade acting and expensive surgical equipment is wasted on a journey to nowhere.

Records

B. H. Haggin

THE fine Brook power-amplifier that I have is no longer being manufactured; and Brociner has discontinued the UL-1, which I recommended as an equivalent alternative a year ago, and now offers the Mark-30 30-watt power-amplifier ($98.25) with the Mark-30 "audio control center," a self-powered preamplifier ($88.50). The sound from this new combination is excellent, but not quite the equal in beauty of the sound from the UL-1 with its A-100 preamplifier-equalizer and CA-2 control amplifier; however full equality is achieved when the Mark-30 power amplifier is used with the A-100 and CA-2, which Brociner is continuing to offer ($99, plus $15 for cabinet if desired), and which I suggest using also because the step-type treble-control provides the steep roll-offs at 9,000 and 7,000 cycles that are needed to cut out the high-frequency distortion on some LP records, in addition to the ones at 5,000 and 3,500 cycles that eliminate the noise of old 78s.

Very fine too is the McIntosh MC-30 30-watt power-amplifier ($143.50), with which one can use either the C-104 preamplifier ($59.50, plus $8 for cabinet if desired), which has a three-position bass-turnover control and uses bass and treble controls for additional compensation; or the C-108 ($88.50, plus $8 for cabinet if desired), which offers enormously increased flexibility in compensation, and additional features. I have been using the C-108 with my Brook power-amplifier, and can report first what is of primary importance—the increased beauty of the sound, which is to say the lack of distortion, the cleaner definition in greater quiet. The five bass-turnover and five treble-roll-off switches can be used in many combinations to obtain a greater variety of bass and treble compensation—a much greater variety than I for one have found need for, though I have found the accurate gradations in roll-offs from 5 db up to 16 very useful (to use them one needs to have McIntosh's new chart of record compensation for the C-108, which earlier buyers should obtain). Valuable too are continuously variable treble- and bass-controls whose operation leaves the mid-range frequency unaffected. The rumble-filter I have found useful once in a while; the aural compensator I have had no use for, and I would gladly have traded it for the one thing this excellent preamplifier lacks—the steep roll-offs that I consider imperative (two are supplied by the filter on my LC-1A speaker; but it would be more convenient to have them in the preamplifier).

Another piece of new equipment I have been using is the Fairchild 220 cartridge ($37.50). All the things I found so extraordinary in the 215—the greater refinement of the sound, the additional bloom on it, the greater distinctness of the inner strands of a texture—are produced in amazingly greater degree by the 220, in addition to an improved response at both the high and low ends, and an increased output which makes it possible to use the cartridge with the Mark-30 and the McIntosh without a transformer, though one may want a transformer to improve the signal-to-noise ratio. If a transformer *is* used I still suggest a Brociner in preference to the Fairchild: theoretically a transformer merely steps up volume without affecting quality; but actually the Brociner transformer produces a more beautiful sound than the Fairchild. I should mention that when a friend's newly assembled equipment produced a harsh, strident sound, the substitution of my 220 cartridge for his established the fact that his pickup was defective: the possibility of an occasional defective unit is something to remember.

The arm I am using now is the

PUBLICATIONS

PERIODICALS From the USSR

Published in ENGLISH in the USSR, mailed to you from New York

SOVIET UNION
Life in the USSR thru the camera's eye. Multi-color illustrated monthly—large format 12 issues — — $3.00

SOVIET WOMAN
Illustrated monthly—the life of Soviet women in all aspects,—home life, child care, fashions, industry, social development 12 issues — — $3.00

SOVIET LITERATURE
Monthly magazine of Literature and Art —novels, plays, poetry, literary criticism —color illustrations 12 issues — — $3.00

NEWS
Semi-monthly—devoted to economic and political developments in the USSR and the world 24 issues — — $3.00

NEW TIMES
Weekly—devoted to analysis of the foreign policy of the USSR and world affairs 52 issues — — $5.75

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS
Monthly. A new addition to the list of magazines from the USSR in English. Devoted to news analysis as related to major international developments 12 issues — — $4.75

Send for FREE catalogs of Books and Periodicals in English and Russian from the Soviet Union

FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.
55 WEST 56 STREET New York 19, N. Y. Dept. DM 822 BROADWAY New York 3, N. Y.
Telephone: GRamercy 3-2018-19

BRITISH BOOKS—All Subjects—direct from London to you Bargain catalogues free. Transbooks, Box 22-N, Brooklyn 26, N. Y.

BANDUNG: AN ON-THE-SPOT DESCRIPTION OF THE ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE, by Dr. Homer A. Jack. Map, 40 pp., 25c each, 10 for $2. Toward Freedom, 343 S. Dearborn St., Chicago 4, Ill.

PERSONALS

GIFTS FOR THE FAMILY

ITEM	REG.	SPEC.
Contour Chair	$24.95	$13.95
Electric Shaver	29.50	18.75
Plastic Playing Cards	7.50	5.50

Standard Brand Dist., 143-4 Avenue (13th & 14th Sts.), N. Y. C. GR 3-7819. 1 hour free parking or 2 tokens.

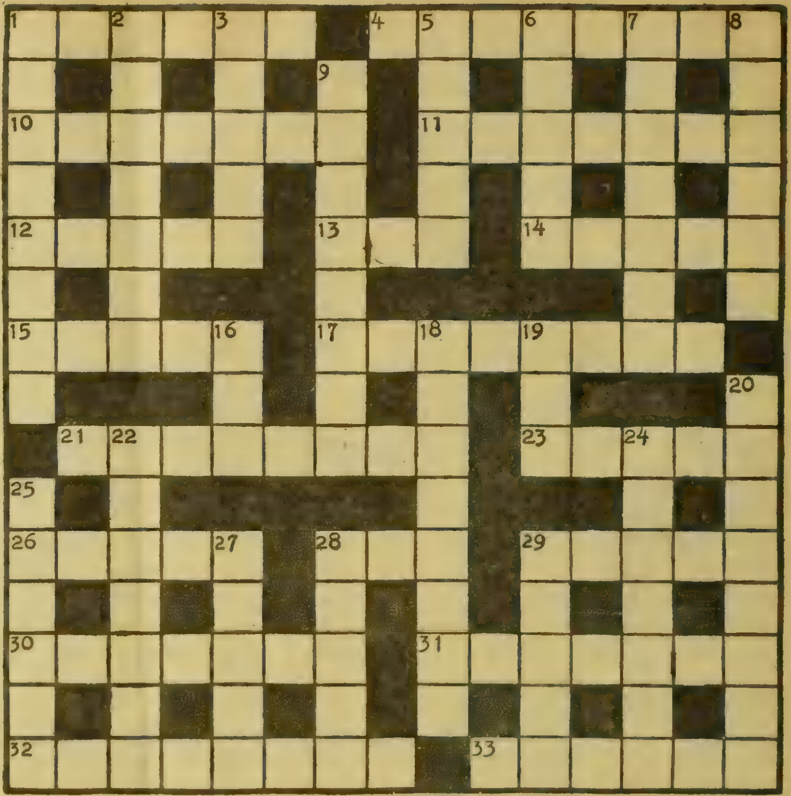
FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE
Buy Your Books through THE *Nation*

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular retail price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the retail price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible

Please address your orders to
Miss O. LePach
THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
333 Sixth Ave. New York 14, N. Y.

Crossword Puzzle No. 625

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 A little something half-way secure. (6)
4 Notice the insect stick out in the middle, like a bird! (8)
10 Struggle back to take cover — evidently it isn't dressed! (7)
11 Friendly question concerning one's potential? (7)
12 and 29 across The part that strikes just before someone wins? (5,5)
13 Go on with this, if you want to make town. (3)
14 Well-known, i.e., celebrated as a relative show-place. (5)
15 A near riot in the theater! (5)
17 Get a stern grip on something? (4,4)
21 Shouldn't run dry as long as it stays that way, as you know! (4,4)
23 See 18 down.
26 See 6 down.
28 Would a cockney find resistance sweet? (3)
29 See 12 across.
30 Some people have a sort of gift about invention. (7)
31 Have a 30? (7)
32 Stuffed date, as it seems. (8)
33 Does it sound like a person who might stay with you in the gallery? (6)

DOWN

1 Instruments responsible for a Samba version around the edge? (8)
2 and 5 down If it lands on the roof, the last of 5 might go here. (4, 3, 5)
3 She might say "I'd the makings of name for myself". (5)
5 See 2 down.
6 and 26 across Do they imply nine closed shops in St. Louis? (5,5)
7 Around and about. (7)
8 See 18 down.
9 Anything cultivated should! (Fit to carry, too!) (8)
16 What Papa is in play. (3)
18 and 8 down, 28 down, 23 across District pearl of song? (8,3,3,2,3,5)
19 A frightening sound! (3)
20 Imprecation. (8)
22 and 29 down This is plumb soft! (7,5)
24 Passing over in silence. (7)
25 Footwear, or what Johnny does to them. (6)
27 She might suggest Uriah's wife went unwashed, or the Biblical town went dry. (5)
28 See 18 down.
29 See 22 down.

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 624

ACROSS: 9 VANISHED; 11, 27 and 1 NOTHING SUCCEEDS LIKE SUCCESS; 12 MORTALS; 14, 15 and 10 LET THE CAT OUT OF THE BAG; 17 BROWBEAT; 20 RECIFE; 22 POMMELS; 24 ADENOID; 26 JENNER; 28 LOVE IS BLIND. DOWN: 2 IRISH STEW; 3 ENHANCE; 4 UNDO; 5 CATBOAT; 6 SHEET; 7 PAROLE; 8 SAIL HO, 13 SCOTS; 16 UNCONCERNED; 18 ROOMER; 19 ENLARGE; 20 RADICAL; 21 FRIEDA; 23 MANGO; 25 ISMS.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept. The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York

RESORTS

CONCORD ACRES
Co-Ed Ages 6-15 Hancock, New York
FOR AN EXCITING PROGRAM
IN A RELAXING SETTING

The Tone: Non-regimented, friendly and understanding atmosphere where individual needs are met. Mature staff under top educator and camping leadership

The Program: Rich and varied program includes all land and water sports, camping and boating trips, nature, arts and crafts, music, dramatics, dancing, archery, photography, and many special features.

Inspected and approved member of the American Camping Association.

Write [illegible] phone for brochure, interview, parent references
Moderate Fee
HAROLD ROSENTHAL
149-06 61 Road, Flushing, N. Y., FLushing 3-7750

ROUND POND LODGE
Walden, New York
Adults. 100 acres, secluded, landscaped, vast shade lawns, quality food German-American, refined atmosphere. Solarium, spring fed pool, sports Modern conveniences. Good beds Capacity 30
Rates: $42.50-$50; Week-ends, $8-$10 ■ Day.
Make Reservations Now. Telephone: Walden 2-4964

WEST POINT FARMS
RELAX in quiet, lovely surroundings. Rooms with private bath. New large swimming pool, terrace. 40 miles from N. Y. Superb cuisine.
CENTRAL VALLEY, N. Y.
Highland Mills 7895

MODERN ADIRONDACK HOUSE, white birch motif, gas cooking, screens. $50.00 week. Other cabins. Vern Hutchins, Indian Lake, N. Y.

BUILT ON THE SIDE OF A MOUNTAIN
the **WOODLANDS**
PHOENICIA, N. Y Extraordinarily scenic. Fine book and record collection for the lazybones; sparkling swimming pool and fast tennis courts for the spirited. Also, theatre workshop, folk and square dancing art and ceramic classes, fine food and accommodations. Low rates. Tel. BOulevard 8-1461

REAL ESTATE

NORWALK, CONN. Two-year-old ranch house, on wooded acre in charming community on Sound. Private beach, boating. Ideal for children. Patio, 3-4 bedrooms, 2 bathrooms, fireplace. Most modern kitchen, plumbing, etc., equipment $26,000. Box 403, c/o The Nation or Phone: (Norwalk) Temple 8-2046.

BERKSHIRE HILLS. Summer ranch home designed for gracious living. Located at West gate of Tanglewood on 8 acres of rolling hillside. Commanding panoramic view. Massive, open-beamed ceiling. Wall of full-length, thermopane windows. 2½ baths. Price; $31,000. For further information or appointment, contact Jordan Town and Country Realty Service, 49 Bartlett Avenue, Pittsfield, Mass.

SACRIFICE, Westchester, 7 room house, one acre land, landscaped, 40 miles from city, easy commuting, community lake. Call KAtonah 4-1164 after 6 P.M

APARTMENTS

508 West 114 Street. Opposite Columbia University. ARIZONA HOTEL, newly decorated and furnished, single and doubles, kitchen privileges, switchboard and hotel service. Also one- and two-room apartments, private kitchenettes and baths. Special rates for students. MO 2-7621.

Fairchild 280 (more exactly the longer 281) ($29.50). It must be mounted strictly according to the accompanying instructions.

The experts I talk to reported to me that the Thorens E-53/PA motor (approximately $59) was much quieter than the Rek-O-Kut—even a Rek-O-Kut shock-mounted as mine has to be; and this was confirmed by the Thorens acquired by my friend. An additional desirable feature is the possibility of changing the speed, for old 78s that are too fast or too slow. I should add that here too a unit occasionally turns up with a noticeable pitch-waver, and has to be exchanged.

I heard the new Janszen electrostatic tweeter with Bozak woofers, and found it amazing; but I haven't yet been able to try substituting it for the high end of my LC-1A and hearing how they compare. Meanwhile I continue with, and recommend, the RCA LC-1A ($180). The cabinet for this speaker should be a box of the infinite-baffle type (no opening other than the one for the speaker-cone) made of 3/4-inch plywood, with dimensions that provide an interior space of 10 cubic feet. To eliminate panel-resonance it must be made rigid—one method being cross-bracing (from side to side, top to bottom, front to back), another being to coat the interior with a mixture of equal amounts of Sears-Roebuck undercoating and sand, which must be allowed two weeks to dry. And the entire interior should be lined with a 2-inch thickness of Aerocor fibreglas of 3/4 pound density (obtainable from dealers in insulation materials). My experts tell me the sound is improved by filling the interior with an additional amount of fiberglas; and how much additional is something I hope to be able to find out from RCA.

A Chicago reader wrote recently that the manager of a retail supply-house there "poo-poohed your description of how the speaker-cabinet should be constructed, saying that he knew more about it than a music critic would." Probably he does; but probably he does not know more than R. T. Bozak, Lincoln Walsh, and the other engineers who are the sources of what I say on the subject.

Less expensive equipment next week.

RESORTS

WINDY HILL
ON ORANGE LAKE
A pleasantly informal vacation in friendly atmosphere. Swimming, Boating, Fishing on Natural Lake. Badminton, Volley Ball, Ping-pong, other sports. Movies, records, books. Summer Theatre nearby. Food of excellent quality in generous quantities.
$50.00 Weekly; $7.50 Daily
Weekend: Fri. Supper through Sun. Dinner $15
65 Miles from [illegible] York City
Jane C. Arenz R. D. No. 1 Walden, N. Y.
Phone Newburgh [illegible]

The Ideal Resort For Child & Parent
CARAN LODGE
Sylvan Lake ● Hopewell Junction ● [illegible] York
60 miles from New York on Taconic Parkway
Tennis, swimming, crafts, Folk and Square Dance instruction; golf and summer theatres nearby. Children's Dining Room. Complete Day Camp. Farm animals. Riding in saddle and cart. Nite Patrol.
Accommodations limited to 10 families
RESERVE NOW
N. Y. HI 6-7506 Hopewell Junction 6-2632

Stonegate LODGE
ON [illegible] LAKE [illegible]
Informal Adult Resort in the Adirondacks
Charming Estate — Limited to 90 — Pollen Free
Concert Trio — Dance Band — Arts & Crafts
DAVID HAHN, Folk-Sq. Dance Leader
Golf ● All Sports ● Fishing
Bachelor Club Rate—Fine Food
N. Y. Office: 250 W. 57th ■ Circle 6-6386
Red. Rates to July 10 Louis A. Roth, Dir.

PROFESSIONAL AND BUSINESS PEOPLE like the kind of relaxed, congenial and moderate vacation on a glorious lake in deep woods that Chanterwood offers. Plenty of sports on grounds. Tanglewood, Jacob's Pillow, Playhouse nearby. Hi-fi music, delicious food, large library. CHANTERWOOD, LEE, MASS. Folder N

50 Miles to FOREST HOUSE
Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality Two grand lakes. All sports.
FOREST HOUSE
Lake Mahopac, N. Y. ■ Tel. Mahopac 8-3449

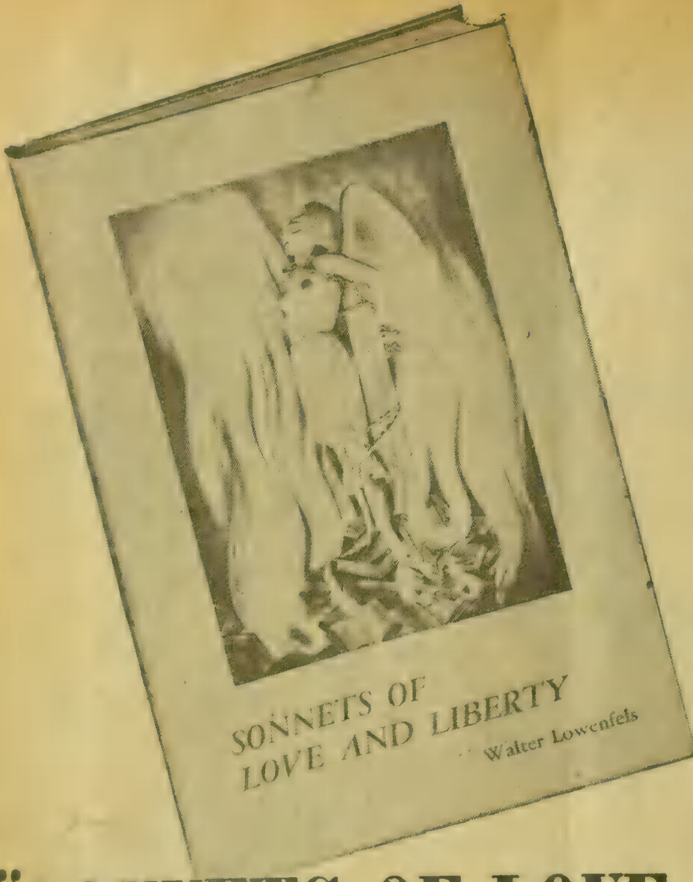
Echo Lake Lodge
In the Green Mts. Brandon, Vermont
A delightful Vacation Resort for the Entire Family
- On lovely Echo Lake—all water sports
- New canoes, boats, swim and fish
- Tennis, ping-pong, shuffleboard
- Music, square dancing, camp-fires
- Summer theatres nearby

Dianna & [illegible] Berman N. Y.-WA4-6046

WHITEFIELD, N. H. We can accommodate 4 adults in our home in the White Mountains. Quiet, pleasant atmosphere. Magnificent location. Ragweed-free territory. Finest home-cooked food. $25 per person per week for room and board. STONY KNOLL, RFD No. 4, Whitefield, N. H.

CRYSTAL LAKE LODGE
NEW REPERTORY THEATER
Directed by Howard Da Silva
Folk [illegible] Squares with Cliff Bullard—Informal Fun
[illegible] championship clay tennis courts, handball, fishing, riding, all water sports [illegible] private Crystal Lake.
1500 Woodland acres
FREE weekend to tennis tournament winners.
CHESTERTOWN 3 NEW YORK
Phone 3830 N. Y. Phone: OL 3-1884

Printed in the U. S. A. by Southern Farmer, Inc. P. O. Box 509, Montgomery, Ala. 6



No other book of poetry in this post World War II period has evoked the acclaim that greeted

"SONNETS OF LOVE AND LIBERTY"

BY WALTER LOWENFELS

The fact that a poet of such stature, such great heart and humanity, is a convicted political prisoner facing five years imprisonment under the Smith Act is also a significant part of our times. Not in spite of this, but because of this, we feel a deep necessity that you should read these poems. They stand as a statement of American faith, and represent the best in America. We offer them to you with pride and satisfaction. The comments we print here are only a small part of those received. They are indeed a fitting tribute to a magnificent work.

BLUE HERON PRESS, INC.
47 West 63rd St., New York 23, N.Y.

Gentlemen:
I am enclosing $____ for ______ copies of Sonnets of Love and Liberty at $1.50 per copy.

NAME ______________________________
ADDRESS ______________________________
CITY ________________ **ZONE** ____ **STATE** ____________

"More than any other American poet, Lowenfels grasps the deepest poetic truth of love and peace." **John Howard Lawson**

"I am moved by **Sonnets Of Love And Liberty** as by no other poetry of our day. They challenge comparison with the greatest sonnets of our language." **Rockwell Kent**

"I joyfully hail the appearance of **Sonnets Of Love And Liberty** and I embrace its author, who has revived the potency, force and grandeur of the great North American people's national culture with his poems." **Diego Rivera**

"One opens this book to read on every page a dedication to world peace and human brotherhood." **Albert Maltz**

"Walter Lowenfels' **Sonnets Of Love And Liberty** are not only timely in our age but timeless in their meanings and overtones . . These songs are not only varied and beautiful. They resound with the heart and soul of a being whose character is noble and, at the same time attuned to what Jefferson called the Common Man." **Alfred Kreymborg**